R. M. Whitney

Los Angeles Cal.

THE

BATTLE OF THE GIANTS:

A DEBATE

ON THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION,

HELD IN

CINCINNATI,

BETWEEN

THE LATE ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,

Founder of the "Christian" Church,

AND

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN B. PURCELL;

TOGETHER WITH

THE VATICAN DECREES

IN THEIR BEARING ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE,

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P.

WITH THE

REPLIES OF DR. NEWMAN, ARCHBISHOP MANNING, THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR CAPEL, LORD ACTON, AND LORD CAMOYS,

AND A FULL ABSTRACT OF

GLADSTONE'S REJOINDER.

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CINCINNATI, FEB. 1st. 1837.

† JOHN B. PURCELL,
Bp. Cin.
A. CAMPBELL.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Publishers being well aware of the importance of obtaining a full and correct report of this discussion, have spared no pains nor expense to effect this object.

They employed two gentlemen well qualified as reporters.

From the joint notes of these, they furnished each of the parties with a copy of his part of the report for revision, with the express understanding, that nothing should be added or subtracted to make their speeches different from what they were when originally delivered.

After being put in type, a proof sheet of all was sent to each, for his last corrections.

Believing, that by this means, the *desideratum* sought, has been obtained, this work, is now commended to an enquiring, intelligent, and reading community.

THE PUBLISHERS.

CINCINNATI, *Feb.* 1837.

INTRODUCTION

To introduce the following report to the reader, we lay before him the correspondence of the parties, which immediately preceded the debate.

LETTER FROM MR. CAMPBELL.

CINCINNATI, JAN. 11th, 1837.

Bishop Purcell—Respected Sir:

At two o'clock this morning, after a tedious and perilous journey of ten days, I safely arrived in this city. The river having become innavigable in consequence of the ice, I was compelled to leave it and take to the woods, about two hundred miles above. By a zigzag course which carried me to Chillicothe and Columbus, sometimes on foot, sometimes on a sleigh, and finally by the mail stage, I accomplished a land tour of two hundred and forty miles, equal to the whole distance from Wheeling to Cincinnati.

After this my travel's history, I proceed to state, that it was with pleasure I received either from you or some of my friends, a copy of the Daily Gazette, on the 22d ult. intimating your fixed purpose of meeting me in a public discussion of my propositions, or of the points at issue between Roman Catholics and Protestants. This, together with your former declarations in favor of full and free discussion, is not only in good keeping with the spirit of the age, and the genius of our institutions, but fully indicative of a becoming confidence and sincerity in your own cause. This frank and manly course, permit me to add, greatly heightens my esteem for you.

Now, sir, that I am on the premises, I take the earliest opportunity of informing you of my arrival, and of requesting you to name the time and place in which it may be most convenient for you to meet me for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries. It has occurred to me, that it would be useful and commendable to have an authentic copy of our discussion, signed by our own hands, and published with our consent: and that is might have all the authority and credit which we could give it, it would be

expedient to sell to some of the publishers in this city, the copyright, and let them employ a stenographer or stenographers to report faithfully the whole matter.

It will also secure for such a work a more extensive reading, and consequently a wider range of usefulness, and I have no doubt, be most acceptable to our feelings, and every way reputable, to devote the profits, or the proceeds of the copyright, to some benevolent institution, on which we may both agree; or in case of a difference on a fitting institution, that we select each an object to which we can most conscientiously assign all the profits of such publication.

In order to these ends, it will be necessary, that we timously arrange all the preliminaries, and as many persons are now in waiting, I trust it may be every way practicable, during the day, to come to a full understanding on the whole premises.

Very respectfully,
Your ob't. serv't.
A. CAMPBELL.

BISHOP PURCELL'S REPLY.

CINCINNATI, 11th JANUARY, 1837.

Mr. Alexander Campbell—My Dear Sir:

I sincerely sympathise with you on the tediousness and perils of your journey, from Bethany to Cincinnati. This is truly a dreadful time to embark on our river, or to traverse our state. The sun's bright face I have not seen for several days; I hope when the forth-coming discussion is once finished, our minds, like his orb, will be less dimmed by the clouds, and radiate the light and vital warmth without which this world would be a desert waste.

If it meet your convenience, I shall be happy to meet you, at any time in the morning, or in the afternoon, at the Athenæum.

Your proposition respecting the sale of an authentic copy of the discussion to a publisher, and the proceeds, all expenses deducted, applied to the benefit of some charitable institution, or institutions, meets my hearty concurrence. And I propose that one half the avails of sale be given to the "Cincinnati Orphan Asylum," and the other half to the "St. Peter's female Orphan Asylum," corner of Third and Plum streets, Cincinnati.

With best wishes for your eternal welfare, and that of all those who sincerely seek for the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, I remain

Very respectfully yours,
† JOHN B. PURCELL,
Bishop of Cincinnati.

The parties met in the Athenæum at 2 o'clock, P. M. of Jan. 11th., when after some debate on the question, *Who shall be the respondent?* they finally agreed to the following

RULES OF DISCUSSION.

1. We agree that the copy-right of the discussion shall be sold to some bookseller, who shall have it taken down by a stenographer, and that all the avails of the copy-right shall be equally divided between two such public charities as Bishop Purcell and Mr. Campbell shall respectively designate.

2. That the discussion shall take place in the Sycamore-street meeting house; and it shall continue seven days, exclusive of Sunday, commencing to-day, (Friday, 13th) from half past 9 o'clock, A. M. to half past 12, and from 3 to 5 P. M., each day.

3. Mr. Campbell shall open the discussion each session, and Bishop Purcell respond. During the morning session the first speech of each shall not exceed an hour, nor the second half an hour. In the afternoon each speaker shall occupy only half an hour.

4. This discussion shall be under the direction of a board of five moderators; of whom each party shall choose two, and these a fifth: any three of whom shall constitute a quorum.

5. The duties of the moderators shall be to preserve order in the assembly, and to keep the parties to the question.

† JOHN B. PURCELL,
A. CAMPBELL.

In order to meet, as far as possible, the arrangements entered into for conducting the contemplated debate for seven days, Mr. Campbell, according to agreement, sent to bishop Purcell, on Thursday morning, Jan. 12, the following statement of the

POINTS AT ISSUE.

1. The Roman Catholic Institution, sometimes called the 'Holy, Apostolic, Catholic, Church,' is not now, nor was she ever, catholic, apostolic, or holy; but is a *sect* in the fair import of that word, older than any other sect now existing, not the 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches,' but an apostacy from the only true, holy, apostolic, and catholic church of Christ."

2. Her notion of apostolic succession is without any foundation in the Bible, in reason, or in fact; an imposition of the most injurious consequences, built upon unscriptural and anti-scriptural traditions, resting wholly upon the opinions of interested and fallible men.

3. She is not uniform in her faith, or united in her members; but mutable and fallible, as any other sect of philosophy or religion—Jewish, Turk-

ish, or Christian—a confederation of sects with a politico-ecclesiastic head.

4. She is the "Babylon" of John, the "Man of sin of Paul, and the Empire of the "Youngest Horn" of Daniel's Sea Monster.

5. Her notions of purgatory, indulgences, auricular confession, remission of sins, transubstantiation, supererogation, &c., essential elements of her system, are immoral in their tendency, and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political.

6. Notwithstanding her pretensions to have given us the Bible, and faith in it, we are perfectly independent of her for our knowledge of that book, and its evidences of a divine original.

7. The Roman Catholic religion, if infallible and unsusceptible of reformation, as alleged, is essentially anti-American, being opposed to the genius of all free institutions, and positively subversive of them, opposing the general reading of the scriptures, and the diffusion of useful knowledge among the whole community, so essential to liberty and the permanency of good government.

A. CAMPBELL.

CINCINNATI, 12th January, 1837.

DEBATE

ON THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.

REPORT.

The parties met according to appointment, on the 13th January, 1837, at the Sycamore Street Meeting House, at half past nine o'clock, A. M.

MODERATORS.

MESSRS. SAMUEL LEWIS, THOMAS J. BIGGS, WILLIAM DISNEY, JOHN ROGERS AND J. W. PIATT.

WILLIAM DISNEY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. Samuel Lewis, having called the meeting to order, read the rules of the Debate, as agreed upon between the parties, and the propositions advanced by Mr. Campbell for discussion. He requested the audience to refrain from any audible signs of approbation or disapprobation, as it would interrupt the debate.

Mr. Campbell then opened the debate as follows :—

My Christian Friends and Fellow-Citizens—

I appear before you at this time, by the good providence of our Heavenly Father, in defence of the truth, and in explanation of the great redeeming, regenerating and ennobling principles of Protestantism, as opposed to the claims and pretensions of the Roman Catholic church. I come not here to advocate the particular tenets of any sect, but to defend the great cardinal principles of Protestantism.

Considerable pains appear to have been taken by the gentleman who is my opponent on this occasion, to impress upon the minds of the public the idea that he stands here in the attitude of a defender of Catholicism, and to represent me as its assailant. I am sorry to say that even some Protestants have contributed to give that color to this debate; for I saw in this morning's Gazette an article, in which I am represented as conducting a crusade against the Roman Catholics. Its editor appears to have his sympathies morbidly enlisted in their cause. He is very sympathetic indeed, in behalf of the Roman Catholic religion. Every agony the mother church feels is a pang to him; for every groan she heaves he has a bottle full of tears ready to be poured out. I will not stop to enquire whether they are political or religious tears. I have to do with the worthy gentleman here, who has represented me as having volunteered to come forward with an attack upon the Catholic church.

I need scarcely inform that portion of my audience, who were present at the last meeting of the College of Teachers in this city, that so far from its being true that I made an attack in the first instance,

upon the Roman Catholic church, the gentleman did first assail the Protestants.

He says in the Gazette of the 19th of Dec. 1836, that I am a bold and wanton challenger; but a word of comment on this document will shew that it is quite the other way.

The issue was made in the first instance in the College of Teachers. You will recollect that when Dr. J. L. Wilson read an oration on the subject of universal education, the gentleman arose, and in that Protestant house, and before a Protestant assembly, directly and positively protested against allowing the book which Protestants claim to contain their religion, to be used in schools. He uttered a tirade against the Protestant modes of teaching, and against the Protestant influence upon the community. This was the origin of the dispute. Had it not been for the assertions made by the gentleman on that occasion, we should not have heard one word of a discussion.

It is true that the propositions just read may present me in the attitude of what he is pleased to call an assailant of the Roman church. But the question is—how has the controversy originated? And let me ask, how is it possible for the gentleman to prove that, because, a year ago, I made some answer to an attack on Protestantism from the state of Illinois, and called for some more reputable antagonist, that on this account he did not assail Protestantism, and that I am the assailant in this case? Does my having been plaintiff in that case make me necessarily plaintiff in every other case? Does my having told him that I stood prepared to discuss the question at large with any creditable gentleman—[Here Mr. C. was interrupted by the moderators as not speaking to the point.] I submit to the decision of the moderators. I thought it due to myself, that the public should know precisely the attitude in which the gentleman and myself stand in this matter. I stand here as the defender of Protestantism, and not as the assailant of Catholicism. I wished to exonerate myself from such an imputation. But as the gentlemen have decided that we proceed at once to the question, let us begin and examine the first proposition. It is as follows:

"PROP. I. The Roman Catholic Institution, sometimes called the 'Holy, Apostolic, Catholic, Church,' is not now, nor was she ever, catholic, apostolic, or holy; but is a *sect* in the fair import of that word, older than any other sect now existing, not the 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches,' but an apostacy from the only true, holy, apostolic, and catholic church of Christ."

As this is the place and time for logic rather than rhetoric, I will proceed to define the meaning of the important terms contained in this proposition. The subject is the Roman Catholic Institution. This institution, notwithstanding its large pretensions, I affirm, can be proved clearly to be a *sect*, in the true and proper import of the term. Though she call herself the mother and mistress of all churches, she is, strictly speaking, a sect, and *no more than a sect*. We now propose to adduce proof to sustain this part of the proposition.

In the first place, the very term *Roman* Catholic indicates that she is a sect, and not the ancient, universal and apostolic church, the mother and mistress of all churches. If she be the only universal or Catholic church, why prefix the epithet Roman? A Roman Catholic church is a contradiction. The word Catholic means universal—the word Roman means something local and particular. What sense or

meaning is there in a particular universal church? It is awkward on another account. If she pretends to be considered the only true and universal church of Christ among all nations and in all times, why call herself Roman? To say the Roman Catholic church of America, is just as absurd as to say the Philadelphia church of Cincinnati, —the London church of Pittsburgh,—the church of France of the United States. The very terms that she chooses indicates that she cannot be the universal church.

It will not help the difficulty to call her the *Church of Rome*. These words indicate a sect and only a sect, as much as the words Roman Catholic. They signify strictly, only the particular congregations meeting in that place.

The Roman Catholic historians endeavor to reconcile this discrepancy of terms by saying that, though those particular congregations are meant, in their larger sense the terms are used to designate all those congregations, scattered throughout the world, who are in communion with the church of Rome. Thus testifies Du Pin—

"It is true, that at the present time, the name of the church of Rome, is given to the Catholic church, and that these two terms pass for synonymous.

"But in antiquity no more was intended by the name of the church of Rome, than the church of the city of Rome, and the popes (bishops) in their subscriptions or superscriptions, look simply to the quality of bishops of Rome. The Greek schismatics seem to be the first who gave the name of the church of Rome to all the churches of the west, whence the Latins made use of this to distinguish the churches which communicated with the church of Rome, from the Greeks who were separated from her communion. From this came the custom to give the name of the church of Rome to the Catholic church. But the other churches did not from this lose their name or their authority."

I shall hereafter give the day and date of this separation, when she received this sectarian designation and became a sect, in the proper acceptation of that term. It may, perhaps, appear that it was not only unscriptural, but dishonorable; as opprobrious as ever were the terms Lutheran or Protestant.

But suppose we call her "Catholic" alone; and her advocates now endeavor to impress the idea that she is no longer to be called "Roman Catholic," but Catholic, this term equally proves her a sect; for in the New Testament and primitive antiquity there is no such designation. It is simply the church of Christ. It is one thing for us to choose a name for ourselves, and another to have one chosen for us by our enemies. Societies, like persons, are passive in receiving their names. It is with churches as it is with individuals; they may not wear the name they prefer. She wishes now to be called no longer Roman Catholic, but Catholic. She repudiates the appellation of Roman; and claims to be the only Catholic church that ever was, and is, and ever more shall be. But we cannot allow her to assume it; and we dare not, in truth, bestow it, for she is not catholic. But, as there is no church known in the New Testament by that name, could we so designate her, still she would be a sect.

But let me ask, what is the church of Rome of the nineteenth century, or rather, what is the present Roman Catholic institution? Permit me here to say, most emphatically, that I have not the slightest disposition to use terms of opprobrium in speaking of this church; or of the worthy gentleman who is opposed to me in this debate. I do not wish or intend to use the slightest expression which could be construed into an unfriendly tone of satire, irony or invective towards

the respectable gentleman, or towards his church. I shall speak freely of her pretensions to be the only true church, &c. but I shall observe a scrupulous respect in all my language towards the present representatives of the Catholic church in the nineteenth century.

Are we then to understand her as the immutable, universal, ancient primitive, apostolic church of Christ? Are we to understand this by the Roman Catholic church of the nineteenth century, with her popes her cardinals, her patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, archbishops, archdeacons, monks, friars, nuns, &c. &c. teaching and preaching the use and worship of images, relics, penances, invocation of departed men and women, veneration for some being whom they call "the mother of God," teaching and preaching the doctrine of priestly absolution, auricular confession, purgatory, transubstantiation, extreme unction, &c. &c.

Is this the ancient, universal, holy apostolic church? Not one of these dogmas can be found in the bible.

They originated hundreds of years since, as I am prepared to show from the evidence of Roman Catholic authors themselves. How then can we call it the ancient apostolic church? Not one of these offices nor dogmas is mentioned in the New Testament. Hear Du Pin on this point. In exposing the imposition, practised, by an effort, so late as the ninth century, to foist into the history of the church certain pretended decrees or writings of those called the first popes, Du Pin, an authentic Roman Catholic historian, proves these decrees and writings to be spurious, because in them there are numerous allusions to offices and customs not yet existing in the times referred to.

"The following proves them spurious. 1st. The second epistle of St. Clement directed to St. James, speaks of the *Ostiarii* or doorkeepers, archdeacons and other ecclesiastical officers, that were not then introduced into the church."

2nd. "This letter mentions *sub*-deacons, an order not then established in the church." p. 584.

3d. "In the first Epistle attributed to St. *Sixtus*, he is called an 'archbishop,' a word not used in this time."

4th. "The second, attributed to the same pope, mentions consecrated vessels, and appeals to *Rome*, the grandeur of the church. It is there pretended that all bishops wait for the pope's decision, and are instructed by his letters; modes of speaking never used by the first bishops of Rome."

5th. "The epistle attributed to *Telesphorus* calls him an archbishop, a name unknown in the first ages."

6th. "There is a decree in it, to enjoin three masses on our Savior's nativity, a custom not so ancient."

7th. "We find several passages in the letter attributed to *Anicetus*, which does not agree with the time of that pope; as, for instance, what is there laid down concerning the *ordinations of bishops, sacerdotal tonsure, archbishops and primates*, which were not instituted till long after; besides many things of the same nature." p. 585.

How, then, can we suppose that this church of the nineteenth century, with so many appendages, is the apostolic church—the only original, primitive, universal institution of Christ?

But she glories in the name of mother and mistress of all churches throughout the world. This astonishes me still more; for with the bible in his hand and history before him, who can stand up and say, that this church ever was the mother and mistress of all churches!

The most ancient catholic church was the Hebrew. She was the mother, though not the *mistress* of all churches; for the christian church has no reigning queen on earth, to lord it over her—as Paul says, on another occasion—"Jerusalem is the mother of us all."

If the gentleman admit Luke to be a faithful historian, he must not only place the Hebrew church first, but the Samaritan, Phenician, Syrian and Hellenist churches as older than the church in Rome. I say if we speak of churches, as respects antiquity, the Hebrew, Samaritan, Syrian and Phenician churches must be regarded as prior to her. The Acts of the Apostles close with Paul's first appearance in Rome.

But that the Roman Catholic institution may stand before you in bold relief as a sectarian establishment, I will give you a definition of her pretensions, from an authentic source, one of her own standards. The Douay catechism, in answer to the question—"What are the essential parts of the church?" teaches "A pope, or supreme head, bishops, pastors and laity." p. 20.

These, then, are the four constituent and essential elements of the Roman Catholic church. The first is the pope, or head. It will be confessed by all, that, of these, the most essential is the head. But should we take away any one of these, she loses her identity, and ceases to be what she assumes. My first effort then shall be to prove that, for hundreds of years after Christ, she was without such a head; the most indispensable of these elements; and consequently, this being essential to her existence, she was not from the beginning. Because no body can exist before its head. Now, if we can find a time when there was no pope, or supreme head, we find a time when there was no Roman Catholic party.

By referring to the scriptures, and to the early ecclesiastical records, we can easily settle this point. Let us begin with the New Testament, which all agree, is the only authenticated standard of faith and manners—the only inspired record of the christian doctrine. This is a cardinal point, and I am thankful that in this we all agree. What is not found there, wants the evident sanction of inspiration, and can never command the respect and homage of those who seek for divine authority in faith and morality.

I affirm then, that not one of the offices, I have enumerated, as belonging to the Roman Catholic church, was known in the days of the apostles, or is found in the New Testament. On the contrary, the very notion of a vicar of Christ, of a prince of the apostles, or of a universal head, and government in the Christian church is repugnant to the genius and spirit of the religion. We shall read a few passages of scripture, from the Roman version, to prove that the very idea of an earthly head is unscriptural and anti-scriptural. The version from which I am about to quote was printed in New York, and is certified to correspond exactly, with the Rhemish original, by a number of gentlemen, of the first standing in society. If it differs from any other and more authentic copy, I will not rely upon it. I am willing to take whatever bible the gentleman may propose. I read from the twentieth of Matthew. "Jesus said to his disciples, You know that the princes of the Gentiles overrule them, and those that are the greater exercise power against them. It shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister!" Does this convey the idea of a prince among the apostles, a vicar of Christ, a lord over the people of God? Does it not rather say there shall not be any *lordship amongst you!* This command is express, that there shall not be a pope, a supreme lord of the christian church. Again, Matt. 23. 8. "Be not you called Rabbi, for one is your Master

and all ye are brethren: and call none father (i. e. pope) for one is your father, be that is in heaven. Neither be you called masters, for one is your master, Christ. He that is the greater of you shall be your servitor!" If the very question about a pope had been before the Messiah at this time, he could not have spoken more clearly. This expression indicates the most perfect equality of rank among the apostles and disciples of Christ, and positively forbids, in a religious sense, the assumption of the title of *father* or *pope*. The commandment which says "thou shalt not steal," is not more clearly laid down than the command "call no man father."

Now will the gentleman deny that "pope" (in Greek "pappas," in Latin, "papa") means "father?" and that the case clearly comes within the command. Jesus Christ says, "call no man pope;" yet they ordain a bishop and call him pope; and this pope claims the title of "universal father"—supreme head and governor of the church of Christ. He is sometimes called Lord God the pope.

This testimony of Christ will outweigh volumes. Put all the folios and authorities, which the gentleman may bring, on one side, and this text of Jesus Christ on the other, and the former, in comparison, will be found light as the chaff which is blown away by a breath.

Can any one, then, who fears God and believes in the Messiah, call the pope, or any human being "father" in the sense here intended. The Lord anticipated the future in all his precepts, and spoke with an eye to it as well as to the men of his own time. He had the pride and assumptions, of the Rabbis of Jerusalem, in his eye, who coveted renown, who loved such greetings in the market place, and received such compellations in the synagogues. Describing these men to his disciples, he cautions them against their example, and teaches them to regard each other as brethren. I hope the gentleman will pay particular attention to this point in his reply to these remarks.

The third testimony on which we rely will be found in Ephesians iv. 11. This passage sums up all the officers or gifts which Jesus gave the church after his ascension into heaven. "And" says Paul "he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors, and doctors" or teachers. In this enumeration, which contains the whole, there is no pope. The highest or first rank is given to apostles.

In every other enumeration found in the epistles, there is the same clear reference to the apostles as the *first* class. 1 Cor. xii. 28. But let Peter himself speak as to his rank. We see that in his own 1st Epistle, ch. 1, he calls himself *an* apostle, not *the* apostle of Jesus, not the *prince* of apostles, not the supreme head of the church. Peter had no idea of such headship and lordship.

Again in addressing the "seniors" or elders, chap. v. 1. he says, "I myself am a fellow senior." They were all co-elders, co-bishops, co-apostles, as respected each other; and as respected all other officers the apostles were *first*. The thought of a supreme head amongst them is not found in the New Testament; only as reprobated by our Savior.

I will not, at present, advance any more scriptural authority upon the point, but shall proceed to examine what foundation this element of the Roman church, has in ancient history. But I would here say distinctly, once for all, that I will not open a single document to prove any doctrine, tenet, or principle of Protestantism, other than this holy

record of the prophets, and apostles, the holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. On these I rely, and I affirm that these contain no authority for the assumption of the doctrine of a universal father, pope, or head of the church. There was no such person mentioned—no such idea cherished until hundreds of years after the death of the apostles.

I will read the following general remarks by this learned historian The title page is as follows:—

A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers, containing an account of the authors of the several books of the Old and New Testaments; of the lives and writings of the primitive Fathers: an abridgment and catalogue of their works; their various editions, and censures, determining the genuine and spurious. Together with a judgment upon style and doctrine. Also a compendious history of the Councils; with Chronological Tables of the whole, written in French by Lewis Ellies Du Pin, doctor of the Sorbonne, and Regius Professor at Paris. 3 *vols. Folio.* The Third Edition corrected, Dublin, printed by and for George Grierson, at the *Two Bibles* in *Essex Street*, MDCCXXIV.

I am happy to find, appended to the preface, the seals and signatures of men high in the church, which I cannot now stop to read.

From this work I will proceed to read some passages in proof of the proposition I have advanced, that there is not a vestige of evidence in favor of the cardinal idea, of the Roman Catholic religion, that there was a pope in the first ages of the church. At the close of the third century the highest advance yet made towards any supremacy in the church on the ground of metropolitan standing, is thus described by Du Pin.

"The bishops of great cities had their prerogatives in ordinations, and in councils; and as in civil affairs men generally had recourse to the civil metropolis, so likewise in ecclesiastical matters, they consulted with the bishop of the metropolitan city. The churches of the three principal cities of the world were looked upon as chief, and their bishops attributed great prerogatives to themselves. The *church of Rome*, founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, was considered as first, and its bishop as first amongst all the bishops of the world; yet they did not believe him to be infallible: and though they frequently consulted him, and his advice was of great consequence, yet they did not receive it blind-fold and implicitly, every bishop imagining himself to have a right to judge in ecclesiastical matters." p. 590.

Observe the bishops of the principal cities *attributed to themselves great prerogatives.* And Rome, the chief city, began to assume the chief prerogatives. But the general character of the clergy as detailed by this writer was not yet favorable to such assumptions—for, says he,

"The clergy were not distinguished from others by any peculiar habits, but by the sanctity of their life and manners, they were removed from all kind of avarice, and carefully avoided every thing that seemed to carry the appearance of scandalous, filthy lucre. They administered the sacrament *gratis*, and believed it to be an abominable crime to give or receive any thing for a spiritual blessing. Tithes were not then appropriated to them, but the people maintained them voluntarily at their own expense."

"The clergy were prohibited to meddle with any civil and secular affairs. They were ordained against their will and did not remove from one church to another out of a principle of interest or ambition. They were extremely chaste and regular. It was lawful for priests to keep the wives they married before they were ordained."

Nothing indeed like an ecclesiastical establishment was yet in existence: for says Du Pin, speaking of these times,

"After all, it must be confessed, that the discipline of the church has been so

extremely different and so often altered, that it is almost impossible to say any thing positively concerning it." p. 590.

So stood the matter at the close of the third century.

But we have still more definite and positive testimony, in the great councils of the 4th and 5th centuries. Let us then examine the early councils. The famous council of Nice which sat in 325, is the first general council that ever assembled; for although they call the consultations of the apostles—Acts 15., a council, yet in the enumeration of general councils, of which they establish eighteen, that of Nice is called the first.

At this council there were present 318 bishops. It was called by the Roman emperor in order to settle certain discords in what was then called the church. By the sixth canon of this first council it appears, according to Du Pin, that the idea of a pope, or supreme head, had not begun to be entertained. The sixth canon of the council of Nice is as follows.

"The 6th canon is famous for the several questions it has occasioned. The most natural sense that can be given to it, is this: 'We ordain that the ancient custom shall be observed, which gives power to the bishop of Alexandria, over all the provinces of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pantapolis*, because the bishop of *Rome* has the like jurisdiction over all the suburbicary regions (for this addition must be supplied out of *Rufinus*;) we would likewise have the rights and privileges of the church of *Antioch* and the other churches preserved; but these rights ought not to prejudice those of the metropolitans. If any one is ordained without the consent of the metropolitan, the council declares, that he is no bishop: but if any one is canonically chosen by the suffrage of almost all the bishops of the province and if there are but one or two of a contrary opinion, the suffrages of the far greater number ought to carry it for the ordination of those particular persons This canon being thus explained has no difficulty in it. It does not oppose the primacy of the church of Rome, but neither does it establish it.'

"In this sense it is, that it compares the church of *Rome* to the church of *Alexandria*, by considering them all as patriarchal churches. It continues also to the church of *Antioch* and all the other great churches, whatsoever rights they could have; but lest their authority should be prejudicial to the ordinary metropolitans, who were subject to their jurisdiction, the council confirms what had been ordained in the fourth canon concerning the authority of metropolitans in the ordination of bishops. This explication is easy and natural, and we have given many proofs of it in our Latin dissertation concerning the ancient discipline of the church."

"This canon," says Du Pin, who be it remembered was always anxious to find some authority for the pope's supremacy, "DOES NOT ESTABLISH THE SUPREMACY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME." Willing as he was to have this primacy traced to the beginning of christianity, he is constrained to admit, that even the council of Nice does not establish it. Nay more—it is in truth against it; for it gives the Bishop of Alexandria like jurisdiction with the church of Rome; and also preserves to the church of Antioch its metropolitan dominion.

It would be too tedious to go into an exposition of the causes, why so much power was accumulated in the hands of four or five bishops. It originated in the divisions of the empire. In Roman jurisdiction, there were four great political dioceses, (for *diocese* was then a political term) and to these the church conformed. Hence the patriarchal sees of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. In process of time, Jerusalem was added, and these all became radiating centres of ecclesiastical power and patronage. The bishop of each diocese assumed a sort of primacy, in his own district; and as various interferences and rivalries in jurisdiction occurred, the council of Nice so far decided that the same power should be given to them all—that all

primates should be co-ordinate. Hence Du Pin could not find in that council authority for the supreme primacy of Rome. In the canons of the second and third general councils there is no reference to these matters whatever.

I shall therefore proceed to the great council of Chalcedon, of pre-eminent authority, the greatest of the first four general councils.

From all the canons of the council relating to government, it is evident that they had not yet excogitated the idea of a supreme head. Says Du Pin,

"The 28th canon grants to the church of the city of *Constantinople*, which is called *New Rome*, the same privileges with old *Rome*, because this city is the second city in the world. It also adjudges to it, besides this, jurisdiction over the dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*, and over the churches which are out of the bounds of the emperor, and a right to ordain metropolitans in the provinces of these dioceses." p. 678.

Thus this council, composed of 340 bishops, and assembling in the year of our Lord 451, gave the same power to the patriarch of Constantinople as to the patriarch of Rome, and makes the supremacy of the one equal to the supremacy of the other.

I have examined the proceedings of all the councils of the first six centuries, of which I find about 170, promulgating in all about 1400 canons. I have read and examined the twenty creeds of the fourth century with all their emendations down to the close of the sixth; and I affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that there is not in all these a single vestige of the existence of a pope or universal head of the church down to the time of Gregory the great, or John the Faster of Constantinople.

I shall now proceed to show from the same learned historian when this idea began to be divulged. And be it *emphatically observed* that the title of pope in its peculiar and exclusive sense was first assumed by the patriarch of Constantinople, and approved by the patriarch of Rome. Du Pin says in his life of Gregory, chap. 1, "He did often rigorously oppose the title of universal patriarch, which the patriarchs of Constantinople assumed to themselves." Indeed he calls the title, "proud, blasphemous, anti-christian, diabolical," and says, the bishops of Rome refused to take this title upon them "lest they should seem to encroach upon the rights of other bishops." But the following document or remonstrance against the title shews what a novelty the idea of an universal head, father, or pope was even at Rome, A. D. 588:—

"St. Gregory does not only oppose this title in the patriarch of *Constantinople*, but maintains also, that it cannot agree to any other bishop, and that the bishop of *Rome* neither ought, nor can assume it. *John* the younger, patriarch of *Constantinople*, had taken upon him this title in a council held in 586, in the time of pope *Pelagius*, which obliged this pope to annul the Acts of this council. St. Gregory wrote of it also to this patriarch; but this made no impression on him, and *John* would not abandon this fine title, B. 4. Ep. 36. St. Gregory addressed himself to the emperor Mauritius, and exhorted him earnestly to employ his authority for redressing this abuse, and force him who assumed this title to quit it. He remonstrates to him in his letter, that although Jesus Christ had committed to St. *Peter* the care of all his churches, yet he was not called *universal apostle*. That the title of universal bishop is against the rules of the gospel, and the appointment of the canons: that there cannot be an universal bishop but the authority of all the other will be destroyed or diminished; that if the bishop of *Constantinople* were universal bishop, and it should happen that he should fall into heresy, it might be said that the universal church was fallen into destruction. That the council of *Chalcedon* had offered this title to *Leo*,

but neither he nor his successors would accept it, lest by giving something peculiar to one bishop only, they should take away the rights which belong to all the bishops.—That it belongs to the emperor to reduce by his authority him who despises the canons, and does injury to the universal church by assuming this singular name." B. 4. Ep. 32.

But at this time the patriarchs of Constantinople and Rome were contending for the supremacy, and while it appeared to Gregory that his rival of the east was likely to possess the title, he saw in it, every thing anti-christian and profane. When a new dynasty, however, ascended the throne and offered the title to a Roman bishop, it lost all its blasphemy and impiety, and we find the successor of Gregory can wear the title of universal patriarch when tendered him by Phocas, without the least scrupulosity.

It is then a fact worthy of much consideration in this discussion, that John bishop of Constantinople first assumed the title of universal head of the whole christian church, and that the bishop of Rome did in that case oppose it as anti-scriptural and anti-christian.

Concerning the reputation of Saint Gregory I need not be profuse. Of the Gregories he is deservedly called the Great. Renowned in history as one who stamped his own image on the Roman world for a period of five hundred years, yet he could not brook the idea of a pope, especially when about to be bestowed on his rival at Constantinople.

St. Gregory, be it remembered, says Du Pin, did not only oppose the title in the case of John the Faster, as proud, heretical, blasphemous, &c. but could not agree to its being assumed by any other bishop; he affirmed that the bishops of Rome ought not, dare not, cannot assume this pompous and arrogant title.

Thus stood matters as respects a supreme head up to within 14 years of the close of the 6th century.—[Time expired.]

Eleven o'clock A. M.

Bishop Purcell rises—

I thought it likely, my respected and beloved fellow citizens, that I should have to day a difficult task before me. But I perceive that I shall have an easy one. I expected from the reputation of my antagonist as a debater, that he was going to argue so closely, and to press me so hard, that he would, to use a common expression, make minced meat of me, and not leave one bone of me unbroken. I thought that my creed, so ancient, so venerable, so holy, was to be torn into tatters and scattered to the four winds of heaven—I was mistaken!

The gentleman occupied ten minutes of his time in endeavoring to bias the judgment of his hearers in favor of the idea, that this controversy originated not with himself, but that I was the aggressor, in doing which he was called to order. I will not trespass more than two or three minutes on your patience in answering his preliminary observations.

I am willing to let that matter rest on its own merits. As to the question of assailant and defender in this controversy, the public have the data, and it is for them to judge. My worthy opponent began the present debate by representing himself as the staunch defender of Protestantism, endeavoring thereby to enlist the sympathies of Protestants in his favor. And what, I would presume to inquire, are his principles? What are his claims, his pretensions, or his right to appear before this assembly as the defender of Protestantism! We are all

aware what sad pranks have been lately played off before high Heaven by men styling themselves Protestants, which all classes of Protestants unite in deprecating, which they all condemn. I know not whether there be not some Protestants here, who will not admit his gratuitous advocacy of their principles—who will not believe that the principles of Protestantism which he volunteers to defend will be fully or fairly represented by him. For one, I think the Episcopalians, a numerous and respectable class, will not consent to be represented by him; for he denies, if I am rightly informed, that there is properly any ministry in the Protestant church so called—that a divine call should precede the assumption of the sacred office. [Here the moderators interrupted, by requesting the speaker to confine himself to the question.]

Well we are so far even, [a laugh.] The gentleman, then, began by the assertion that the term Roman Catholic was an incongruity.—But I deny it to be an incongruity. Terms, we all know, are used the more clearly to designate the idea or object which they represent. "Catholic" is the name of our church; and we only prefix the word Roman to signify that she is in communion with the see of Rome. We acknowledge there a primate of superior, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in his communion we do abide.

He says the word Roman is incongruous; yet his own authority, Du Pin, says it was synonymous with Catholic. It was so understood formerly. And here I may observe that I deny the authority of Du Pin to be competent to the settlement of questions to be called up for decision in the course of the present controversy. Du Pin was a Jansenist, removed from his place of Regius Professor at the Sorbonne for his doctrinal errors, by Louis XIV. to whom Clement XI addressed a brief on this occasion, commending his zeal for the truth. The claim of Rome was undisputed in the early ages, and it was only when her preeminence was contested that the term "Roman" was used before the word Catholic. Hence it was no incongruity, but a clearer designation of the see in whose communion were all the churches. He has stated an inaccuracy in saying that the word catholic was not found in the bible. Is not the epistle of St. James called catholic? And will he presume to say the word was not placed there in the very first age of Christianity?

The gentleman says he will use no words that may convey an opprobrious meaning. God forbid that I should set him the example. I shall debate this question with earnestness, but not with passion. As soon as the discussion closes, I can meet the gentleman without a single unkind or unfriendly feeling.

But in enumerating various doctrines of the Catholic church, I was shocked to hear him use the language "some being called the mother of God." Great God! didst thou not send into the world thy Son, Jesus Christ, to save perishing man, and didst thou not select one of all the daughters of Eve, to be the mother of that child of benediction, and was not Mary this holy one, to whose care was committed his infancy, and to whom he was subject? Was she not the chosen one of heaven, to whom its archangel was sent with the communication—"Hail, full of Grace," or as it is in the Protestant version—"thou that art highly favored—the Lord is with thee," and do we now hear her stigmatized in such language, and designated as "some being called the mother of God?"

The gentleman then contests the doctrine of a hierarchy in the church; and says what he asserts is proved by the scriptures. I would ask—has he read the bible? Has he read the book of Levitticus? Does he not find there the example set of a distinction of orders in religious affairs? Did not the Lord speak to Moses, saying,—"'Take Aaron with his sons, their vestments and the oil of unction,' and he poured it on Aaron's head—he put also the mitre on his head. And after he had offered his sons, he vested them with linen tunics and girded them with girdles," &c. &c. "And Nadab and Abiu were consumed with fire for opposing them, and they died before the Lord." Did not Moses lead? Did not Aaron assist? Were there not councillors appointed by the Lord, to divide the burden of their ministry? Did not king Josaphat send Zachariah and Nathaniel and Michael, and with them the Levites, Senneias, &c., to teach the people? Paralip. 17. 7. What is this but a distinction of orders and of authority in the Jewish dispensation?

He says there was no distinction of orders in the early christian church; and he refuted himself by appealing for a solution of the difficulty to St. Paul. Were there no orders, no hierarchy? What says St. Paul in 4th Ephesians? "And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors, and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; until we all meet unto the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ." We must here remark a gradation of authority in the church of God. For what? For the work of the ministry. There never has existed a social body without subordination, or distinction of rank. The church of Christ is a social body. It needs to be subjected to order, even more than a political body; and as if St. Paul anticipated the objection, which we have, not without surprise, heard this day urged, he expressly states the object of the institution of a hierarchy by him, who ascending on high gave gifts to men, to be the perfecting of the saints—the unity of faith. "Are all," he asks, (what my friend would make them) "prophets? Are all pastors?"—He elsewhere asks, "How can they preach unless they be sent?" By whom? By an ecclesiastical superior.—So much for the evidence of the Old Testament, and the New Testament. They both teach a head, a hierarchy and subordination among the people of God.

This takes me to the examination of the title, assumed by the Catholic church, of mother and mistress of all the churches. He says Jerusalem was the mother church at first—and then the Samaritan, and so on, I need not follow him. I will explain what we mean by the term.—We call her mother because she guides, she cherishes us. We call her mother, because we feel a filial reverence for her—just as an orphan calls her who protects her, educates her, and guides her wandering feet, by the same tender appellative. There is no blasphemy in this comparison. It is the Son of God that established the authority of that church. The name is its designation.

But the word 'mistress' is never used in speaking of the church, in the sense of lordship, or queenship. It is the way in which children address their teacher. They frequently use the expression, as we read in Cordery's Colloquies, "salve magister." Magistra here is addressed to her in her capacity of teacher, and such she is, and, as I

shall prove, by the appointment and the express institution of Jesus Christ.

He next referred to the Doway catechism to show from the definition of the Catholic church, that she consisted of four elements, viz. the pope, bishops, pastors, and laity.

Now the catechism of this diocese defines the Catholic church to be the congregation of all the faithful, professing the same faith, receiving the same sacraments, and united under one visible head, the pope, or vicar of Jesus Christ, on earth.

It is defined to be the congregation of *all the faithful.* This is the definition which most authors give. It is that of the catechism from which my friend has quoted.

But let us adopt his definition, and I am prepared to show that the idea of a supreme head has its origin in the bible, and is supported by the earliest ecclesiastical authority. I must here take notice of the promise he gave to put his finger on the precise day and date when the church called the Roman Catholic church, ceased to be the church of Christ. He has left us as much in the dark as ever on this most important of all events. It is a point which has puzzled the world, and will for ever puzzle it, to fix that date. It will, I am sure, puzzle my friend. The whole world has never been able to state at what particular moment the Catholic church lost her prerogative and the favor of God—when she ceased to be in the true sense the *Catholic Church.* The reason of this is obvious. She has never forfeited her prerogative. But to the matter before us. It is opposed to scripture to assert that the church in apostolic days had no head. What did Christ say to Peter when he addressed him the mysterious question—"Lovest thou me more than these"? Peter says he does love him. Jesus gives him the order, "feed my lambs." A second time he asks the question, and receives the same reply. The third time he repeats the same question. Peter, troubled that his Lord should doubt his affection, replies, "Oh Lord, thou knowest all things—thou knowest that I love thee," and Jesus repeated the command—"feed my lambs"—"feed my sheep."

Thus Christ establishes the headship of the church in Peter, and him he makes his vice-gerent, or common pastor, to feed both lambs and sheep—both clergy and laity.

Mr. Campbell quarrels with the doctrine of the pope's headship because it carries a *power* and an *authority* with it: and he quotes the New Testament to prove no such power to have been exercised in the days of the apostles. I have disproved his argument upon this point already. Christ did institute a body of leaders, a ministry to guide his people, "that henceforth we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine, by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive. But doing the truth in Christ, we may in all things grow up in him who is head, even Christ; from whom the whole body being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every part supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity." Must not the body have a head, the house a foundation? He objects that we call the sovereign pontiff—Pope, or father, whereas Christ says, "call not any man Father." But is this prohibition of our Savior to be taken literally? Is there any guilt or impiety in calling a parent "Father?"

Many of Christ's commands are similar. He commands us to call no man *good:* for God only is good. But do we not, in saluting a friend in common life, say "Good Sir," "my good friend?" &c. Is there any impiety in this? It is the using these terms in that sense in which they are *peculiar* to the divinity, which Christ forbids. And the pope when he corresponds with the bishops, does not assume these proud titles, but addresses them as an elder BROTHER. We do not call him "Lord God the Pope."

Mr. C. says, St. Paul did not *lord* it over the clergy. Neither does the pope. He is to govern the church *according to the canons.* He can make no articles of faith. He cannot, he does not act arbitrarily in proposing articles of belief unknown to Catholic antiquity. But neither will he suffer innovation. His language is like St. Paul's, "Were I or an angel from Heaven to preach to you any other gospel, than what has been preached, let him be Anathema!" This expressed the sense the great apostle entertained of his own responsibility, and the danger of novelty in religion. He would not suffer altar to be raised against altar, on the ground of private interpretation of the bible. He would not suffer the wolves of heresy and error to prowl around the fold, and tear, and scatter the sheep entrusted to him by Jesus Christ.

It would be horrid blasphemy to apply to man the title Father, in the sense in which it is addressed to God. We never call the pope in any sense God. When the pope writes to the bishops, he begins by "*Dilecti Fratres*" "BELOVED BRETHREN,"—a republican, and if you please democratic address. The bishops are all brethren under one common father. The pope is accused of letting himself be worshipped. This is not so. But when the Pope comes before the altar he bows down like the humblest of his people. "I confess," says he, "to Almighty God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, the holy Apostles, and to all the Saints," the least of whom he therefore acknowledges to be greater than himself, "that I have sinned;" and this is what is called setting himself up to be a God! See how you have been deceived by the invidious representations you have had of the pope, and of our doctrine, my friends.

I assert again that the authority quoted by my friend, Mr. C., viz. Du Pin, is no authority. He was the rank enemy of the Roman see, a Jansenist, reproved and censured by the Catholic church. Mr. C. knows this, for I have read to him the documents that prove it, and he was confounded by them. It is neither good faith, nor good logic, to quote him as an authority against my argument. As for the signatures appended to the English translation, I care not for them; they may have been wrongfully placed there, or those certificates suborned. This makes nothing for the authority of the book, and no argument can be drawn from them. But, my friends, I am sure you discovered his discomfiture when he appealed to Du Pin. There was a stumbling block in his way, something he could not get over. Did you not notice how with the rapid speed of a rail-road car dashing suddenly on an obstruction, *he fled the track*, when he found to his astonishment that the testimony adduced by his author, was not unfavorable to the supremacy of St. Peter, and his successors! I will examine his writings to show that even in the third century, the bishops of Rome claimed this prerogative, and Du Pin tells you that this was acknowledged. He says there were three principal bishops.

This is a great admission, and I am thankful for it. He says that even then, bishops came from inferior sees, and laid their conflicting claims before the see of Rome; and submitted to the chair of Peter, doubts in religious matters; and urged it to proclaim a solution of their difficulties; but he says, they did not believe the pope of Rome infallible. This is granting to the Catholics the whole mooted question. The question is clearly settled by this admission. Appeals were lodged before the bishop of Rome, though he was not believed to be infallible. Neither is he now. No enlightened Catholic holds the pope's infallibility to be an article of faith. I do not; and none of my brethren, that I know of, do. The Catholic believes the pope, as a man, to be as liable to error, as almost any other man in the universe. Man is man, and no man is infallible, either in doctrine or morals. Many of the popes have sinned, and some of them have been bad men. I presume my worthy antagonist will take his brush in hand, and roll up his sleeves, and lay it on them hard and heavy; so will I; and whenever he uses a strong epithet against them, I will use a stronger. But let us return to the gentleman's authority, Du Pin. We come to the council of Nice, which was held A. D. 325, and where 318 bishops were assembled. This council was convoked by the first christian emperor Constantine the Great, at the suggestion, I might have more correctly said the instigation of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, and of course, with his consent. Osius, bishop of Cordova, and two legates, Vitus and Vincentius, presided in it, in the name of the Roman pontiff. The principal doctrine on which the council was assembled to decide, was the divinity of Jesus Christ denied by the Arians. From the manner of the convocation of the council, the circumstance of its having been presided over by the representatives of the pope, or bishop of Rome, the submission of the entire christian world to its decrees, and the authentic records of its transactions which have reached us, we have the most convincing evidences of the reverence which was even then entertained for the successor of St. Peter; and the best practical illustration of the wisdom that established his pre-eminence of rank among his brethren, to watch over the purity of doctrine, the soundness of morals, the uniformity of discipline, and the maintenance of union among the churches. What more direct and satisfactory testimony could we require of the supremacy of the see of Rome, than the distinct recognition of its authority by so venerable an assembly? And what if rival claims were advanced by other sees? This ambitious spirit is as old as Christianity, as ancient as the origin of the human race. The apostles, themselves, strove for the mastery. They contended which of them was the greater. But this rivalry only served, in the end, to establish more firmly the precedency of the claim of St. Peter. In answer to the pretensions of the bishop of Alexandria, the council says to him, "As the bishop of Rome has his primacy in Rome, so the bishop of Alexandria has his primacy in Alexandria." It says to him, "you have no cause to complain—if he has his authority, you have yours; in your respective sees, or churches, you have the chief control; but it is his prerogative, as occupying the place of Peter, to watch over the welfare of all." "Neither," says Du Pin, "DOES IT DISPROVE THE PRIMACY OF ROME." The council offered a sedative to the pride of the bishop of Alexandria, or asserted his authority in his own see, but it does not disprove the primacy of Rome.

What more do you want than what God has caused to be thus recorded here?

The dissension first originated among the patriarchal sees. The counsel took cognizance of it, and decided according to the rules and usages of the apostolic and immediately subsequent ages. From this, whatever follows, it surely does not follow that there was no primacy in Rome.

He says that the bishop of Constantinople assumed to call himself the universal bishop, and that the emperor winked at it. What does this mean? Why that the crafty emperor, and the more subtle bishop intended to compel Rome to acknowledge Constantinople as her equal. This attempt of the emperor and the patriarch illustrates the point at issue, and clears it in fact of any difficulty. They knew that Rome was referred to on every occasion; and that her decision was final. They were jealous of her authority. The manner of this assumption of the bishop of Constantinople, and of the emperor winking at it, are in fact proofs of the supremacy of Rome. Now, thought the proud Greek, I will bring this haughty pontiff of Rome crouching to my feet, I will make him surrender all his authority, and we, the emperor and myself, will divide the earth between us. It was therefore that the bishop made this assumption, and that the emperor *winked* at it. It was in this unjust and intolerable sense of the term UNIVERSAL FATHER, that Gregory who deserves all the praise which has been given him, and more, objected to its assumption. It was thus that he reprobated the title of universal father.

If the bishop of Rome now claims to be called the first pastor in christendom, he pretends to be no lord of the consciences of his brethren, or dictator of the terms of salvation to the servants of God. He acknowledges with humility his own intrinsic nothingness, unless supported by God, and guided and guarded by him in the administration of his eminently responsible office.

He is a father because he breaks the mystic bread, and dispenses the spiritual nourishment of sound doctrine to the souls of the people of God. He is a father because to him we appeal in our doubts, and to him refer in every emergency, as to the vicar of Christ.

The term Universal Father was likewise worthy of the condemnation of Gregory, in the bad sense in which it was assumed by the patriarch of Constantinople, viz. that of lord and master of spiritual power and of the consciences of the brethren, so as not to need or ask the advice of the bishops. The pope never gives a decree without taking counsel from his constitutional advisers, availing himself of the light of present wisdom and past experience. He takes all human means to weigh the subject well and to come to a sound and scriptural conclusion. Discard the pope—sever from the communion of the church of Rome, and you lose all claim, or shadow of claim to a connexion with the apostles. Hear Waddington speaking of the Vaudois—

"In our journey back towards the apostolic times, these separatists conduct us as far as the beginning of the twelfth century; but when we would advance farther, we are intercepted by a broad region of darkness and uncertainty. A spark of hope is indeed suggested by the history of the Vaudois. Their origin is not ascertained by any authentic record, and being immemorial, it *may* have been coeval with the introduction of christianity.

"But since there is not one direct proof of their existence during that long space; since they have never been certainly discovered by the curiosity of any writer, nor detected by the inquisitorial eye of any orthodox bishop nor

named by any pope, or council, or any church record, chronicle, or memorial, we are not justified in attaching any historical credit to their mere unsupported tradition. It is sufficient to prove, that they had an earlier existence than the twelfth century; but that they had then been perpetuated through eight or nine centuries, uncommemorated abroad, and without any national monument to attest their existence, is much more than we can venture, on such evidence, to assert. Here then the golden chain of our apostolic descent disappears, and though it may exist, buried in the darkness of those previous ages, and though some writers have seemed to discern a few detached links which they diligently exhibited, there is still much wanting to complete the continuity." [*Page 554 of the History of the Church from the earliest ages, by Rev. Geo. Waddington. A. M. fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Ferring, in the cathedral church of Chichester, New York edition*, 1835.]

Well if Christ established a church on earth, that church must be *catholic*. "I believe in the holy catholic church," is the language of the apostles and of councils, of Protestants as well as of Catholics. The *true* church must be catholic. What church then is catholic? The universe answers the question—Italy, France, Spain, Austria, Ireland, South America, Canada, five hundred churches lately erected in England, Calcutta, Ceylon, Oceana, all the islands of the Pacific and the Atlantic: even in every country where Protestantism is dominant, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the testimony is given, and the words "I believe in the holy catholic church" are used by the members of the Roman Catholic church, who alone have a right to use them. Applied to any other church they are a misnomer. Protestants cannot employ such language. They are cut up into a thousand discordant and chaotic sects. As no other church but ours is *now* catholic, so no other but ours ever has been or will be catholic. "Christian is my name and Catholic my surname," said Pacian. With love and charity to all men the Roman Catholic church subsists throughout all time, teaches all truth, and gathers into her communion the children of every clime. What she lost in one region, she gained in another. The axe of persecution that lopped off some of her branches, made the vigorous trunk produce the more luxuriously.

"Investigating," says Fletcher, "in those countries, where either christianity has once subsisted, or where it subsists at present—the *monuments* which they exhibit, and interrogating these (*monuments have voices, my brethren, that speak plainly,*)—it will be found that they all loudly attest the greatness and the antiquity of our religion. "*We are Catholics,*" the venerable ruins say, "*and the emblems even, which still adorn us, shew it.*" It is so, likewise, not only in the monuments, which were once, or are yet, sacred to religion, but in a great variety of other vestiges. The proofs of the ancient splendor of Catholicity are legible on almost every object, that has seen the tide of ages roll away,—on the palaces of princes,—on the castles of the great,—on the gates of cities,—on the asylums of charity,—on the tombs of the dead. They may be read in the constitutions and laws of kingdoms—in the foundations and rules of universities,—in the customs and peculiarities of the vulgar. * * * * * *

It is indeed, possible that prejudice may object to those arguments, that "they are very general and indistinct,—proving, it is true, that in almost every nation, and in every age, there has existed a widely diffused religion,—a Catholic religion, but not proving that this religion, its principles and doctrines, were in every age the same—in every age, the identical religion, which the Catholic believes at present." It is the essence of the true religion to remain unchanged; and to have descended, and to descend always, down the stream of time, without corruption or alteration. If, therefore, I undertake distinctly to prove, that the Catholic religion of the present period is indeed, the true religion, then should I also distinctly prove that it has never undergone any alteration, and that it is the same, which, revealed originally to mankind, has, during the course of eighteen centuries, formed always the object of the veneration of the orthodox believer." vol. 2, p. 173

"As it was the design of God, that the true church should be Catholic; so it was also his design, that the true church should always be distinguished by the honorable appellation of *Catholic*:—as it was the will of Jesus Christ, that the establishment which he formed, should extend through every nation, and subsist through every age; so also it was his will, that this establishment should be dignified by a name corresponding to these great characteristics. "I believe," the apostles commanded the faithful in every age to say, "*in the holy* CATHOLIC *Church.*' "*by this name* CATHOLIC," says St. Austin, "*I am retained in the Catholic church,*" "*my name,*" adds St. Pacian, "*is Christian; my surname* CATHOLIC; *and* BY THIS SURNAME, *I am distinguished from all the sects of heresy.* Sermon on the catholicity of the church, page 195, vol. ii. Balt. edit. 1830.

It is certainly, my beloved friends, a very animating circumstance, to view the immensity and the long duration of our church; to see it stretching out its empire through every climate; consoling by its benefits, and enlightening by its doctrines, the remotest corners of the universe: to see it existing through the long lapse of so many ages, unmoved, while the strongest empires sink to ruin; and unshaken, while all things fall in decay around it. It is animating to remark it triumphant over all the powers of darkness, and the exertions of human malice; combating often, it is true, with the storms of persecution and the artifices of heresy; yet combating, always, to come off with victory; riding through the tempest, and exalted by the very means which had been levelled at its depression. Ibid. page 198.

From this contemplation, my christian friends, we may derive the consoling assurance, that happen or befal what may, though the billows of persecution swell and the tide of error rage; every effort to destroy the church shall turn out fruitless. The church, these scenes assure you, is an edifice protected by the hand of the Almighty, a rock fixed on the basis of the divine power amid the sea of human life. The billows of persecution shall swell, the tide of error dash against it in vain. They will no more move it, although they may, indeed, sweep away many of its unguarded members, than the gentlest spray will move the firmest mountain that the ocean laves. I should be sorry to see the misfortune happen, yet could I behold the most furious tempest gathering without one feeling of anxiety for the stability of the church. As the Psalmist says, "*it should come to nothing, like the running water,*" (Ps. lvii.) It would prove but the preparation for fresh conquests. The security of the church amid storms, during the long interval of eighteen centuries, is alone sufficient assurance of its security, amid the fury of future tempest. Ibidem, page 198.

If it can be proved that the Catholic church had not these characteristics, we admit she is not the church of Christ. I shall go to trial on this point. If she has ever ceased to teach the whole doctrine of Christ, to diffuse over all nations, the true christian precepts, or if she has not had a larger body of professors, than any of the sects, that separated in every successive age from her communion, then will I yield the question. But it will try the ingenuity of the gentleman to prove any such thing, and still more, to show in that case, what church was catholic. This difficulty meets him at the very threshold. [Time expired]

Three o'clock, P. M.

Mr. CAMPBELL rises—

My learned and worthy opponent commenced his forenoon speech, saying that he found before him a more easy task than he had expected. Were it a question of rhetoric rather than of logic, I confess I should have more to fear. He has been more accustomed than I, to the *display* of that art. I am rather a matter of fact man, and logic more than rhetoric has occupied my attention.

I apprehend, however, before this discussion is ended he may find his task not quite so easy as he would seem to anticipate. And to me the good book has suggested a caution which I hope always to remem-

ber. It is happily couched in these words, "Let not him that buckleth on his armor boast as he that taketh it off."

But to examine his defence, so far as in it there is reference to my speech, has he not made in the very first effort an unfortunate admission? The name *Catholic* he admits is generic and the name Roman specific,—and that the term *Roman* only indicated the church in which this catholic communion is to be enjoyed: that the universal church is found in the particular, the genus in the species. Thus we can have Greek catholic, English catholic, American catholic, as well as Roman catholic. These particular universals are susceptible of indefinite multiplication. And so the catholicity of Rome is specifically the same with that of England!!

His second admission is equally unfortunate. He did not seem to perceive that he argued for me rather than against me, on the word *father*. He said that it could not be understood literally. So said I. How then must it be used but religiously? Call no man your religious or ecclesiastic Father. He has then fully conceded all that I ask. It is then an absolute prohibition of the Roman Catholic notion of a supreme holy father. To designate any person pope is then a violation of Christ's command.

The gentleman has admitted, somewhat reluctantly however, that the Doway catechism is a standard work, and that the definition of the church is infallibly correct. My argument hitherto has been to shew that the supreme head called pope, being of the essential elements, nay the chief element of the Roman Catholic church, and not found either in the bible or ecclesiastic history for ages after the christian era, the church of Rome is a *sect* in the true import of that word, and not the mother and mistress of all churches, for she cannot be older than her head, unless a body can exist without and before its head, which is impossible. It is not the nature of that head, whether political or ecclesiastic or both, but the simple fact of its existence concerning which we enquire. The nature and claims of the head may hereafter be the subject of examination. That the Roman sect is divided into four parties, touching the supremacy—one affirming that the pope is the fountain of all power political and religious—another teaching that he has only ecclesiastic supremacy—a third party affirming that his ecclesiastic dominion is over all councils, persons and things spiritual, and a fourth party limiting his jurisdiction to a sort of executive presidency—is a proposition susceptible of ample proof, and of much importance, but we wish it to be very distinctly stated that the question now before us is the fact that a head, or universal father, pope or patriarch, is not found in the Roman empire, east or west, for six hundred years, and consequently that during that time that church did not exist, whose four essential elements, are a pope or supreme head, bishops, pastors and laity.

I am the more diffuse on this point because my learned opponent seems to mistake the question or to confound it with another of a different category. He seems to be squinting at infallibility, authority, order in the ministry, rather than looking in the face the simple question, *was there a pope in any church for the first six centuries?* Authority is not infallibility, nor is order, supremacy. I go for authority in the president of the United States, but who infers thence that I hold the president to be infallible! I go for order in the christian church, but what has this to do with the supremacy of the bishop of Rome?

Why, I emphatically ask, does the bishop of Cincinnati confound the question of fact before us with that concerning the Levitical priesthood. I have not agitated such a question.

And what have my views of church order and government to do with the question before us. Why drag these matters into discussion. Did I not distinctly say that I came not here to defend the tenets of any party of Protestants, but the great principles of Protestantism? And what have my views of church order to do with the questions at issue! Of these however the gentleman is wholly misinformed. I am the advocate of order, of a christian ministry, of bishops and deacons in the church. Without order no society can exist, and therefore no reasonable man can object either to order or authority in the church But again I ask what is this to the question in debate!

He gave us too a dissertation on the passage, "lovest thou me more than these." This is certainly gratuitous at this time. I am glad however the gentleman has delivered himself on this text. But this is not the question now. We are seeking for a head for the church, a papal head for the church in the first ages, while our friend is expounding scriptures on other themes.

To the authority of Du Pin the gentleman seems to except. But on what authority does he object? His works are certified by the doctors of the Sorbonne and by the guardians of the Catholic press. Will he say that he is not an authentic historian? Du Pin was born and educated, lived and died and was buried in the Roman Catholic church. The gentleman proved, two or three months ago, that general La Fayette was a Roman Catholic because he was baptized in the church of Rome and buried in consecrated ground. Certainly then Du Pin was all this and more! It matters not whether he was a Jansenist or Jesuit. Both orders have been at different times in good and bad repute. Jansenists have sometimes been proscribed, and Jesuits have been suppressed. But the question is not, was he a good Catholic, but *was he an authentic historian?* For a good Catholic is one thing, and a good historian is another. I wish the gentleman to answer. (Bishop Purcell. I answer emphatically, he was not an authentic historian.)

Then this gentleman and the bishop of Bardstown are at variance. The latter gentleman, if I mistake not, admitted in a discussion published in the Catholic paper of that place, that Du Pin was an authentic historian. I have seen this work repeatedly quoted in discussions between Romanists and Protestants, and I do not recollect to have seen any thing advanced against his authenticity. Mr. Hughes of Philadelphia, but on different grounds than those stated by my opponent, did indeed object to him as a faithful witness in his controversy with Mr. Breckenridge. However while I wish it to go to the public that bishop Purcell has objected to Du Pin as an authentic historian, I will distinctly state that I rely upon him in this controversy only so far as he is sustained by other historians, and therefore I will only quote him in such matters as I know can be sustained from other sources. Other historians record the same fact, and many of the works which Du Pin quotes are not only extant but accessible.

The word *catholic* the gentleman has stated that it is of high antiquity and found at the head of some books of the New Testament. But how came it into the New Testament? Was it Robert Stephens of Paris that placed it there in the 16th century as a sort of general

neading to certain epistles, or was it placed there by the apostles themselves?

Touching the council of Nice and whether Sylvester had any thing to do with its convocation, may hereafter be worthy of discussion; at present this is not before us. The *decree* of the council and its *convocation* are distinct things.

Of the texts relied on by me to dispose of the pretensions of supremacy, the gentleman has taken special exception to Ep. iv. 11. and would have different orders of ecclesiastic *powers*, rather than *gifts* for the edification of the church and the fitting of saints for the work of the ministry, to be contained in that passage. But the text says *gifts* and not *lordships*. Of these gifts vouchsafed by the ascended Savior the first was apostles. "He gave first apostles, secondarily prophets," and here again "he gave some apostles and some prophets." No supremacy is expressed of an individual. It is not ranks of authorities like civil or military functionaries, such as magistrates, aldermen, constables, &c., but gifts of light and knowledge and grace, the splendid gifts of the Holy Spirit; gifts of teaching, preaching, exhorting, and setting up the tabernacle or church. The apostles had all authority and all gifts themselves; but they needed assistants and a distribution of labor, and not an hierarchy, in laying the foundation and in fitting saints for the work of the christian ministry.

Having now touched all the relevant points in the Bishop's opening speech, I hasten to my argument.

On examination of the New Testament, the primitive fathers, the councils both provincial and general, down to the close of the 6th century, we do not find in the whole territory claimed by our opponents as yet, the idea or name of a supreme head, pope, or vicar of Christ.

My learned antagonist has not produced any such document, and doubtless he knows if there be any such authority now extant, and would produce it.

The strong expressions of *Saint* Gregory in opposition to the title shew what a singular novelty it was in Rome during "his pontificate," and his bold declaration not only of the arrogance and blasphemy of the title, but of its aspect to all the bishops, as annulling their equality, sufficiently prove that he rightly appreciated its true meaning and its hostility to the genius of that simplicity and humility which comported with the servants of Christ. So far then as we have examined the evidence on hand, the defence of the Bishop, the argument as now developed stands thus:—a pope, or universal patriarch, is the first essential element of the Roman Catholic sect. But there was no such personage in existence for 600 years after Christ, therefore there was no church of Rome, in the sense of the creed, during the first six centuries.

We are now prepared to narrate the circumstances which ushered into being the pope of Rome. Mauritius the emperor of the East died at the hand of Phocas a centurion of his own army. Mauritius favored the pretensions of the bishop of Constantinople, and turned a deaf ear to the importunities of Gregory on the subject of taking from bishop John the title of universal father, so painful to the pride and humility of the great Gregory. For the *saint* had written to the emperor on the arrogance of John, metropolitan of the great diocese of the east. Mauritius was supplanted and the throne usurped by Phocas. Gregory rejoiced at his death, and hailed the elevation of his

murderer to the throne. Gregory consecrated him, in the church of St. John the Baptist at Constantinople, and Phocas, as a reward for his consecration and favorable regards, conferred upon the successor of Gregory, Boniface the third, the title of *universal patriarch* in the very sense in which it had been repudiated by Gregory. Thus in the year 606 two years after the death of the saint, the first pope was placed in the chair of the Galilean fisherman, if indeed Peter had ever sat in a chair inRome.

Concerning the consecration of Phocas, Mr. Gibbon thus remarks:

"The senate and clergy obeyed his summons, and as soon as the patriarch was assured of his orthodox belief, he consecrated the successful usurper in the church of St. John the Baptist. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses: the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donation, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome." Gibbon's Decline and Fall Rom. Emp. vol. viii. p. 269.

But the infidel has good reason to laugh at the saint, where he records the exultation of Gregory at the death of Mauritius.

"As a subject and a christian it was the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government; but the joyful applause with which he salutes the fortunes of the assassin, has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint. The successor of the apostles might have inculcated with decent firmness the guilt of blood, and the necessity of repentance: he is content to celebrate the deliverance of the people and the fall of the oppressor; to rejoice that the piety and benignity of Phocas have been raised by Providence to the imperial throne; to pray that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and to express a wish, perhaps a prophecy, that after a long and triumphant reign, he may be transferred from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom." Id. ib. p. 211.

It looks indeed as if Gregory had permitted the recollection of the conduct of Mauritius towards his rival to mingle with his exultations at the elevation of Phocas. When we recollect that Mauritius, his wife, four sons and three daughters were immolated at the shrine of the ambition of Phocas because he feared a rival, we are astonished that saint Gregory could have called heaven and earth to rejoice in his exaltation to the throne of the Cæsars. His words are:

"Benignitatem vestræ pietatis ad imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus. Lætentur cœli et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus universæ reipublicæ populus nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat," &c. Greg. I. xi. ep. 38, ind. vi.

It is not so honorable to the successors of Boniface the third, that the title of pope in its supreme import, was conferred by so mean a wretch as Phocas the usuper and murderer, and rather as a reward for the temporizing and easy virtue of Gregory the first. Boniface, though in the catalogue of popes he stands the 66th in descent from Peter, was in truth the first pope of Rome in the sense which is placed in the Catechisms and standards of the present church of Rome.

As yet the power was only ecclesiastic. But power is naturally cumulative, and especially ecclesiastic. Let any person be imagined to wear at his girdle the keys of heaven, and the sword of spiritual power, let him have kings and princes bowing at his footstool, and we shall soon see him like Napoleon, stretching out his hand not only to grasp the gorgeous crown of ecclesiastic but of political power.

But to complete the story of the origin of the papal power we must add a few words on the assumptions of Saint Zachary, or Stephen the Second. Pepin the father of Charlemagne was in the cabinet of Childeric the king of France in those days. His master was a feeble prince and he was an ambitious minister. He knew the power of the pope, and before he dared to seize the throne of his master he deemed

it *politic* to consult the vicar of Christ. He placed himself before him in this casuistic style. "Sir," said he, "whether is he that has the name of prince without the power, or he who has the power without the name, the rightful sovereign of a nation?" The pope answered him according to his wish. He was then absolved from all self crimination, he seized the crown of his master, and rewarded the pope with some temporal power:—certain states in Italy which by his son Charles the great were augmented, till he had the dominion of the ancient Heruli—the Ostrogoths and the Exarchate of Ravennah superadded to his spiritual jurisdiction. Then did he assume the triple crown and the two swords, and stood forth in full attire as filling all the prophetic characters of the supreme head of that politico-ecclesiastic corporation called the church of Rome.—[Time expired.]

Half past 3 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL—

Fellow citizens—My friend objects to my explanation of the term "Roman Catholic." He observes that it has turned out no explanation at all. His difficulty of apprehension on this particular point, is to me, however, perfectly intelligible. The very name of our church is a proof of its unity and universality; and this, as he dislikes it, he cannot, of course, understand. The word 'catholic' in ancient days was used, as many other old and new words in Webster's dictionary, for more purposes than one. Its true and principal sense was easily ascertained in its application to the whole catholic church of Christ. It was also used to designate the authority of certain chief national churches, to distinguish them from inferior churches in the same districts, and to mark the superiority of archbishops and patriarchs over their brethren in the Episcopacy. The name of "Roman Catholic" shewed the bond of union which bound all these various churches in the profession of the faith of the chief see of the entire christian world. Hence it always brought to the believer's mind, in every clime, the church which was the head,—the great, primitive, senior church, the church of Rome; and as more people became converted to the faith, they were called by their different and distinct appellations, as English Roman Catholics—American Roman Catholics—French Roman Catholics, &c.

As to the prohibition from calling any man '*Father*,' &c. I said it was not meant literally, and this he seizes as an admission that it is a prohibition from calling "Father" in an ecclesiastical sense. This may be true or not, but it does not prohibit us from calling the head of our church "father" as one who cherishes, instructs, and otherwise acts the part of a father towards us; as he who adopts an orphan child is, in a figurative sense, his father, though not literally married to his mother. The gentleman cannot therefore understand me as admitting his argument in my previous explanation. But this is matter too insignificant to waste more time on it.

Mr. Campbell tells us the church had no head for 600 years. This is a strange representation! The church was then a headless body. I never heard of a body without a head, on which all the members depend for the vital influences. But was there indeed no head to the church? Was not Jesus Christ the head? and I say further that his servant on earth, his humble servant, was the pope. The language of Christ himself, "on this rock will I build my church," refers not

to the divine head of the church in Heaven, but to the representative of his divine commission on earth. I affirm that what Christ thought necessary in the days of the apostles, is necessary now; and the more remote we are from that day, the more necessary does it become. Jesus Christ well knew that there must be scandals and errors; and he determined his church should not be left headless. We know this head exists and where it resides; but we are not slaves in the Catholic church. We acknowledge no mere human authority between us and God. We are as free and untrammeled as any people under heaven. It is not the man, but the authority, we respect. The man may err, and if the pope claims a power not belonging to him, we soon remind him of his mistake. How this lesson has been taught to a few popes, the history of the church will show.

My friend now contradicts the statement he made to-day. He first argued that the introduction of patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, deacons, and so on, into the church, was of exotic growth—and, as if he had forgotten what he had previously denied, he turns round, and tells us, nearly in the same breath, that he goes for bishops and deacons and orders. So far then, Mr. Campbell is a good Catholic, and I congratulate him on this advance towards the truth. [Symptoms of applause in the audience, were here manifested, but were immediately checked by the moderators; and bishop Purcell besought them, once for all, to abstain from the least demonstration of the kind during the debate. It was improper in a discussion of this character, and the house being greatly crowded, much inconvenience would follow, and the debate could not go on.]

As to the authority he has produced here (Du Pin's Ecclesiastical history) I will remark that I consider Du Pin a learned man. I would even select him as a splendid illustration of the strength imparted to the human intellect by the Catholic intellectual discipline. He was truly a prodigy of learning and of precision of style. But there was a plague spot, a gangrene upon him, which must forever neutralize his authority as a Catholic. Before the gentleman pronounced his name we had a flourish of rhetoric, and a labored eulogy upon my tact in managing this controversy. For my part, I must say that I am quite a novice in these matters—I am not accustomed to debate. My friend has complimented me upon oratorical powers to which I lay no claim. If I have any advantage, I owe it not to practice but to the force of truth.

Du Pin, on whom my friend relies as Catholic authority, recognized by the church, was in constant correspondence with Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury. He tried every stratagem to bring about a re-union of the church of England, and the church of Rome. Leibnitz, and many a distinguished name, had previously labored in the same vocation. But Revd. Dr. Du Pin's motives were, unfortunately, suspicious. He proposed as the basis of the re-union, the abolition of auricular confession, of religious vows, of the Lenten fast and abstinence, of the pope's supremacy, and of the celibacy of the clergy. He was himself, like Cranmer, secretly married; and after his death, his pretended wife came publicly forward to assert her right to his goods and chattels. And this is Catholic authority!

It is said these papers were discovered in his study after his death. But he was censured by pope Clement XI. even during his life-time; and when, as I have stated, Louis XIV. removed him from among the Doctors of the Sorbonne, Clement approved the act.

If my friend can produce Roman Catholic authority, let him do so. But let him not produce one that approaches with a mask. The authority of Du Pin I have challenged on just grounds; but this has nothing to do with the views I have stated upon the great question we are discussing.

We are told that the commission spoken of in Ephesians, 4th chapter, "To some he gave apostles, &c." confers, not powers, but simply gifts. This I deny. St. Paul tells us authority was given to the rulers of his church by Christ, not for their sakes but *that we may be no longer children tossed to and fro by every wind* of doctrine. They were not, then, merely gifts, they were powers and authorities to regulate the church, and to rule the people of God. These commissions are the foundation of the church established on earth by Christ, before he ascended on high. They were necessary, as the more solid parts of a temple are first laid, that the whole building may afterwards have strength, consistency, and symmetry. I deny that the church ever has been or could be without a foundation. The foundation is *at least* as necessary as the superstructure. Christ made Peter, therefore, the rock of his church, and was himself the corner stone whereon that rock rested, as did the whole edifice securely rest upon the rock.

Why has Mr. Campbell anticipated the subject of the third or fourth day of this discussion, and brought up the pope as the man of sin—the sea monster of Daniel—the youngest horn of the beast? &c. For aught I know, he may prove the pope to be the sea serpent—no doubt his powers of logic are adequate to the task. We shall see.

Again—the pope is not a tyrant, nor does he claim the title of Universal Father, in the sense in which Gregory rebuked John for claiming it. Mr. Campbell has solved the question beforehand, in stating the arrogant pretensions of the bishop of C. P. who pretended that all authority proceeded from him. I do not derive all my authority from the pope. The bishops of the United States consult together. They propose candidates for the vacant sees; and they send to Rome the names of three clergymen, marked according to their judgment, "Worthy, Worthier, Worthiest." The pope generally trusts to their wisdom, and acquiesces in their choice. It was thus that a certain testimony of my fitness to succeed the venerable Fenwick, as bishop of this diocese, was forwarded to Rome. The sovereign pontiff, Gregory XVI. ratified the selection of the prelacy of the United States, and expedited the brief, or letters, in virtue of which I was ordained a bishop; but my power to consecrate, to baptize, and to perform other episcopal functions, comes not from the pope; it comes like that of the apostles, directly from God.

There are other denominations, besides the Catholic, that contend for the necessity of apostolical succession of orders and mission, and these too are the objects of my friend's sarcasm. I select only two—the Episcopalians and the German Reformed.

In the last number of his Millennial Harbinger, in speaking of the Episcopalian bishop Otey of Tennessee, he asks "why is bishop Otey silent? He either feels that his castle of Episcopalianism has been demolished by the editor of the Harbinger (Mr. Campbell) or he does not. If he feels that it has been overthrown, as an honest man he ought to acknowledge it. But if he still thinks that he is adorning "*the doctrine of God*" by sustaining Episcopalianism, let him shew his strength to such as wish to read both sides of the question. It is

an apostolic admonition to "contend earnestly for the faith delivered to the saints." If he is sent of God, as he professes to be, as a faithful watchman on Zion's walls, he should not remain mute; but cry aloud, seeing his opinions have been *politely* assailed. Percontator."

Answer.—Many reasons might be *imagined* for bishop Otey's silence, but I will venture upon only one, viz. that like M. de La Motte (I presume the witty and pious bishop of Amiens) he is waiting for a *reply to his silence.* How, &c.

Again—Mr. Lancellot Bell, addressing the editor, Mr. Campbell (vid. Mil. Harbinger, p. 570.) says "I accompanied brother L. to Cavetown, where he addressed the citizens, &c. Two of the "called and sent" of the German Reformed church, considering, I suppose, their "craft in danger," came to the place, and I spoke against these things, contradicting, who were going—to express it in the language of some of the people, to "lick us up like salt," &c. &c.

Mr. Campbell, therefore, has changed his tone; he is now in favor of orders; and this change has apparently taken place within a few days.

I have proved that the headship of the church was no new thing in the beginning of the fourth century. Du Pin spoke of the decision of the council of Nice, respecting the contest between the bishops of Alexandria and of Rome, but said that this decision of the council did not disprove the primacy of Rome, so that this doctrine is at least as old as the year 318, when Sylvester of Rome presided by his legate Osius of Cordova at the council of Nice. This shows that the authority of Rome was then recognized. He spoke of the council of Chalcedon. I have here an authentic historian recognized by the Catholics, and one who tells sharp truths of individual Catholics, when he conceives them to be in the wrong. It is Barronius. In his Annals, year of Christ 451, of pope Leo, 12th, twenty seventh of Valentine and 2nd of Marcian, he says that in this council the authority of the see of Peter was recognized. 360 bishops met in this council. Circumstances not permitting pope Leo to assist at it in person, he sent three legates, two bishops and a priest, to preside in his name. At the first session Paschasinus, bishop of Lillibeum, and one of the legates of the pope, preferred charges against Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, for his uncanonical conduct in the conventicle of Ephesus.

Dioscorus, thus accused and convicted, was compelled to leave his seat and sit in an inferior place in the middle of the assembly. Subsequently a sentence of deposition was pronounced against him; and as his guilt was manifest, he left the assembly and appeared no more. The fathers of the council unanimously exclaimed that the doctrinal decisions of Leo were those of Peter himself—"Petrus per Leonem locutus est"—Peter hath spoken by the mouth of Leo. (vid. Reeves, 1st vol. 263.) the fathers of the council directed to St. Leo a synodical letter, in which they acknowledge him for the interpreter of St. Peter, for their head and guide." (vid. Barronius, ibid.) Now here is the authority of the first general council of Nice, as quoted by Labbe. Greek bishops say:

COUNCILS.

"The Roman church has always had the *primacy*." (Labbe, t. 2. p. 41.)

The second general council and first of Constantinople says:

"Let the bishop of Constantinople have the first share of honor *after* the bishop of Rome." (Alexandria was entitled to the second rank.)

The third general council of Ephesus says:

"St. Peter, the prince and head of the apostles, the foundation of the Catholic church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, and the power of loosing and of binding sin was given to him, which to the present time, as it ever has done, subsists and exercises judgment in his successors."

The fourth general council of Chalcedon, writing to St. Leo, says:

"We therefore entreat you, to honor our judgment by your decrees; and as we have adhered to our head in good things, so let your supremacy supply what becometh (or is wanting) for thy children."

The council of Florence in which the Greek and Latin bishops were present, thus speaks:

"We define that the holy apostolic see and the Roman pontiff hold the primacy over the entire earth, and that he is the successor of the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole church,' &c. T. 13. p. 515.

The general council of Trent, speaks in the following terms:

"The sovereign pontiffs, in virtue of the supreme power delivered to them over the entire church, *had a right* to reserve the judgment of certain more grievous crimes to their own tribunal."

Melancthon holds the following language, as quoted by Bossuet in his history of the variations. L. 5, n. 24.

"Our people agree, that the ecclesiastical polity, in which are recognized superior bishops of many churches and the bishop of Rome superior to all bishops, is permitted. Thus there is no contest respecting the supremacy of the pope and the authority of bishops, and also the pope and the bishops could easily preserve this authority, for it is necessary for a church to have leaders to maintain order, to keep an eye upon those called to the ecclesiastical state, and upon the doctrine of the priests, and to exercise ecclesiastical judgment, so that if there were no bishops we would have to make them. The monarchy of the pope would also serve much to preserve amongst many nations the unity of doctrine; wherefore we could easily agree as to the supremacy of the pope if we could agree in every thing else."

Leibnitz, as quoted by De Starck, p. 22, speaks as follows:

"*As God* is the God of order, and as by divine appointment, the body of the only, apostolic, Catholic church can be maintained by a single, hierarchical and universal government, it follows, that there must be a supreme spiritual chief, who shall be confined within proper bounds, established by the same (divine) right, and invested with all the power and *dictatorial* authority necessary for the preservation of the church."

FATHERS.

St. Irenæus of Lyons, the disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself appears to have been consecrated by St. John the Evangelist, repeatedly urges this argument against his contemporary heretics. He says:

"We can count up those who were appointed bishops in the churches by the apostles and their successors down to us, none of whom taught this doctrine. But as it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of bishops in the different churches, we refer you to the tradition of that greatest, most ancient, and universally known church, founded at Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul, and which has been preserved there through the succession of its bishops, down to the present time."

Tertullian, who also flourished in the same century (year 150), argues in the same manner and challenges certain heretics in these terms:

"Let them produce the origin of their church; let them display the succession of their bishops, so that the first of them may appear to have been ordained by an *apostolic man*, who persevered in their communion."

St. Athanasius writes to St. Felix, the Roman Pontiff:

"For this purpose Christ placed you and your predecessors to guide the ark and to have the care of all the churches, that you may help us."

St. Cyprian, in his 55th Epistle, holds the following language:

"They dare to sail and carry letters to the chair of Peter and the principal church, whence sacerdotal unity proceeds."

St. Augustin, who wrote in the fifth century, mentions the following among other motives of credibility in favor of the Catholic religion.

"There are many other things which keep me in the bosom of the Catholic church. The agreement of different people and nations keeps me there. The authority established by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed by antiquity, keeps me there. The succession of bishops in the see of St. Peter, the apostle (to whom our Lord after his resurrection, committed his sheep to be fed) down to the present bishop, keeps me there. Finally the very name of CATHOLIC which, among so many heresies, this church alone possesses, keeps me there."

St. Jerome in his 4th Epistle to pope Damasus says:

"I, following no leader but Christ, am in communion with your holiness, that is, with the chair of Peter. Whoever gathereth not with you scattereth, that is, whoever is not of Christ is of anti-Christ."

This is, in substance, the testimony of the bishops throughout the world, in every age to the present time.—[Time expired.]

Four o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

On the subject of the emendation of the term Roman Catholic, by prefixing the word English, &c., I am willing that my friend should have all the advantage to be derived from that explanation. I am willing that he should appear before the public with that explanation, if he thinks it can help the matter. On the same principle he may say the Philadelphia Pittsburg church of Cincinnati. The church, I argued, had no mortal head for six hundred years. He certainly could not have understood me as denying that Christ was the head of *his* church! I admit that Christ is the immortal head of the church which is his body, and Christ is her only head. Christ's church requires a living and omnipresent head. She needs not two heads, for her head is the head of all principality and power. Can the pope be omnipresent, keeping order in all his dominions?

I was surprised at the gentleman's hypothesis, that if I argued that the church had no visible and human head for six hundred years, I then asserted that Christ was not the head of his church. I spoke not of Christ, but of the great hierarch on earth, who claims to be the fountain of all power and authority in the church. Could he not understand me?

The gentleman says, that the Catholics are as free as others. I ask have they the same liberty to read the Bible, to think and act for themselves, as have the Protestants? I am sorry that he seemed to take advantage of my acknowledging myself a friend to bishops and deacons in the church. In my enumeration of the different orders, in the present Roman church, I mentioned *Arch*-bishops and *Arch*-deacons; but he did not hear me say bishops and deacons. They were on purpose left out of that enumeration, that I might not fall into the error which he has imagined for me.

I dispose of the gentleman's extract from the Millennial Harbinger and of his learned remarks upon them, by informing him that he has mistaken the writer: I am not the author of the article in question.

Still I must ask, why this evasion of the question in debate? Why seek to excite the odium theologicum, on account of some distorted theory unjustly attributed to me—on subjects, too, wholly foreign to this debate! Are these the weapons by which my learned opponent is compelled to defend the "*mother* and *mistress* of all churches" from

the charge of unscriptural, and unfounded assumptions? Let no one imagine, however, that I am at all opposed to order and government in the church. As far as concerns oversight, or the having of bishops to preside over the flock, I am an Episcopalian. I am for having presbyters or elders in every church. I do not believe in a church without presbyters or bishops. So far I am both a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian.

On the subject of the primacy of Rome, the gentleman quoted Baronius, and snarled at Du Pin. But it is too late for any bishop of Rome, or of England to stand up in this nineteenth century and tell us that Du Pin is not an authentic historian. My friend intimates that the certificates in the preface were suborned. What a charge on the learned and venerable author of this work!

[*Bishop Purcell here said, that those certificates being in the book proved nothing:—that they might have been put there by the printer.*]

I will now read these attestations and vouchers that you may judge how gratuitous are the objections and insinuations of the bishop.

THE APPROBATION OF THE DOCTORS OF THE SORBONNE.

"The whole world has openly declared the esteem which they think due to the *New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, that we could not but be sensible of the complaisance shewn to us, since the judgment we had formed of it was followed, supported and authorized by that of the public.

* * * * * * * * * *

"All those who have already read them, will here find what will recall to their memory many things they may have forgotten, and will see with pleasure, that our author has reduced their doctrines to certain principles, by which they show their solidity and coherence. Those who wish to read them will here meet with what will save them much time and trouble; and those that are engaged in that long and wearisome journey, will at least have the advantage of a faithful and experienced guide, who will lead them only through paths equally safe and known. Both the one and the other will meet with a piece of criticism which is always clear, prudent, and upright; distinguishes what is certain from that which is false or doubtful; never precipitates the judgment, nor lays down simple conjectures in place of demonstrative proofs; gives to every thing what it merits, purely on its own account; and the better to attend to reason, banishes all prejudices and looks at nothing in its search after truth, but truth itself; nor condemns, only, where it cannot excuse.

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"Given at Paris, August 18th, 1688.

BLAMPIGNON, Rector of St. Merris.
HIDEUX, Rector of St. Innocents."

APPROBATION OF THE ROYAL CENSOR.

"By the order of my lord Chancellor; I have read a book, entitled "*A History of the church and of Ecclesiastical Authors in the sixteenth century*," by Messieur Lewis Ellies Du Pin, Priest, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, and Regius Professor of Philosophy: Containing the History of the Church, and of ecclesiastical Authors, and from the year 1550, to the year 1600; in which I find nothing to hinder its being printed.

"Given this 18th day of *January*, 1703.

BLAMPIGNON, Curate of St. Merris."

APPROBATION OF THE DOCTORS OF DIVINITY OF THE FACULTY OF PARIS.

"We whose names are under written, Doctors of Divinity of the Faculty of Divinity of Paris, certify, that we have examined a book, entitled "A History of the Church, and of ecclesiastical Authors, in the sixteenth century;" by Messieur Lewis Ellies Du Pin, Priest, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, and Regius Professor of Philosophy: and that we have found nothing therein contrary to the Catholic faith, or to good manners. In assurance whereof, we have set our hands this 20th day of January, 1703.

BLAMPIGNON, Curate of St. Merris
HIDEUX, Curate of St. Innocents."

I put it now to the good sense of my audience, whether such testimonies are to be set aside, by saying that the printer may have forged or printed them on his own responsibility.

The divine warrant for the primacy of the pope is not the question on which the gentleman read from Barronius. There are two things in every history,—the statement of facts, and the comment on those facts. The opinion of the historian is like the opinion of the reader; but the facts stated are common property; and these are the proper materials of *his* work. Barronius does not, however, on the point in debate, state a *fact* contrary to Du Pin. There were, indeed, primacies at Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem. But the primacy of a metropolitan, and the doctrine of an universal primacy over all metropolitans at any one place, is a different matter. I could not understand in what sense he meant to be understood when he said Gregory could not go for primacy in "that sense." Was there a peculiar mysterious meaning attached to the claim or title which Gregory reprobated? It has not been proved that any contemporary understood it so. I affirm that there was not an intelligent Catholic of that day who understood the title of universal patriarch, in any other sense than that in which, it is understood among us now. The person first established in the primacy of Rome exercised a universal superintendency over the church exactly similar to that first claimed by the bishop of Constantinople.

My friend says, 'the author from whom he read you states the fact of such a primacy early in the Roman Church.' If we examine the authority we shall see, it is nothing but the opinion of a fallible man; and that opinion contrary to all ancient history. I affirm that there is no ecclesiastical historian of authority, who attests the fact, which he is desirous to prove. It is one thing to state a fact, as a historian, and another to state an opinion or commentary on a fact. The question before us, is not the metropolitan primacy of Rome, or Antioch, or Alexandria; but the universal primacy of the whole church!

I admit, as to the council of Nice, what it was said Du Pin asserted, viz. 'that the sixth canon does not deny the primacy of Rome.' But Du Pin goes further,—(and why did not the gentleman read all that Du Pin asserts?) I read it all. I told the whole truth respecting it—the gentleman has told you but the half of it—Du Pin says "this canon does not preclude the idea:" but "*neither*," says he, "*does it establish it.*" I am for quoting the whole authority. Du Pin, as a Catholic, was endeavoring to find some authority for supporting the antiquity of the primacy of the see of Rome. He is examining the canons of the council carefully, and he says that though this canon does not preclude the primacy, "YET NEITHER DOES IT ESTABLISH IT." It afforded him nothing for or against it. And what other decree or council did establish it?! That is a secret the bishop will never reveal.

Let us now return to my argument. I left off at the year 750, and was in pursuit of the day, when the present church of Rome began. I hasten to establish it.

It would be both tedious and unnecessary to read, or narrate the quarrels between Nicholas of Rome and Photius of Constantinople, on the vital question who shall be the greatest? which greatly prepared the way for the grand schism. We have not time for this, as we are now, before we sit down, to give you the day and date of the

separation of the Roman church from the Greek church, which must be regarded as the day of her separate existence, when she became what she now is, *a schism*, or *sect*.

There was a violent contest between the patriarch of Constantinople and the patriarch of Rome, or pope, if you please, (for I state *emphatically*, that the idea of a supreme head of the church had never been digested in the east, and though the eastern church may have submitted, or acquiesced for the time being, she never did consent to it). The promotion of the layman Photius, gifted and splendid as he was, to the primacy of Constantinople, greatly vexed his holiness of Rome. Indeed, from the time of Victor, bishop of Rome, A. D. 197, who assumed to exercise jurisdiction out of his proper diocese, in respect to the observance of Easter, there never was a cordial feeling of unity, or co-operation between the eastern and western portions of the church. The arrogance of Victor, called for strong expressions of insubordination on the part of the Asiatic brethren, who claimed for themselves as much license to dictate to the western, as he had to the eastern church.

The "Catholic" body was not yet divided into two great masses. Photius had charge of the church of Constantinople. Nicholas of Rome was indignant that a layman should hold the high dignity of patriarch of the eastern church, however the emperor and the church might think. To make matters worse, they excommunicated each other, which laid the foundation of dissentious and bad feelings, which to this very day, never have been atoned. For the jealousies and rivalries of these two bishops never slumbered nor slept, till the church was divided into what have since been called the Greek and Latin churches. All historians, give substantially the same account of this matter. I will read an extract or two from Du Pin.

"Though the Latin and Greek churches were not in close communion with each other ever since the affair of *Photius*, yet they did not proceed to an open rupture till the time of pope *Leo* IX. and of *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*. This breach began by a letter which the latter wrote in the year 1053, in his own name, and in the name of *Leo* archbishop of *Acridia* and of all *Bulgaria*, to *John* bishop of *Trani* in *Apulia*, that he might communicate it to the pope and to all the western church. In this letter they reproved the *Latins*, (1) Because they made use of unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist. (2) Because they fasted on *Saturdays* in *Lent*. (3) Because they eat the blood of beasts, and things strangled. (4) Because they did not sing *Allelujah* in *Lent*." &c. &c. Vol. ii. p. 234.

The patriarch of Constantinople first anathematized Leo IX. ecclesiastically cursed him and his party, and this may have provoked severer measures against the Greeks than were at first contemplated by the Latins. It is, however, an important fact, that *the Greeks were the first excommunicators*.

The pope of Rome sent three legates to Constantinople, under pretence of healing the divisions and strifes existing, who had, secretly in their pockets, a bull of excommunication against the patriarch and his party. They were instructed to exhort him to *yield*; but if they found him incorrigible, they were to fulminate against him the dread anathema. After a fruitless attempt to bring over the patriarch by mild means, they entered the church of St. Sophia, at noon day, on the 16th of July, in the year 1054, and mounting the altar read aloud the bull of excommunication, before the people, and then departed, shaking off the dust of their feet against the patriarch, his city and people. The bull speaks on this wise:

"The Holy Apostolic see of Rome, which is the chief of the whole world, to which as to the head belongs in a more especial manner the care of all the churches; has sent us to this royal city in the quality of its legates, for the welfare and peace of the church, that as it is written, we should go down and see whether the cries which pierce its ears from this great city be true or no.

Let therefore the emperors, clergy, senate and people of this city of Constantinople know, that we have here found more good to excite our joy, than evil to raise our sorrow. For as to the supporters of the empire, and the principal citizens, the city is wholly christian and orthodox: but as for Michael, who took upon him the false title of patriarch, and his adherents, we have found that they have sown discord and heresy in the midst of this city * * * because they rebaptized, as did the Arians, those who had been baptized in the name of the blessed trinity, and particularly the Latins; because *with the Donatists they maintain that the Greek church is the only true church, and that the sacrifices and baptism of none else are valid.*"

* * * * * * * *

The Greek church, be it noted with all distinctness, did stand upon this point, that *she* was *the only true church; and that no ordinance, baptism or the eucharist, was at all valid, unless administered by her authority.*

I will read a little further:

"Michael having been advertized of these errors" &c. &c. "refused to appear before, or to have any conference with us, and has likewise forbad our entrance into the churches to perform divine service therein forasmuch as he had formerly shut up the churches of the Latins, calling them *Azymitæ*, persecuting and excommunicating them, all which reflected on the holy see, in contempt whereof he styled himself ŒCUMENICAL or UNIVERSAL PATRIARCH. Wherefore not being able any longer to tolerate such an unheard of abuse as was offered to the holy apostolical see, and looking upon it as a violation of the Catholic faith in several instances, &c., "We do subscribe to the anathema which our most holy father the pope has denounced against Michael and his adherents, if they do not retract their errors." &c. Id. ib. p. 236.

If then, there be any truth in history, from that day the present sect of the church of Rome began its existence.

It never was fully, or cordially conceded by the Greek church, that the pope was, or ought to be, the universal father; and it may be affirmed in all truth, that this was the real cause of the schism.

To recapitulate, thus far, in seeking for the papal head, so essential to the Roman church, we find it not in the New Testament, in the ancient fathers, in the canons of the first general councils, nor in the history of the church, till the commencement of the seventh century. On the authority of Barronius, it is said that Phocas gave the title to Boniface the 3rd in the year 606. We have also seen, that Pepin, another usurper, gave temporal estates and political dominion to the popes about the middle of the 8th century, and that on the 16th of July 1054 the Western or Roman half of the church, after having been first anathematized by the Eastern or Greek half, did solemnly separate itself from the communion of the Greek church by an anathema. Hence, both the origin and the name of the church of Rome.—[Time expired.]

Half-past 4 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

My friend Mr. Campbell has fought a noble battle for me. I shall prove that presently. Gibbon was an infidel, and became so because his father would not allow him to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. He was a prodigy of mind, and his intellect was so precocious that even when only sixteen years old, he read, I think

it was, Bossuet's Universal History, by which he was convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion. His father (sad proof of the restraints on liberty of conscience, as exemplified in Protestant communities) persecuted him for this, and sent him to Lausanne, in Switzerland, where, under the close surveillance of Pavillard a Calvinist minister, he was confined, debarred the reading of Catholic books, and fed on bread and water, till at last he yielded his creed for better fare. He thus became an infidel, and wrote against all religions. But a man who could thus shrink from duty to that faith which he believed true, because he was persecuted, was not fit to appreciate the beauty of the religion that had attracted him; nor the sublime testimony rendered to its divinity by its martyrs' blood. If he could thus prove recreant to the only one which he loved, no wonder he became opposed to all.

Such are the authorities against which I have to militate.

The gentleman told us that he would put his finger upon the precise day and date, as recorded in history, when the Roman church separated from the holy and ancient apostolic church, but he has not kept his word. I warrant that that pledge will never be redeemed. (Mr. Campbell here explained that he had fixed it at the 16th July, 1054.) If then the Catholic church ceased to be the true church in 1054, where was the church of Christ? Where was the true Catholic church, from which the *Roman* Catholic church separated? "Behold I am ALWAYS with you," says Christ, "and I will send you another Paraclete who will abide with you ALL DAYS." Matth. xxviii. 20.

If the true church was no where—if Christ had no witness on earth, his promises have failed; and Revelation is a solecism. A church, unless it be conspicuous, unless every enquirer can have access to it, is of no use as a witness of truth to mankind. If hid, how can it testify of the true doctrine of Christ to all nations? But mark the splendid testimony in favor of the purity and watchfulness of the Roman Catholic church, afforded by history. How did the schism of the Greek church begin? A layman Photius intruded and declared himself the head of the church. This single fact is a splendid argument of itself, to prove the necessity of a supreme head to watch over the church. To use a Scriptural phrase, he was like a faithful sentinel upon the walls of Zion, to sound the warning to the world, or, if you will, not to resemble "a dumb dog," but to bark at the approach of the thief, who came not in at the gate, but came by another way into the fold, and he did bark at him; and Photius and Michael Cerularius and other Greek intruders and errorists, not content with assuming a power not belonging to them, actually cursed and anathematized the pope of Rome, a proof perhaps of the amiable character the gentleman gives the enemies of order and of the pope, but a sufficient reason why the pope should exert all his authority in protecting the church from their usurpations.

But the three legates to whom the commission was entrusted, carried the bull of excommunication in their pockets, and they are made to appear very treacherous because they did not produce it at once, but tried by pacific measures to bring about a reconciliation. Is it in the gentleman's estimation, then, an evidence of treachery, to resort to persuasive means with an enemy, before appealing to the sword and involving one's country in war? Suppose the president of the United States sends a minister to a foreign country to obtain the settlement

of a disputed question. Does that minister begin by declaring war, by forcing his proposal with a bayonet down the throats of the people to whom he is accredited? No, he tries every mild means first. The contrary course would be neither politic nor wise, neither humane nor in accordance with the rules of civilized society. The great and the peculiar character of the people of the United States, is neither to provoke nor to brook aggression. If her rights are violated, she endeavors to convince the violator of his injustice, to disabuse him of his error, to win him back to a sense of rectitude by persuasion and just remonstrance. If this fails, she resorts to arms, and though she loves peace she is prepared for war. In a word she is terribly peaceful. Now mark the course of the legates. They entreat Michael to reconsider his conduct, they urge every argument that zeal can suggest, but finding all their efforts fruitless, they afterwards act in pursuance of their instructions, with perfect ingenuousness and openness Observe their procedure. They ascend the altar of the great church of St. Sophia, the seventh wonder of the world—at whose portals stood that large vase for the holy water, wherewith Greeks and Romans, commemorating the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, by which our consciences are purified from dead works to serve the living God, were accustomed alike to bless themselves; and on which were inscribed the Greek words "Νίπτον Ανόμηματα μη μοναν οψίν" "purify O God, our transgressions, and not our countenance only." They went on the altar and in a formal speech explained to the assembled multitude what were the grounds of the anathema. The crime of Michael was that in defiance of the prohibitions both of the old and new law, he had made eunuchs priests. He was also accused of Arianism. Now the Arians deny the divinity of Christ—I have heard from some of our most respectable citizens, that Mr. Campbell also denies that cardinal dogma, but I do not vouch for the correctness of their assertion. (Mr. Campbell here stated that he did not deny the divinity of Christ.)

It appears pretty plain from history that the people were for the legates and opposed to their own usurping archbishop. Why? "The legates flattered them." But how? So far from it their whole argument was directed *against* a man living amongst this very people, and *for* an individual far distant. It is natural to suppose that the people were prejudiced in favor of their own archbishop and against one who was a stranger to them. In short, were they not speaking against the primacy and the assumptions of the ecclesiastical dignitary of the very church in which they spoke, and of the very people to whom they spoke. Did they flatter the clergy? no; they strongly inveighed against the unscriptural and uncanonical ordination of the odious eunuchs, by whom the patriarch was surrounded. This was a fine illustration of the zeal for sound doctrine and discipline, displayed in every previous and subsequent age by the holy see. It was acting on the apostolic maxim—It is better to obey God than man—That duties are ours and consequences are God's.

"Oh Timothy, guard the deposit" (of faith) said St. Paul.

"Now the spirit manifestly saith, that in the last times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a red hot iron. These things proposing to the brethren thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of the faith and of the good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained"—1st Ep. to Tim. ch. iv. v. 1. 2. 6.

Thus on this occasion did the pope.

My friend could not understand in what sense the patriarch of Constantinople claimed the title of universal bishop; and wanted to learn how his claim differed from the present understanding of the office. He has the answer in this history of facts. He has, or his authority Du Pin has for him, admitted that this Michael had said in effect that he was Lord God over all the earth; and that there was no authority without his sanction for any officer of the church to perform any of the ordinances of religion. Even the pope of Rome must crouch to his feet before he could administer the eucharist or even baptize an infant. And the historian says that the document accusing the archbishop was read before the people of Constantinople—the very city where he reigned, where he was known, and where all the facts of the case were before them. What is the most natural supposition? Surely this; that if that document had not been true the people would have cried out against it;—they would not have assented to it. So that all this is a splendid triumph of the supremacy of the Roman see. But why refer to particular instances, when ecclesiastical history is full of appeals made to the bishop of Rome by all the other bishops of christendom, and all acquiescing in his decision as not only the decision of Peter, but of Christ himself. "The extraordinary commission given to Paul," says Bossuet, "expired with him in Rome, and blending with the authority of Peter, to which it was subordinate, raised the Roman see to the height of authority and glory. This is the church which, taught by Peter and his successors, has never been infected with heresy. This power of binding and loosing from sin, was given first to Peter and then to the rest of the twelve apostles. For it was manifestly the design of Jesus Christ, to place first in one what he afterwards intended to confer on many, but the sequel impairs not the commencement, nor does the first lose his place. All receive the same power from the same source, but not all in the same degree, nor to the same extent, for Jesus Christ communicates himself as he pleases, and always in the manner best calculated to establish the unity of the church." "Peter," says St. Augustin, "who, in the honor of his primacy, represented the entire church, first and alone, receives the keys, which were next to be communicated to all the others." The reason of this is assigned by St. Casarius of Arles, that the ecclesiastical authority, first established in a single bishop, and afterwards diffused among many, may be forever brought back to the principle of unity, and remain inseparably united in the same chair. This is the Roman chair, the chair of Peter so much celebrated by the Fathers, in which they vied with one another in extolling the principality of the apostolic chair, the principal principality, the source of unity, the mother church, the head (or centre) of the episcopacy, whence parts the ray of government, the chief, the only see which bindeth all in unity."

In these words you hear Optatus, St. Augustin, St. Cyprian, St. Irenæus, St. Prosper, St. Avitus, Theodoret, the council of Chalcedon, Africa and Gaul, Greece and Asia, the east and the west united together. This is the doctrine of all the church; this is its unity and strength. Here all is strong because all is divine, all is united. And as each part is divine, the bond also is divine, and the union and arrangement such that each member acts with the force of the entire body. Hence whilst the ancient bishops said, they exercised author-

ity in their respective churches as the vicars of Jesus Christ and successors of the apostles sent immediately by him, they also declared that they acted in the name of Peter in virtue of the authority given to all bishops in the person of Peter; so that the correspondence, the union and harmony of the entire body of the church are such that what one bishop does, in accordance with the spirit and rules of Catholic unity, all the church, all the Episcopacy, and the chief of the Episcopacy act in concert and accomplish with him.

My friend observes that the Greeks were always uneasy under the Roman popedom. I admit this to a great extent, but St. John, and Polycarp, and Ignatius and Irenæus (his name signifies Peace, or the peaceful) and Eusebius and Chrysostom and a hundred others were Greeks, and the most eloquent advocates, and the ablest supporters of the preeminence of the church of Rome above all other churches.

Here then is a cloud of witnesses who furnish an astonishing mass of testimony to the fact that in the early days, the Greek church as well as the Latin submitted willingly to the authority of St. Peter and his successors—the authority necessary to preserve order and peace and unity, &c. in the church of God on earth.

With regard to the controversy of the gentleman with Bishop Otey; there was a mooted point between Mr. Campbell and himself. I understood however that all the discussion was on Mr. Campbell's side.

(Mr. Campbell here explained that he had had a private discussion with Bishop Otey, and had afterwards written him seven letters upon the Episcopacy.)

Bishop Purcell. I really do not know what Mr. Campbell's tenets are, or what he believes. My brethren, I am fighting in the dark. I am obliged to answer on the spot charges and objections against my religion which I cannot anticipate, while I really know not what my antagonist's belief is, what qualifications, what marks of a divine call to the ministry he considers necessary, if indeed he believes in any peculiar separation of any man or set of men, for priestly functions.

Will my friend say definitely, before this assembly, if he believe in the necessity of such call or mission.

Mr. Campbell. I do.

Bishop Purcell. How is that calling made known, that mission given?

Mr. Campbell. By the word and providence of God.

Bishop Purcell. How can we ascertain that word and providence of God?

Mr. Campbell. By the voice of the people and the written word—"vox populi vox Dei."

Bishop Purcell. Suppose the people are displeased, for instance, with a Presbyterian pastor, have they the sole power to remove him?

Mr. Campbell. Yes.

Bishop Purcell. Suppose the ministry of a Presbyterian church are displeased with him, and the people of his church are pleased with him. May he then retain his station against the will of the ministry?

Mr. Campbell. If the people will have it so, it must be so. "Vox populi, vox Dei"!

Bishop Purcell. There my brethren, you have heard him! Such declarations!

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14TH., *Half past 9 o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

I shall resume the subject where I closed yesterday evening, reserving my remarks on the last speech of my opponent till the conclusion of my present argument.

The gentleman read in the various reasons assigned for the bull of Nicholas, against the patriarch of Constantinople and his brethren, among others, the statement that the Greeks pretended to be the only true, catholic and apostolic church. It would not be difficult to prove from history that in point of seniority, the Greek church has a superior claim to the Roman. It is first in point of time, and claims a regular descent from the apostles. There is one strong argument in her favor which never has been met. To her belong the first seven councils. They were held in Grecian cities, called by Grecian emperors, and composed of Grecian bishops. They were wholly Grecian. The Roman church has no right to claim them. And if the doctrines proclaimed by these councils be true, they are the doctrines of the Greek church subsequently borrowed by the Romans.

As this is an important point, I will expatiate a little more fully upon it. I have taken the trouble to collect the following facts: at the *first* council of Nice there were 318 bishops: of these 315 were Greek and 3 Roman. This was the first general council, A. D. 325. At the first council of Constantinople, (the *second* general council of the church,) A. D. 381. there were 150 bishops; of these 149 were Greeks, and only 1 was Roman. At the *third* council held at Ephesus, A. D. 431, there were but 68 bishops present. Of these 67 were Greek, and one was Roman. At the *fourth* general council, which was the largest and most authoritative of the first four, held at Chalcedon A. D. 451, against Eutyches, there were present 353 bishops: 350 of whom were Greeks, and only 3 Roman. At the second council of Constantinople (the *fifth* general council) there were present 164 bishops: 156 of whom were Greeks, and 6 Romans—held against Origen and others, A. D. 553. At the third council of Constantinople, (and the *sixth* general council,) there were 56 bishops present: 51 of whom were Greeks, and 5 Romans. This council met against the Monothelites A. D 680. At the second council of Nice, (the *seventh* general council,) there were present 377 bishops; 370 of whom were Greeks, and 7 Romans. They met to restore images, A. D. 787. These were the *first seven general councils* of the church. I have been at the pains to make this collection of facts, to ascertain the merits of the controversy between the Greek and Roman sects, as respects the question to whom of right belong the doctrines of the ancient councils. I find that the whole number of bishops in these councils was 1486: only 26 of whom were Romans. Certainly the Greek church has the prior claim on our attention, and ought to be revered for her antiquity and authority, more than the schism which haughtily separated from her!

But, in addition to these councils having been called—not by the authority of the church of Rome: but by eastern emperors, and composed of eastern bishops; every great question discussed in the first four; and, indeed, I may add, in the last three councils, was of Gre-

cian origin. They grew up in the Greek school—a school easily distinguished from the Latin, by the peculiar subtilty of its definitions—a school long accustomed to nice distinctions, and whose reasoners could split the thousandth part of an idea. Of this, their wars about *homousios* and *homoousios* are ample proof. There are no questions more purely abstract and metaphysical than many of those discussed in these seven great ecumenical councils.

Again, these councils were not only called by Greeks, composed of Greeks, and occupied about Greek questions; but were all assembled in Grecian cities.

If there be any virtue in councils to establish doctrines and the priority of churches, the Greek church must be considered the mother of the Roman, rather than her daughter. At all events, it is fully proved that the Roman Catholic church is a sect or schism, which is the burthen of the proposition before us. To strengthen this conviction, I proceed to comment on a standard definition of Catholicity.

I would now ask if there be any objection to the book which I hold in my hand, as a good Roman Catholic authority. I believe it to be the true standard of the Roman Catholic church. It is "*the doctrine of the council of Trent, as expressed in the creed of pope Pius the* IV." But while the word "catholic" is in my eye, I am reminded that my friend has asserted, 'that *catholic* is a scripture title of the church.' I reply that it is not so used in the New Testament; and that it is only found as a general, running title to some epistles: that its antiquity is very doubtful, as it cannot be found in the body of the book; and, consequently, it has no authority. But now for the definition from the approved standard of the church:

Section IV. Under the head, "*That the church of Christ is* CATHOLIC *or* UNIVERSAL," it is asked,

What do you understand by this?

Answer. 'Not only that the church of Christ shall always be known by the name of Catholic, by which she is called in the creed; but that she shall also be truly Catholic or Universal by being the church of all ages and nations." p. 15.

We have been showing that the church of Christ was not originally known by the name *catholic*; that the Roman sect was not the church of the first six centuries; and, therefore, that the approved definition of the creed will not apply to this party. I have proved that she had no pope, or supreme head, for full six hundred years, and in corroboration of the argument, drawn from general councils, I have shown that the first seven were not hers, but peculiarly those of the Greek church; and that the Greek church is, in fact, the mother.

But there are yet other, and perhaps stronger arguments to show her *daughtership*. Some of my audience can appreciate the following: That the Hebrew is a more ancient language than the Greek, and the Greek than the Roman, needs not be stated but for a few. One proof of this fact is, that the Hebrew has given many words to the Greek, while the Greek has given none to the Hebrew. So the Greek has given many words to the Latin, while the Latin has given none to the Greek. Thus we prove the Roman church to have come out of the bosom of the Greek, from the fact, that all the leading ecclesiastical terms in the Roman church are Greek. For example: "*pope*," "*patriarch*," "*synod*," "*ecclesiastic*," "*schism*," "*schismatic*," "*heresy*," "*heretic*," "*heresiarch*," "*catechumen*," "*hierarchy*," "*church*," "*chrism*,"

"*exorcism*," "*akoluthi*," "*diocess*," "*presbytery*," "*trinity*," "*mystery*," "*mystic*," "*catholic*," "*canon*," &c., &c., &c. This as fully proves the seniority of the Greek church, as it does that of the Greek language over the Latin.

All ancient ecclesiastical historians, are also Greeks, such as Eusebius, Socrates Scholasticus, Evagrius Scholasticus, Sozomon, Theodoret. The most ancient and primitive fathers are also Greek. They were models to the Latins and imitated in their writings.

To recapitulate, we have now shown that the Greek church is more ancient than the Latin church; because the first seven general councils were all Greek, there being 1486 Grecian bishops and only 26 Roman bishops present, they were called by Greek emperors, held in Greek cities, and employed about Greek questions.

The leading ecclesiastic terms of all the ancient offices, customs and controversies, are Greek: So are the early fathers and historians.

These considerations superadded to the facts and documents of yesterday, we think fully prove that the Roman church is not the church of all ages and of all nations—not the catholic and apostolic church, as the creed of Trent defines; but a *sect*, a branch or schism, from the Hebrew and Greek churches of the New Testament.

In proving the proposition before us my plan is to select one of the grand elements embraced in the standard definition of the church, and to show that such being essential to the church, the church could not exist without it. Now, I prefer the arithmetical mode of procedure in this discussion. First lay down the rule and work a single question, and then leave it to others to work as many as they please.

Thus I first laid down a definition of the Roman Catholic church from her own standards. From that it appeared that a pope or universal bishop is an *essential* element of her existence. I then showed that six hundred years had elapsed from the time of the apostles, before the doctrine or existence of a universal bishop was thought of, and that the office was not instituted till the year 606. But when I have proved this, I have worked only one question. Any one may take up the doctrine of transubstantiation, the worship of images, purgatory, (a doctrine more ancient however, than either the Greek or Roman church,) and every other peculiar doctrine of the Roman Catholic church, and prove that not one of them is to be found in the divine book, nor in the records of the church.

What, let me now ask, is the great point in my first proposition? To prove that the Roman Catholic church is not "the *mother* and *mistress*" of all churches; but a *sect*, in the full import of that word; and if that be not now proved, I know not what can be proved. I admit the subject is capable of much more extensive developement; but we think it neither necessary nor expedient to be more diffuse.

Will the presiding moderator please read my first proposition?

[Here proposition No. 1. was read by the moderator.]

I say then she is not the *holy*, *apostolic*, *catholic* church, as she pretends to be; for in proving her to be a *sect*, I prove her to be *not catholic*, nor *apostolic*; because the true apostolic church cannot be called a *sect*. To prove her to be a sect is to prove her not Catholic, therefore, nor apostolic. What remains now? Even on the concession of my opponent, she is not the *Catholic* church; for he admits, that the Greek church differed from her only in a few non-essential matters. On that

admission, if he admits that persons are saved in the Greek church; she must be a part of the church of Christ; for with him, there is no salvation out of the church.

In the next place my proposition says 'she is not *holy*.' I am impelled by a sense of duty, and not by any unkind feelings towards such of my fellow citizens as belong to that community, to attempt to prove that the church of Rome is not holy. I would not heedlessly or needlessly offend against the feelings of an Indian, a Hindoo, or a Pagan, in his sincere devotions, how absurd soever they might be. Much less would I wound any one that professes the christian religion under any form; but in serving my contemporaries, in redeeming my pledge, it has become necessary to investigate the grand pretensions of this fraternity, that exclusively arrogates to itself the title of *holy*.

Not to expatiate at this time on the vices of the clergy and of the popes what the cardinals Barronius and Bellarmine have so fully noticed, and sometimes specially detailed, I shall take a single text from Bellarmine, De. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 7. which avows a doctrine that must for ever make the Roman church *unholy*. It is expressed in these words:—

"Wicked men, infidels and reprobates remaining in the public profession of the Romish church are *true* members of the body of Christ."

How then can we admit that she is holy? Again: it must be admitted that the great mass of all those who die in the faith and profession of the Catholic doctrines are not strictly holy; for why then should they have to pass through the fires of purgatory?

But again; in her own Testament (if she have a Testament. The gentleman may, indeed tell us his church has no English Testament; for she never owned but the Vulgate. She never gave to her people, with approbation a French, or English, or any vernacular Testament. The Rhemish Testament is, however, published by the authority of a portion of the church; and from it we can find the doctrine of Bellarmine explicitly taught in the notes appended, by the same authority which gave the Testament) *in her own Testament*, I repeat it, on John xv. 1. these Roman annotators say:—

"*Every branch in me*, &c." Christ hath some branches in his body mystical that be fruitless; therefore, ill livers also may be members of Christ's church."

"Ill *livers*" (mark it) "may be members." This is repeatedly stated in various places, and as I understand, avowed by all that community, as the true doctrine of the church. "Ill *livers*," wicked men, infidels, reprobates, vicious characters, those guilty of crimes of every enormity and color, may then continue members of the Roman church, while they acknowledge the pope and the priesthood, and make profession of faith in the Catholic church; she therefore counts within her fold 150,000,000 of souls, as my opponent stated in this city in October last. All that happen to be born in Catholic countries, infidels, atheists, and all, are enrolled in her communion. Her gates are wide as the human race. It is all church and no world with her. The lusts of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, are found in her communion.

The Roman Catholics in the United States are probably the best body of Catholics in the world. I mean those who are native citizens. But visit Old Spain or New Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, France, or Canada, where Catholicism is the established religion; and then ask whether holiness be a distinguishing attribute of the depraved and degraded

millions who call themselves Roman Catholics! This with me is no very pleasant theme, and I will not extend my remarks on this point by unnecessary details. I have said enough to prove the allegata in my first proposition, and to show that the church of Rome *is a sect* and not the holy, apostolic church of Christ, as she proudly and exclusively pretends. I am willing to submit these documents to the severest investigation; and if other arguments and facts are called for, I will only add, we have them at command.

My learned opponent seems to imagine that when I fix the birth day of the Roman Catholic church, on the 16th day of July 1054, I must admit that the church from which she *separated* was the true and uncorrupted church of Christ; but this is what logicians call a *non sequitur*. It does not follow. The gentleman seems to reason as if it were invariable that when one sect separates from another, the body from which it separates, must necessarily be the true church. This is not logical. A new sect may spring from the bosom of the worst sect on earth; but does this prove that the mother sect has piety, character, or authority? Neither does it follow that in the year 1054 the Greek church, though the mother or sister of the Roman, was the true church of Christ. When it becomes necessary, I may show that both the Greek and Roman schisms had long before 1054, been separate from the apostolic church.

Protestants have all conceded too much in every age and period of this controversy. Even now there is a morbid sensibility upon this subject among some, lest we should make Christ's church too independent of the pope's church. 'In reproaching the mother church,' say they, "you reproach us, also."

In one of the periodicals of this morning it was intimated that the fates and fortunes of some Protestant party are involved in the pending controversy. Be not afraid of the insinuations of such political alarmists. I stand here as a Protestant, not as a Baptist, or Methodist, or Episcopalian; but to defend Protestantism. I am not afraid to meet any antagonist on these premises. In advocating the great cardinal principles of Protestantism, I feel that I stand upon a rock. There is nothing in hazard. I am sorry to see this sort of sensibility manifested. Can the truth suffer from discussion?

In the mean time I will proceed to the second proposition, which will much illustrate and confirm the argument already offered in proof of the first. These great points so embrace one another, and are so intimately allied, that none of them can be fully demonstrated without reference to the others.

"PROP. II. Her notion of Apostolic Succession is without any foundation in the Bible, in reason, or in fact; an imposition of the most injurious consequences, built upon unscriptural and anti-scriptural traditions, resting wholly upon the opinions of interested and fallible men."

Before I heard that the bishop intended to meet me in debate, I had resolved to deliver a series of lectures, on the whole pretensions of the Roman Church, in the following order: 1st her apostolicity, 2nd antiquity, 3rd infallibility, 4th supremacy, 5th catholicity, 6th unity, and 7th sanctity. These seven great topics, I intended to discuss at full length. Each involving the others, none of them is so isolated as to be susceptible of an independent and separate developement. The very term *apostolicity* involves *antiquity*: hence, we find her pretending

to trace her descent, by regular steps, back to Peter, who, she asserts, was the first bishop of Rome.

"Only those that can derive their lineage from the apostles are the heirs of the apostles: and consequently they alone can claim a right to the scriptures, to the administration of the sacraments, or any share in the pastoral ministry. It is their proper inheritance which they have received from the apostles, and the apostles from Christ. 'As my father hath sent me, even so I send you.'" John xx. 21. [Grounds of Cath. Doc. p. 17.

This is the doctrine of the creed of pope Pius IV. and a more glaring assumption is not easily imagined. This church, however, delights in assumption. She assumes that Jesus Christ did establish a church of all nations, to be ruled by a sort of generalissimo, or universal head, who was to be his vicar on earth; by virtue of whose ecclesiastical power she assumes for him political power; for his logic is, that Jesus Christ's vicar must represent his master in all things, in his political as well as his ecclesiastical power. And as Christ himself possesses all authority in heaven and on earth, she assumes that the pope his vicar ought to be the fountain of all power: that by him kings should reign, and princes decree justice. After having thus assumed, that Christ did establish such a kingdom and headship on earth, that he did constitute the office of a vicar for himself and of a prince of the apostles; in the second place, she assumes that this headship was given to Peter, that Christ gave the whole church and the apostles themselves in charge to Peter; that he gave him absolute control over the bishops, pastors and laity; and in the third place, to complete the climax of assumptions, she assumes that Christ established a successorship to Peter throughout all ages. On this triple assumption rests the colossal empire of the papacy.

Now, as to the nature of the apostolical office be it observed with brevity, that it was essentially incommunicable. Holy writ recognizes but three orders of apostles, and none of them had lineal successors. Jesus Christ, the apostle of God the Father, was the *first*. He is called in the New Testament, "*the Apostle* and high priest of the christian profession." It is not necessary to prove that he could have no successor. *Second*, the twelve apostles, who were apostles of Christ, as he was the apostle of God. In John XVII. he says, "As my *Father* made me his apostle, so I make you my apostles." These then being personal attendants on the Messiah, could have no successors. *Third*, Apostles sent out by particular churches, on special errands. These are called in the New Testament οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. These, always sent on special errands, could have no successors.

If the qualifications of the apostolic office were understood, there could be no controversy on the question of successors. As laid down by Peter, Acts I. it behoved them to have been companions of Christ from his baptism to his ascension, to be eye and ear witnesses of all that he did and said. In this essential requisite they could have no successors. Besides, if *one* should have a successor, why not *all*? While the college of apostles was necessary, we see that succession was fully carried out. Therefore, the chair of Judas the traitor demanded a successor as well as that of Peter. But yet we have not heard of any controversy about the successor of Judas!

Our first argument against the Catholic notion of succession is drawn from the nature of the apostolic office.

But did we concede that the apostolic office was communicable, and

that Christ did appoint a president of the apostles, and place his chair in Rome, there is no document on earth, from which we can learn with any degree of certainty, that Peter was ever bishop in Rome. And yet Catholics themselves, contend that it is essential to the cause of the succession and supremacy that Peter placed his see at Rome by Christ's commandment.

Bellarmine positively affirms;

"*The right of succession in the popes of Rome is founded in this, that Peter by Christ's appointment, placed his seat at Rome, and there remained till his death.*" Lib. II. c. 1.

This resolves the controversy into a single question of fact, viz. *Did Peter, by Christ's appointment, place his seat at Rome and there remain till death?* Barronius, however says;

"It is not improbable that our Lord gave an express command that Peter should so fix his see at Rome, that the bishop of Rome should absolutely succeed him. [Id. Ib.

Only probable! But there is no such succession *in fact.* In the first place, there is no proof from scripture that Peter ever was at Rome, much less, bishop of Rome; and secondly, if he were an apostle, he could not be the bishop of any church. A king, a justice of the peace, the bishop of London, the vicar of Bray! It is, on these premises, impossible to prove this most fundamental question.

Various efforts have been made by the bishop of Cincinnati to excite Episcopalians and others on this question, as if they were likely to be involved in the same common ruin with my opponent's pretensions. There is no need for any alarm on this account. The office of pope and his succession, certainly, are not identical with that of Episcopalian bishops in England or America!

There is no body of men who have done more to elevate English literature and science, than the English clergy, none whose writings I have read with more pleasure than theirs, on all subjects pertaining to general literature, morality and religion. In some of them, indeed, we find weak as well as strong places, and a too great timidity in contending against the Romanists, lest they should endanger their right of Episcopacy. I incline to the opinion, that the pretensions of the church of Rome may be fully canvassed without at all jeopardizing the simple question of the divine right of Episcopacy. But if we attempt to bring a clean thing out of an unclean; or expect to find a divine warrant in the commission given to the apostles; or in the Roman Catholic traditions; we shall never find it to the day of eternity.

Successors must be successors in full, or they are not successors at all. To illustrate this—does not the existing president of the United States inherit all the power and authority of George Washington, by virtue of constitutional succession? Does he not possess the same power, in all its length and breadth, its height and depth, as did his predecessor, from the first to the last? This is true of every constitutional office in the civilized world. All the power which any predecessor can have, belongs to every incumbent: So in the church if it have constitution at all.

If the apostles have successors, they have successors in full. But the Roman Catholics themselves give up the controversy, by admitting that none of the bishops or popes inherit the power and functions bestowed upon the apostles by the commission.

I do not, indeed, found my argument for the divine right of bishops

or elders, and deacons, on the commission, which Jesus Christ gives to his apostles; and I am prepared for all the consequences of this admission. For by every rule of interpretation, I must apply every word of the commission to the apostles; because it addresses them only. But let none be alarmed at this declaration: nothing is jeopardized—rather, indeed, all is secured by it.

In the presence of the apostles alone, he pronounced these words; "All authority in heaven and on earth is given to me; go you therefore and convert all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all the things which I have commanded you; and lo, *I am with you always*, even to the conclusion of this state," or to the end of the age or world.

This commission created plenipotentiaries: it reared up ambassadors, and gave to the apostles the same power of erecting the church, which God gave to Moses for raising the tabernacle in the wilderness. They had all the authority of Christ to set up what orders they pleased. They created both bishops and deacons; and as they had a divine right to do so, so those created by them have a divine right to officiate in the duties of those offices. A true interpretation of the promise, "*I am with you*," will go far to confirm the declaration, that they neither had, nor could have successors in office. Of this, however, again—

Meanwhile, it may be objected that Paul was an apostle, and acted without this commission. He had, indeed, a special commission, and the qualifications of an apostle. He had *seen* and *heard* the Lord. For to this end the Lord appeared to him. But as respected time, he acknowledged he was born rather too late to be an apostle—he was "*born out of due time.*" How, then, could any of them have successors at this day!

The gentleman mentioned some two persons in the Old Testament. They could have no successors in office, according to the argument on hand. It was absolutely impossible that Moses could have a successor. His office and commission were really from God, and strictly peculiar to himself. He brought the Jews out of Egypt, and erected the tabernacle; this was his peculiar office, which, in its very nature, *expired when once its duties were fulfilled.* The commission of Joshua, in like manner, was also peculiar to himself, and could not possibly descend to a successor. When he led Israel across the Jordan, and divided the land by lot amongst them, his works and office naturally expired. So when the apostles preached the gospel, revealed the whole will of Jesus Christ, and erected his church and all its proper officers and duties, their work was done, and they, like Moses and Joshua, being officers extraordinary, could have no successors.—[Time expired.]

Half past 10 *o'block A. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises.

Here is, beloved friends, as plain and logical a case for argumentation, and as fair an opportunity afforded for refutation, as ever the annals of controversy exhibited. The first argument of my friend amounts to this, viz: That for reasons he has given, the Greek church has superior claims upon our attention to the Roman.

I have quoted councils, general and particular laws, usages, appeals,

the authority of Greek and Latin fathers, that is to say, the most authentic testimony of the first ages, to show that with Rome was the primacy of all the churches. This, at once, upsets all that he has said.

He says the first seven councils were Greek; and that therefore the Greek church had the preeminence. But, I ask, who convoked those councils? Who approved them? Who sanctioned their canons, and gave throughout the entire church the force of law to their decisions? Who guarded them against errors, and set them right when they were going, or had gone astray? It was the pope. I have already said, that Sylvester, bishop of Rome, aware of the danger that menaced the faith in the east, convoked the great council of Nice—that the emperor Constantine, the ruler of the east and west, of Rome and of Constantinople, the man, consequently, upon whom as chief magistrate of the Roman empire it devolved, afforded the necessary facilities to the various bishops to come to the council. Again, who presided as legate of the pope? Osius of Cordova, in Spain, a western man, assisted, as is and has been customary, by two inferior ecclesiastics.

The jealous Greeks beheld all this, and surely they would not have permitted Rome thus to assume the supremacy, if her right to it had not been universally admitted since the days of her founder St. Peter. Is it not the most splendid proof of the correctness of my argument? The strongest evidence that could be desired of the discomfiture of my adversary?

I thought to have seen a more powerful display of logic from the strong and disciplined mind of my friend Mr. C.; but I attributed the poverty of his argument to indisposition on his part, or to the weakness of his cause.

Well, another reason is stated, to prove the supremacy of the Greek church, viz.: that the questions discussed in these councils were of Greek origin. Is it then to be wondered at, that as almost every error in the old church originated in the East, it should be there corrected? that the remedy should be applied where the disease existed?

The Greeks were at all times a curious, inquisitive, restless people. The passion for disputation displayed in the schools of the philosophers was, as by contagion, communicated to many of the professors of christianity. But the manner in which it operated upon the one and the other was essentially different. With the philosopher such questions were objects of understanding only, subjects of speculation; whereon the ingenuity of a minute mind might employ or waste itself. But with the christian they were matters of truth and falsehood, of belief or disbelief, and he felt assured that his eternal interests would be influenced if not decided by his choice. As soon as the copious language of Greece was vaguely applied to the definition of spiritual things, and the explanation of heavenly mysteries, the field of contention seemed to be removed from earth to air, where the foot found nothing stable (nothing like the rock of Rome—new and striking proof of its necessity) to rest upon; where arguments were easily eluded, and where the space, in which to fly and rally, was infinite. Add to this the nature and genius of the disputants; *for the origin of these disputes may be traced without any exception to the restless imaginations of the East.* The violent temperament of the orientals, as it was highly adapted to the reception of religious impressions, and admitted them with fervor and earnestness, intermingled, so closely, passion

with piety, as scarcely to conceive them separable. The natural ardor of their feelings was not abated by the natural subtilty of their understanding, which was sharpened in the schools of Egypt; and when this latter began to be occupied by inquiries in which the former were so deeply engaged, it was to be expected that many extravagances would follow. Vid. Waddington, p. 92.

Yet, because it was in the east that the heresies in the ancient day of the church commenced, and in the east the councils met to correct those heresies, the Greek church must therefore have been the mother church! Such is my friend's argument! and it is now plain, that a feebler, a more inconclusive, and a more irrational one, he could scarcely have advanced before this enlightened assembly. But what is still more remarkable, did not these very councils, these Greek councils, establish by their own acts, and these of the most solemn and authentic character, the supremacy of the Roman see? Did they not solicit the pope's approbation of their decrees, and acknowledge that without his sanction their proceedings were void of effect?

He says that the emperor presided. I have already answered that the emperor did not preside. He distinctly acknowledged the spiritual to be independent of the temporal power, he alleged that he pretended to no right to preside. He knew that God never told the emperors, his predecessors, to preside over the deliberations of his church. The constitution of that church had been established three hundred years before Constantine became a proselyte to christianity. It is unheard of that a temporal monarch ever presided over the deliberations of the church, or ruled in ecclesiastical matters. At least we catholics submit to no such dictation—such a confusion of things divine and human—such an anomaly! I am sorry it is allowed in England. In that country even a woman may be, for a woman has been, the head of the church, as in the instance of queen Elizabeth; nay, a little child, as in the case of Edward. It is contrary to reason, to scripture, to human rights and divine ordinances, that such as *these* should presume in any situations, to give or withhold authority to the ministry, to preach the gospel of Christ, or to dispense the mysteries of God. It outrages every feeling of sanctity, it degrades, it vilifies the priesthood, to see bishops and archbishops kneeling at the feet of women and boys, and praying them to grant a *license* to preach.

My friend has charged me with making professions of respect for Episcopalians and Episcopal methodists, &c., but do I suppress the truth, and do I fail to censure them where they too are wrong. My friend has gratuitously presented himself before this assembly as the champion of Protestantism; and I have shown that he is, if at all, but little less opposed than I am to the denominations I have named, on the vital point of orders and a called and sent ministry. He would amuse them with an equivocal defence of their principles to-day, and then present them with his own views in theology—with Campbellism, baptized Protestantism,—[Here the moderators called Bishop Purcell to order.]

My friend, learnedly, (and I give him credit for it,) showed how it came that there were so many errors and questionable doctrines in the Greek church. I have stated the causes, humanly speaking, of the errors. It is then, an undisputed fact, that they were more numerous in the Greek than in the Roman church; that the Roman church was

comparatively free from them. But he has plainly misconceived the inference to be drawn from the fact; and it is this: that as Rome was the primary see, the centre of unity, the mother and mistress of all the churches, God watched over her with peculiar care, and preserved her from the errors and heresies that proved infinitely more fatal than the pagan persecutions, to the churches of the east. While they were distracted, the Roman church was united in faith; while they were in danger of breaking to pieces the edifice of faith, she was consolidated, herself, and laboring to consolidate them under one creed. If any thing did prolong the gospel life in the east, it was the authority of Rome. By her was the doctrine of the Savior vindicated, and kept pure from the foul admixture, the contamination of heresy. By her were Arianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Monotholism, and a hundred other novelties, the spurious progeny of dangerous opinions in the east, successively condemned.

And now, having disposed of the argument which appears in the van of the gentleman's remarks, I will go on with a question of fact, to which he has again referred, touching the word *Catholic*. He says that it is not found in the New Testament. Admitting that it is not in the body of the canon, which I did not contend for, yet it is prefixed to some of the epistles, and as old, if not older, as a word belonging to the household of faith, than they are. He said the word Καθολικαι (*catholike*) was prefixed to the Epistle of James in the year 1549, by Robert Stephens, or Robert Etienne, by which name that famous French printer is better known—about 300 years ago. Yes, and I will show you that here again his learning is at fault, that to the 300 years must be added a thousand more, and then that the origin of the word is coeval with christianity. Before quoting the testimony of St. Gregory Nazianzen, a writer of the 4th century, I will observe, that seven of the epistles found in the Catholic or Protestant Testaments, are called catholic, or canonical, as not having been addressed to any particular church, or person, if we except the 2d and 3d of St. John, but to all the churches. Five of these epistles, viz. that of St. James, the 2d of St. Peter, the 2d and 3d of St. John, the epistle of St. Jude, as also the epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, or book of Revelation of St. John, were doubted of, and not always and every where received in the three first ages, till the canon and catalogue of the books of scripture were determined by the authority of the Catholic church, the supreme judge of all controversies in matters of faith and religion, according to the appointment of our Savior, Christ, expressed in many places in the holy scriptures. These I have mentioned were certainly, for some time, doubted of; they are still doubted of by some of the late reformers. Luther, the great doctor of the reformation, is not ashamed to say, that this epistle of St. James, *is no better than straw, and unworthy an apostle.* Speaking of these epistles, then, Gregory Nazianzen, at that early period, uses the word Catholic, and designates them by that name:

"Καθολικων Επιστολων
"Τινες μεν επτα φασιν, οι δε τρεις μονας
"Χρηναι δεχεσθαι την Ιακωβε μιαν,
"Μιαν δε Πετρε, τριτην Ιωαννε μιαν."
Greg. Nazianzen, Carmen de Canon. Script.

In English—"Some say there are seven Catholic epistles, others

that there are only three—one of James, one of Peter, and one of John." So much for the fourth age. Does not my friend say his prayers? Does not every Protestant unite with every Catholic in saying, "I believe in the holy Catholic church," as we are taught in the apostles' creed? Speaking of this most ancient formula of faith, composed, as it is believed, by the apostles themselves, before they separated for the great work of preaching to all nations, that it may be for ever a bond of union and an abridgment of sound apostolic belief, Waddington says, p. 46. "The creed which was first adopted, *and that perhaps in the very earliest age*, by the church of Rome, was that which is now called the apostles' creed; and it was the general opinion from the fourth century downwards, *that it was actually the production of those blessed persons assembled for that purpose;* our evidence is not sufficient to establish that fact, and some writers very confidently reject it. But there is reasonable ground for our assurance that the form of faith, which we still repeat and inculcate, was in use and power in the very early propagation of our religion."* Now will the gentleman tell us that the word *Catholic*—was unknown to antiquity?

You will perceive, my friends, that until the very minute Mr. Campbell speaks, I know not what he is going to say. You will not wonder that following him, my discourse should be desultory and rambling. I am here under every disadvantage to which a speaker can be subject. Obliged to leave the beaten highway and follow him through the thickets into which, he finds it useful to plunge so frequently.

I have at this moment in my hand, a copy of the New Testament, a beautiful edition, published in Glasgow, a Presbyterian city, and also an edition of Robert Etienne. Behold (displaying them) the title "Catholic," prefixed in both, to these epistles.

I have now established the fact that Catholic was the ancient name of the church—that no other than the Roman Catholic was entitled to that name—that the Roman Catholic church is the *Catholic church of all ages*, that in all ages it has had a head. For we may call the pope by any name we please, the name is nothing. It is the station, and the incumbent thereof, that it is important to ascertain, and the noonday is not clearer than that both existed from the very origin of the christian religion in Rome.

He argues against the supremacy of Rome from the circumstance that all the ecclesiastical words are Greek.

This is not at all surprising. There was not a particle of the Scriptures originally written in Latin. Surely my friend must be hard pressed for want of argument, when he grasps at such a floating, improbable, airy one as that! Words are but the signs of ideas. But he affirms that all the epistles are written to Greek cities. Was then none of these epistles written to Rome! And was Rome a Greek city? Does not Paul surpass himself—does he not reason most deeply in that epistle? Does he not style the Romans the "Called of Jesus Christ; the beloved of God?" Does he not say, 1st ch. v. 3, "I give thanks to my God, through Jesus Christ, for you all, because your faith is spoken of in the whole world"? Is it not in that epistle that

* A note to Waddington on this subject, contains the following remark: "Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus, make no mention of it, but they occasionally repeat some words, contained in it, which is held as a proof that they knew it by heart."

he confounds the Jews, by proving that the ceremonial works of the law avail them nothing towards salvation, and the Gentiles by shewing that their shameful excesses, notwithstanding the boasted lights of philosophy, involved them equally with the rejected Jews in the divine malediction? Does he not devote eleven chapters of this epistle to establish solidly the fundamental doctrines of the christian faith?

Finally, was not the church of Rome at least as ancient as the church of Corinth?

My friend spoke of transubstantiation, and purgatory. These wil come in their proper place in the debate.

The conclusion of all his arguments is, that the Roman Catholic church is a sect. This, I may venture to say, he has failed to prove. Indeed he has done any thing but prove it; for he has in fact strengthened my grounds of defence, for the more he has questioned my authorities and arguments, the more signally have I established them.

My friend is correct in saying that to prove the church not *Catholic*, is to prove her neither holy nor apostolic. Had he acted on this hint, and compressed his first three propositions into one, and condensation is all important in discussion, he would have greatly abridged his own labor, and saved this audience and myself much loss of time. I have proved that the Roman Catholic church is NOW the only church that is, as a church, (and not as a band of sailors or travellers without any fixed habitation,) spread over the entire world; that she only has been so from the beginning, to the exclusion of every sect: that she alone now bears, that she alone has ever borne the name of Catholic; that no other denomination, no sect now has or ever had a right to it—and that, as she is Catholic, she is also holy, she is apostolic, she is divine, and consequently the only true church of Christ. By the same strictness of investigation and of reasoning, by the same splendid *evidence of facts*, I will prove that she alone is united in faith and government as the true church should be; for Christ prayed for his disciples the night before he suffered, "that they may be ONE, as thou Father in Heaven and I are one." Now in what church shall we seek for this unity? We shall see that, later in the debate, for notwithstanding the admission of my friend, we must plod our weary round, debating these propositions as he has penned them. But the gentleman says, "the Roman Catholic church *assumes* every thing." No, my brethren, it is not so. When she can so validly establish her claim, she does not, she has no occasion to *assume* any thing. She proves all things, and holds fast to them because they are good. In the first place we prove from scripture that Christ did establish an earthly head to his church, and that that head was the apostle Peter If not, why did he say to Peter, "*Thou art Peter*, (a rock) *and upon this rock will I build my church*, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"? Again, he did give him a preeminence over the other apostles. If not, why did he say to him, Luke, xxii. 32, "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you (in the plural, that is, all the apostles) that he may sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for *thee* that *thy faith fail not*, and thou being converted, *confirm thy brethren*"? He told Peter that he would deny him—that he would fall—but he at the same time cheered him by the divine assurance that his fall should not be for ever, that he would arise from it, and that after his transitory humiliation, no longer presumptuously confiding in his own strength,

but placing all his trust in God, he should not only securely stand himself before both Jews and Gentiles, but likewise strengthen and support his brethren. For this Christ prayed for Peter, and the *Father* who also loves the church, heard and he will ever hear that prayer. The faith of Peter hath never failed. When did he ever say this to the other apostles? Peter is named first, when the apostles are enumerated; he speaks first in the meeting of the apostles and brethren, and gives instructions to proceed to the choosing an apostle in the place of the Iscariot. He is the first to reproach the Jews with deicide, and at his preaching eight thousand are converted. He is sent by an angel from heaven, to the gentile Cornelius; is released from prison by an angel; confirms the Samaritans with St. John: healeth Æneas at Lydda: raiseth Tabitha from death at Joppa; founds the first see among the gentiles at Antioch. He speaks first in the council at Jerusalem, "men, brethren, &c." Acts, xv. "and all the multitude among whom there had been previously, much disputing, held their peace." "Then after three years" says St. Paul, Gal. i. 13. "I went to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I tarried with him fifteen days." And ch. 2. v. 1. "Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem, *and I went up according to revelation, and conferred with them* the gospel which I preach among the gentiles, lest perhaps I should run, or had run in vain."

My friend says that this assumption is followed by injurious effects, religious and political, in consequence of the power wielded by a single individual. This directly impeaches the foreknowledge and sanctity of Christ. He established the power, and from its exercise within the just limits, which he has prescribed, I maintain that no consequences injurious either to religious or civil society can ever ensue. History attests, and I have quoted some striking instances from the records of the Greek church, that the power of the popes was CONSERVATIVE. Their influence has ever been most favorable to the best interests of society as well as of religion. They were the friends of peace, the patrons of learning, the umpires of angry princes and hostile nations on the one hand, while on the other they preserved pure and uncontaminated, the holy deposit of the truth and proscribed error. Confined to its proper sphere the influence of the head of the church must needs be salutary; must, if God was wise, be beneficial and far above reproach. This power has been exerted for the welfare of society under every form of government, monarchical, aristocratical, mixed, and republican. It is the friend of all. It is irreconcileable with none, but of the temporal influence of the popes it will be time enough to speak in its proper place. I will now proceed to show that the want of an ecclesiastical superior, whom all are bound to obey, lets in a deluge of evils, and these irremediable, on every religious body that wants a head. Reason, alone should attest this truth, without further illustration. The sheepfold over which there has been placed no shepherd, will soon be the prey of the wolf. The school in which no teacher presides, the society which recognises no chief magistrate, will not fail to exhibit a scene of confusion, and must finally be dissolved. Let us appeal to experience. What has multiplied the (so called) christian sects to such an excess that neither the evil nor the remedy can be any longer endured in Protestant communions? It is the principle contended for by my opponent. It is this, as bishop Smith justly observes, more prolific than the knife that divides the polypus, that daily multiplies

divisions and produces new sects in christianity. Hear a late number of the Baptist Banner, speaking of this controversy. It says:—

"But to be serious, we cannot believe that any good will follow this debate. But too much excitement is attempted to be gotten up against the Roman Catholics—an excitement bordering on intolerance. Could we feel assured, either from his course in this instance or from a retrospect of his past life, that Mr. Campbell sought this discussion solely to vindicate truth and expose error, and not ostentatiously to exhibit his tact in debate and to reap a pecuniary harvest by a new publication, we might feel less distrust of consequences, and should have some faint hope that probably good would ensue; but credulous, nay, stupid must be the man, who in looking over the circumstances which have concurred in originating this debate, can suppose that any religious or commendable motive prompted him to throw the gauntlet and provoke the controversy. In looking over his past career, a love of truth and a desire to promote the peace and prosperity of Zion, have not been the prominent traits which have marked his character and rendered conspicuous his course. [Bishop P. was here called to order; Mr. Campbell also here observed, that as he had read the worst part of the article he might read the balance; and the point of order being examined, the board decided that he was in order.] We do not speak for other places, but in Kentucky he has caused more serious injury to the cause of religion, more disturbance, more wrangling, collision, and division in society, in a few years, than in our humble judgment, the Catholics can ever do. But we forbear. The debate will take place. The Campbellites will sip delicious wisdom from the lips of their leader. A new impulse will be given to their now drooping state. They will again wage his high claims to competency to reform religion and introduce the Millennium. And Mr. Campbell will have the proud satisfaction of rendering great good—to himself by the sale of another book! This will be about all that will result from this discussion."

I knew not until yesterday that the Baptists were opposed to Mr. Campbell; but as necessarily as the stream flows from its source, do these disastrous effects which the Baptist Banner deprecates, flow from the system which acknowledges no head in religious matters, but allows every individual, qualified or disqualified, to give his own crude fancies for the revelation of heaven.

The Zion's Advocate of the 28th ult. and the Palladium of the 7th inst. give similar testimony against the radicalism of my friend. But I spare him the reading. You can now judge of the tree by its fruits; his are bitterness and confusion, those of the Catholics, admitting a supremacy in the church, are order, unity and peace. His rule necessarily creates enmities and endless altercations in the church; the Catholic rule cuts them up by the very roots, and not only arrests their growth, but renders their very existence impossible.

Mr. Campbell said that the Roman Catholic church was an apostacy *from the true Church*, and that this event, so important in the annals of the world, took place precisely on the 16th of July 1054, when she separated from the Greek church. It is a pity, as he intended to be so particular, that he did not tell us whether it was *old style or new*.

But perceiving the terrible effect of this admission, upon his argument, he retraces his steps, and taking us all aback, he says that the Greek church was not after all the true church of Christ, and thus he has left us as much in the dark as ever. Remember I told him how much it had puzzled the world and would puzzle him to settle that point. I ask him again then, if the Roman Catholic church apostatized from the church of Christ at the period in question, and the Greek church, from which she separated, was as corrupt as herself, where was, at that time, the true church? God's covenant with her, Ezech. xxxvii. 62, was an everlasting covenant of peace, a covenant, like that of day and night, to last for all generations, Jre. xxxiii. 20, 21, al-

ways visible, Is. II. 2. 3. Michers IV. 1. 2. spread far and near, and teaching many nations, Ps. XI. 8. Dan. XI. 35. 44. Malach. I. 11. The pillar and the ground of truth, unfailing; the gates of hell were never to prevail against her. If all these glorious prophecies were not fulfilled in the Roman Catholic church, in what other church were they fulfilled? When will my friend answer me?

Mr. C. observes that the Roman Catholic church or the see of Peter, assumes to be the representative of Christ in all his power, ecclesiastical and political, and that as Christ was supreme head over all the earth, temporal and spiritual, so was Peter, and so are his successors.

I have already shewn that this is no part or parcel of the Catholic doctrine. The pope's power is spiritual, his kingdom like that of Christ, is not of this world. He has not a solitary inch of ground over which to exercise temporal authority in any territory on earth, beyond the narrow limits of the papal states; and the authority with which he is there invested rather originated in the people's preference of the bishop's crosier to the kingly sceptre, than in any views he could himself, have cherished of worldly aggrandizement. Hear Gibbon, III. vol. p. 230., Phil. 1830. "The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the king and prelates of the west, his recent services, their gratitude, an oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate. The christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *dominus* or lord, and their face and inscription is still apparent on the most ancient coins. Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery."

I had a great deal of other ground to go over on this point, but my time is limited; and I will now proceed to review one of the most dreadful charges ever made against a pope of Rome, and to show that it is totally without foundation.

If I understood Mr. C. aright, he asserted, that it was the pope Gregory consecrated Phocas the centurion king, in the church of St. John the Baptist in Constantinople, and that he did so, contrary to every law of God, or man, for the base, the iniquitous purchase of the title of pope.

(Mr. Campbell reasserted the charge.)

Now I aver that the charge is unfounded and false. I mean no disrespect to Mr. C. He would not intentionally deceive this assembly or wilfully sustain by calumny an otherwise hopeless cause. But leaving motives to their proper judge, I shall now prove to this audience that he has stated what is not true, and alleged odious charges against the pope which he cannot substantiate. On his own reputation for accuracy and his knowledge of history let the penalty for everest, of having been this day detected before so many of his fellow citizens, egregiously at fault in both. Hormisdas king of Persia, indignant at the defeat of his general Varamus (see Natalis Alex. sæc. sext Art. v. p. 226,) sends him a petticoat in derision. The war is renewed; Mauritius loses 12000 troops, taken prisoners by the Chagan; he refuses to release them by paying the humble pittance set as a price on the head of each by the victor; they are butchered in cold blood; his people, shocked at his avarice and cruelty revolt—Mauritius abdicates—

the people choose the centurion, Phocas, to reign over them in his stead; *the patriarch of Constantinople consecrates* Phocas king, in the church of St. John the Baptist, in C. P. The entire story is thus related by Gibbon.

"The troops of Maurice might listen to the voice of a victorious leader, they disdained the admonitions of statesmen and sophists, and when they received an edict which deducted from their pay the price of their arms and clothing, they execrated the avarice of a prince insensible of the dangers and fatigues from which he had escaped: and every age must condemn the inhumanity or avarice of a prince, who by the trifling ransom of six thousand pieces of gold, might have prevented the massacre of 12,000 prisoners in the hands of the Chagan. In the first fervor of indignation, an order was signified to the army of the Danube, that they should spare the magazines of the province, and establish their winter-quarters in the hostile country of the Avars. The measure of their grievances was full · they pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and, under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighborhood of Constantinople.

"The rigid and parsimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects; and a vile plebeian, who represented his countenance and apparel, was seated on an ass, and pursued by the imprecations of the multitude.* The emperor suspected the popularity of Germanus with the soldiers and citizens; he feared, he threatened, but he delayed to strike; the patrician fled to the sanctuary of the church; the people rose in his defence, the walls were deserted by the guards, and the lawless city was abandoned to the flames and rapine of nocturnal tumult. In a small bark the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore; but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Antoninus, near Chalcedon, from whence he despatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. For himself, he refused to fly. His body was tortured with sciatic pains, his mind was enfeebled by superstition; he patiently awaited the event of the revolution, and addressed a fervent and public prayer to the Almighty, that the punishment of his sins might be inflicted in this world, rather than in a future life. After the abdication of Maurice, the two factions disputed the choice of an emperor; but the favorite of the blues, was rejected by the jealousy of their antagonists, and Germanus himself was hurried along by the crowds, who rushed to the palace of Hebdomen, seven miles from the city, to adore the majesty of Phocas, the centurion. A modest wish of resigning the purple to the rank and merit of Germanus was opposed by *his* resolution, more obstinate, and equally sincere: the senate and clergy obeyed this summons, and as soon as the *patriarch was assured of his orthodox belief, he consecrated* the successful usurper in the church of St. John the Baptist." Gibbon; sixth Amer. Edit. of the Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Page 184. Vol. iii. A. D. 1830.

Thus it appears that Gregory did not act the part assigned him by my friend, and that this accusation turns out to be, like a thousand others, taken up at second hand, without examination or suspicion of falsehood or incorrectness, against the pope, a mere fabrication without a shadow of foundation in history! What will this enlightened audience now say? What apology is my friend prepared to make for having unconsciously led them into error? This case may illustrate many others that are similar, and I beg it may not be forgotten. Napoleon, Papin, &c. are parallels, the pontiff could not resist the will of an entire people; and it would only perpetuate lawless violence and disorder to contest a claim to the throne, to which no one was able to support his rival pretensions. The pope seeing that the

* In their clamors against Maurice, the people of Constantinople branded him with the name of Marcionite or Marcionist; a heresy, (says Theophylact, Lib. viii. c. 9.) μετα τινος μωρας ευλαβειας συηθης τε και καταγελαστος. Did they only cast out a vague reproach, or had the emperor really listened to some obscure teacher of those ancient Gnostics?

people, who had the right, selected themselves a new ruler, like a true lover of peace and friend of established order, congratulated Phocas on his election, and used the language of scripture, be it observed, in his letter, because anarchy was at an end, and an orthodox and generous prince substituted on the throne of C. P. for a tyrant, a miser, and a suspected Marcionite heretic. Mauritius may have died penitent, but he reigned without love for his subjects.

We were spoken to of the president of the U. S. He has the same power and authority as Washington had while the constitution of the country endures. And as long as the constitution of the church endures, the successors of Peter have the authority of Peter. If there was ever to come a time, when the true church was to fail, Jesus Christ was bound by his wisdom and love to foretell it. If it was his intention to forsake the church, and if the power and authorities of all the regularly constituted orders were to fail, he never should have given it the promise of perpetual endurance, and the precise period, and all the different circumstances of its defection should have been more clearly and emphatically revealed, than any other event in the scripture. It is needless to add that such defection is not foretold; but on the contrary it is repeatedly declared by the Son of God, that his church should stand for ever, that his Holy Spirit should abide with it all days, that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it. What is the meaning of the words "the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it?" In the east, laws were enacted, justice administered, and the sages and people assembled for deliberation at the gates of the cities. Hence the expression denotes, wisdom, subtlety, malice. Again, when a city was invaded by a hostile army, the hottest fighting was around its gates. In them and around them, were all the energies of the conflicting hosts put forth—and on the issue of the battle was suspended a nation's weal or woe. Thus by the gates of Hell are clearly meant, all the craft and power of Hell, the malice of heresy and error, the force and violence of persecution. All these shall rage around the church in vain, for Christ is in the citadel, and his Holy Spirit is the sentinel that guards its outposts and defences from being overthrown by error. But he says that the apostles had *all* power given to them —grant it—but what was the nature of that power? what was its extent? It was a power to teach all nations. The weapon of their warfare was not carnal but spiritual; "for our wrestling," says St. Paul, Ephes. vi. 12. "is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places." "Behold," says Christ, "I send you as lambs in the midst of wolves. Carry not with you scrip nor staff, &c. Be not solicitous for the morrow, what you shall eat, or wherewithal you shall be clothed. Behold the lilies of the field, they sow not, neither do they spin—and yet your Heavenly Father clotheth them—careth for them—how much more ye, &c." By patience they were to run towards the fight proposed to them, and by patience they triumphed over their persecutors. The pope, should occasion require, will show himself the faithful imitator of these heroic models. Were he stript to-morrow of all external, temporal power whatever, and a poor wanderer among the mountains of the moon in Abyssinia, he would have no less power, and would be, for aught I know, no less respected, than he is at present. His chief authority is, thank God,

such as this world can neither give nor take away. It was given for the salvation of the people of God, and as long as there is a soul to be saved, a sheep to be brought back to the fold, or a spiritual conquest achieved for the glory of Christ, and the praise of his grace, so long shall that power survive; when all else decays, itself, amidst vicissitudes unchanged, shall flourish in immortal youth.

For our sakes, in this distant province of creation, and at this late age, as well as for those who saw the Word made flesh conversing among men, was this commission given and this authority conferred. Our souls were no less dear to Christ than were those of the first believers of glad tidings—and Cincinnati was the rival of Jerusalem in the Savior's love! With him there was no exception of persons—neither past nor future. He provided for every casualty which he foreknew should happen in the lapse of ages—he anticipated every favorable or adverse circumstance that should affect the condition of his church, and with divine wisdom he adapted its constitutions to the peculiar exigencies of every age and nation and individual believer, until we reach "the consummation of the world." He sent his apostles with power to ordain faithful men, who should in their turn be fit to teach others. This is the charge that St. Paul repeated to Titus, and thus has the succession of apostolic teachers been continued from nation to nation, and from age to age, the church gaining in one region of the earth what she had lost in another, renewing her youth like the eagles, increasing her members, and daily transmitting to the bright realms of heavenly glory innumerable multitudes of her children of every clime and tongue, and peculiarity of social government or manners.

The apostles exercised various functions—I admit it. But they substituted the deacons to wait on tables, and distribute the alms, so do their successors; Christ gave them powers adequate to every emergency.

It has been wrongly asserted, that Moses had no successor. Joshua was, in one important branch, his successor, for it devolved on him to lead the people into the land of promise, and without this consummation, the ministry of Moses would have been in vain; and there are Joshuas now whose office it is to lead the people to their spiritual Canaan—and as God obeyed the voice of Joshua, in commanding the sun to stand still, so he now obeys the voice of his priests making supplication for his people. Here is an obvious analogy between the old and the new covenants. My friend argues that, because Moses had no successor, Peter could have none, and the apostles none; but it is clear that Moses had a successor. All that Moses accomplished would have been incomplete without a succession of ministry to carry on the work of God in favor of his people, Israel. This, Eusebius beautifully establishes, p. 46. So by the same analogy, it is necessary that the succession of an apostolic priesthood should be continued for the carrying on of the christian dispensation, and be transmitted down from generation of spiritual guides to generation, until they shall have conducted all the people of God to the true land of promise, where I trust we shall all meet, and cease to dispute, as we now do, like little children, at the imminent risk of neglecting the weightier points of the law. For myself, I am heartily sick of such interminable contention. Here would I stop and suffer the matter to end without another word, if the sad necessity was not imposed upon me of defending the impugned

tenets of my church, and giving with my voice the testimony which, with the divine assistance, I should not hesitate to seal with my blood, to the truths of the Roman Catholic faith. From the discharge of this duty, no true believer, still more no minister of God, should shrink; and it is worthy of notice that, with all the love and humility of St. Paul, he should have warned his disciple Timothy, and still more the body of the faithful, against associating with "heretics." I never use this word, as it is now so harshly understood, to designate those who differ from me in religion; but I know not how any human being is to determine without the aid of a competent tribunal, who are heretics, and who are not; for we cannot look into the heart.

I am told that an English divine was accustomed humorously to define these terms in this way. "Orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy is yours." But seriously, what being on earth can look into the secrets of the heart? Who was to determine when heresy occurred? That it existed in the early days of the church none can doubt. The apostles denounced it. They delivered its authors to Satan (of whom St. Paul says, are Hymeneus and Alexander whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme. 1st Tim. 1. 20.) The apostles did not suffer their disciples to make this discrimination for themselves, in defiance of the express word of God. They did not allow every man to assert the right of private judgment on scripture, which they taught was of no "private interpretation." 2 Peter, 1. 20. The very form "*understanding this first*" exceedingly strengthens the text. Divisions will ever exist. They are, unfortunately, as *natural* to depraved man, as vice; and but little, if at all less fatal. "*There were also false prophets among the people*," says St. Peter, 2d Ep. xi, 1, *even as there shall be among you lying teachers, who shall bring in sects of perdition*, and again v. 10 and 12, "*They fear not to bring in sects*, blaspheming those things that they know not, promising their disciples liberty, whereas they themselves are the slaves of corruption." These are fountains without water, clouds tossed with whirlwinds, or as St. Jude says, v. 13, "raging waves of the sea, foaming out of their own confusion, wandering stars to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever." Who would trust his safety in a perilous voyage to an unskilful pilot? Who would risk the horrors of the deep without chart or compass? Has God abandoned his children so far as to leave them a prey to every innovator, every wolf in sheep's clothing? Is there no ark of safety for man, while the waters of error overspread the earth? Yes, my friends, there is. It is the church. That ark alone can save the world. "Whosoever," says St. John, 2d Ep. 9, 10, "revolteth and continueth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. If any man come to you and *bring* not this doctrine, receive him not into the house, nor say to him, 'God speed you.' For he that sayeth 'God speed you,' communicateth with his wicked works." This admonition, we understand to be directed against false religions and false teachers. It does not forbid charity, which we owe to all men, and particularly the erring; for whom, we are taught it to be our duty to pray, that they may happily come to the knowledge of truth.

I confess that, for my part, I cannot practise this doctrine literally, nor refuse to salute one who differs from me in faith. I retain my own convictions and eschew his errors. The apostles did differently,

and who will presume to say, they were not more enlightened than we? When St. John met Cerinthus (who denied the divinity of Christ) in the baths of Ephesus, he ran out saying that he was afraid the baths would fall upon him. And when his disciple St. Polycarp met Marcion, in the streets of Rome, he refused to salute him. "Do you not know me?" said Marcion. "I do know you," replied Polycarp, "to be the oldest son of the Devil." This shows the dread of religious innovators entertained by the apostles of Christ and by their disciples, the dangerous result of heresy.—[Time expired.]

Half-past 11 *o'clock, A. M.*

Mr. CAMPBELL rises—

I am sorry that I cannot sympathize with the gentleman in his embarrassment, occasioned, as he alleges, in being obliged to respond promptly to objections to his doctrines, which, he says, he cannot anticipate. So far as he is placed in the predicament of a respondent to my allegations, he has no one to blame but himself. When arranging the preliminaries as to the mode in which this discussion was to be conducted, the gentleman perseveringly insisted that I should lead the way, commencing every session; and that, whether the proposition were affirmative or negative, he must always respond. It was a *sine qua non* with him, that he should always have the last word. I would, as an apology for giving him such an advantage, inform my audience, that *on no other condition would he consent to meet me.* If, however, he sincerely dislikes the arrangement, I am willing to alter it, and change places with him to-morrow. The affirmative, should, in all right, and by universal usage, open, and the respondent follow, in debate.

I regard this discussion, my friends, as a very serious and important affair, involving in it the very best interests of the whole community. I do not appear here to speak for myself alone in behalf of Protestantism, or to you alone. I speak for my contemporaries, and for the great cause of truth; and I am glad for their sake that this debate is immediately to go to record. I must, therefore, give as connected a form as circumstances will permit to my argument. For this reason, I passed over some things in the speech of yesterday that I might finish my first argument this morning. I unfortunately, however, forgot to notice them before I commenced my second proposition.

I will now recapitulate.—

The question was asked me, yesterday evening, "Where was the true church before the time of the Greek schism?" I observed, this morning, in answer, that my having shown the Greek church to be the senior, or the original of the Roman, did not necessarily involve the idea *that the Greek church was at the time of separation the true Catholic church.* To this answer the gentleman has not replied; but yet reiterates the question. His assumption of a church of nations with a political head, having always existed, so confounds him that he cannot see a church without a pope, or a national establishment. I might ask, in reply, where was the church before the days of Constantine?

We can, however, show that from the earliest times there has existed a people whom no man can remember, that have earnestly and consistently contended for the true faith *once* delivered to the saints. If he requires me to put my finger on the page of history on which is

described the commencement of the degeneracy of the Roman diocese from the true faith, I will turn back to about the year of our Lord 250. Then the controversy between Cornelius and Novatian, about the bishopric of Rome, embraced the points at issue, which separated the true church from that which was then grievously contaminated with error and immorality. It was, indeed, a controversy about the purity of communion and discipline, rather than about articles of doctrine. And it is worthy of remark, that such was the principal issue made at that time, although the doctrine of christianity will not long continue pure in a degenerate community.

I have here, before me, Eusebius, the oldest of ecclesiastical historians, who informs us that Novatus and his party were called *Cathari* or *Puritans*. And, although he appears greatly incensed against Novatus and his party, he can record no evil against them except their "*uncharitableness*," in refusing to commune with those of immoral and doubtful character.

The gentleman has given you *his* definition of orthodoxy and heterodoxy: *my* definition is—the *strong* party is the *orthodox*, and the *weak* party is the *heterodox*.

I hold in my hand one of the latest and best historians—Waddington. My learned opponent has already introduced him to your acquaintance. He is a Fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Ferring, in the cathedral church of Chichester. The account he gives of these reformers is sustained by Jones and other ecclesiastical historians. I prefer Waddington for his brevity and perspicuity. He says:

"We may conclude with some notice of the sect of the Novatians who were stigmatized at the time both as schismatics and heretics; but who may perhaps be more properly considered as the earliest body of ecclesiastical reformers They arose at Rome about the year 250, A. D. and subsisted until the fifth century throughout every part of Christendom. Novatian, a presbyter of Rome was a man of great talents and learning, and of character so austere, that he was unwilling, under any circumstances of contrition, to re-admit those who had been once separated from the communion of the church. And this severity he would have extended not only to those who had fallen by deliberate transgression, but even to such as had made a forced compromise of their faith under the terrors of persecution. He considered the christian church as a society, where virtue and innocence reigned universally, and refused any longer to acknowledge as members of it, those who had once degenerated into unrighteousness. This endeavor to revive the spotless moral purity of the primitive faith was found inconsistent with the corruptions even of that early age; it was regarded with suspicion by the leading prelates, as a vain and visionary scheme; and those rigid principles which had characterized and sanctified the church in the first century, were abandoned to the profession of schismatic sectaries in the third."

This sounds a little like Protestantism. Our author proceeds:

"From a review of what has been written on this subject, some truths may be derived of considerable historical importance; the following are among them:—1. In the midst of perpetual dissent and occasional controversy, a steady and distinguishable line, both in doctrine and practice, was maintained by the early church, and its efforts against those, whom it called heretics, were zealous and persevering, and for the most part consistent. Its contests were fought with the 'sword of the spirit,' with the arms of reason and eloquence; and as they were always unattended by personal oppression, so were they most effectually successful—successful, not in establishing a nominal unity, nor silencing the expression of private opinion, but in maintaining the purity of the faith, in preserving the attachment of the great majority of the believers, and in consigning, either to immediate disrepute, or early neglect, all the unscriptural doctrines which were successively arrayed against it."

Other truths are here stated, as consequent from the premises. I will however for the satisfaction of my Episcopalian friends read what follows, in this connection on church government.

"There was yet no dissent on the subject of church government. It was universally and undisputably *Episcopal;* even the reformer Novatian, after his expulsion from the church, assumed the direction of his own rigid sect under the title of bishop; and if any dissatisfaction had existed as to the established method of directing the church, it would certainly have displayed itself on the occasion of a schism, which entirely respected matters of practice and discipline." *Hist. of the chh. p.* 79.

These Puritans or reformers spread all over the world, and continued to oppose the pretensions of those who, from being the major party, claimed to be the Catholic or only church. They continued under the name of Novatians for more than two centuries; but finally were merged in the Donatists, who, indeed, are the same people under another name. These Donatists were a very large and prosperous community. We read of 279 Donatist bishops in one African council. Of these Donatists the same historian deposes:

"The Donatists have never been charged with the slightest show of truth with any error of doctrine, or any defect in church government or discipline, or any depravity of moral practice; they agreed in every respect with their adversaries, except one—they did not acknowledge as legitimate the ministry of the African church, but considered their own body to be the true, uncorrupted, universal church."

Mark it. The Donatists considered *their own body to be the true, uncorrupted, universal church!* "It is quite clear," our author proceeds:

"It is quite clear, that they pushed their schism to very great extremities, even to that of rejecting the communion of all, who were in communion with the church which they called false; but this was the extent of their spiritual offence, even from the assertions of their enemies." *Wad. Hist. p.* 154.

The Donatists, in some two centuries, were amalgamated with the Paulicians. They, too, were called Puritans. Jones, who has been at the greatest pains to give their history, gives the following account of them:

"About the year 660, a new sect arose in the east, under the name of PAULICIANS, which is justly entitled to our attention.

"In Mananalis, an obscure town in the vicinity of Somosata, a person of the name of Constantine entertained at his house a deacon, who having been a prisoner among the Mahometans, was returning from Syria, whither he had been carried away captive. From this passing stranger Constantine received the precious gift of the New Testament in its original language, which even at this early period, was so concealed from the vulgar, that Peter Siculus, to whom we owe most of our information on the history of the Paulicians, tells us the first scruples of a Catholic, when he was advised to read the bible was, "it is not lawful for us profane persons to read those sacred writings, but for the priests only." Indeed, the gross ignorance which pervaded Europe at that time, rendered the generality of the people incapable of reading that or any other book; but even those of the laity who could read, were dissuaded by their religious guides from meddling with the Bible. Constantine however, made the best use of the deacon's present—he studied the New Testament with unwearied assiduity—and more particularly the writings of the apostle Paul from which he at length endeavored to deduce a system of doctrine and worship. 'He investigated the creed of primitive christianity,' says Gibbon, 'and whatever might be the success, a Protestant reader will applaud the spirit of the enquiry.' The knowledge to which Constantine himself was, under the divine blessing enabled to attain, he gladly communicated to others around him, and a christian church was collected. In a little time, several individuals arose among them qualified for the work of the ministry; and several other churches were collected throughout Armenia and Cappadocia. It appears from the whole of their history, to have been a leading object with Constantine and his

brethren to restore as far as possible the profession of christianity to all its primitive simplicity." *Jones' Hist. Christian chh. p.* 239.

Again :

"The Paulician teachers," says Gibbon, "were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of their fellow pilgrims ; by the austerity of their lives, their zeal and knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gift of the Holy Spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least, of obtaining the wealth and honors of the Catholic prelacy. Such anti-christian pride they strongly censured."—*Id. ib. p.* 240.

I might read almost to the same effect from Waddington and Du Pin. True they are called *heretics* by those who call themselves Catholic and us heretics; but what does this prove?

Until the appearance of the Waldenses and Albigenses, these Pro estants continued to oppose the church of nations in the east, and in the west, until at one time they claimed the title of Catholic. We read of hundreds of bishops attending the different councils in which they met to oppose the violent assaults of their enemies.

It is sometimes difficult to say which were the more numerous party, those in communion with the Cathari, or Puritans, sometimes called Novatians, sometimes Donatists, sometimes Paulicians, sometimes Waldenses ; but always, in fact, Protestants.

The spirit of true religion seems to have fled from Rome from the first appearance of the Novatians. The first schism at Rome acknowledged and recorded by the Roman Catholic historians, is that which occurred at the election of Cornelius over Novatus. Hence Novatus is called the first anti-pope. Du Pin and Barronius amply testify of the violence by which St. Peter's chair was often filled with a vicar after this schism. In the election of Damasus many were killed in the churches of Rome. One hundred and thirty four persons, beaten to death by clubs, were carried out of a single house at this election. Had the Holy Spirit any thing to do in thus filling the chair of St. Peter with a vicar of Christ! Is the church which permits such things and which has been sustained by such means, the true church of God? Is the person thus elected, the supreme head of Christ's church—the proper vicar of Christ?! May we not then say that the spirit of God on that day, had departed from Rome? And may we not add, from the documents before us, that if there be any truth in history, we have found a succession of witnesses for the ancient faith against Rome, from the days of the first schism till the present hour?

There is but another point in the speech of my opponent, to which I will now respond. I called on him to explain the difference between the claim of the title of pope, or universal father, (as St. Gregory opposed it,) and the same claim as now maintained by the head of the church. The name pope, indeed, has in modern times, much changed its meaning; for once it was applied to all bishops, and is now applied to every priest in the Greek church. But when has the title "universal father," been changed? He alluded, in reply, to the schism between the Greek church and the Roman church. The Greek church, it seems, would not allow that the ordinances of religion without their sanction, were validly administered. Is not that the very plea of Rome at this hour? Does she not say, that the bishops and clergy of the English church are all *laymen*, because that church separated from the Roman church ; and that all the authority she had from her has been since revoked by the authority that gave it? How

often are we told that the pope has the power of resuming all authority given him—that he can create, and afterwards destroy? that whatever ecclesiastical power he gives, he can take away; and that therefore all heretics excommunicated and anathematized have no power left to perform the ordinances of religion? The ground upon which the gentleman stands as to his defence of the authority of the pope, is precisely the ground of Gregory's opposition to the title, as claimed by Boniface III. if I can understand his attempt to explain it.

But I must advert, before I sit down, to a single point on which I touched in my speech of this morning, viz. that of the councils. The gentleman asks, did not Sylvester the pope preside in the first general council by his legate? I affirm that he cannot show documents to prove that fact.—Nay, let him show, if he can, that the first seven councils were called by the bishops of Rome, or that his legates were there to preside.

What would the gentleman prove by the fact, if it be a fact, that a Roman bishop presided over one of these councils? That, therefore, they were *Roman* councils? How would such logic pass with us with regard to the house of representatives? His argument runs thus: Mr. Henry Clay was once speaker of that house, Mr. Clay is from Kentucky, therefore, the house of representatives were all *Kentuckians!* This would be exactly the pith of the logic we have heard.

My opponent admits the history of the first seven councils which I have given to be correct: but explains it by asserting that all the business was eastern. But *there were western heresies*, as well as eastern, and western business as well as eastern transacted in these councils. I therefore object to his exposition of that matter. It would have been impolitic on his exposition to call together eastern men to decide upon eastern heresies. They ought to have sent western men, who would have been more impartial judges. But he has not yet adduced one document, showing that these councils were called for such purposes, or that the east only was concerned in these q estions.

On the prefix "*Catholic*" to the epistles, the gentleman did not hear me, or did not apprehend my meaning. The argument is not about its *antiquity* but its *authority!* He has not proved, and cannot prove that it was so prefixed in the first ages, nor that it was ever so applied by any inspired writer. Having brought no documents to prove this, his reasoning is wholly irrelevant.

But you have been treated, my friends, to a feast from the "*Baptist Banner*," one of the party ephemerals opposed to reformation. Unfortunately for the cause of religion, every age has produced a crop of these special pleaders for party tenets. Many such a banner was unfurled against Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Wesley and all reformers: for they were all heretics and controversialists. Indeed there never was a good man on earth who was not a controversialist. From the days of Abel and Noah till the present hour, the friends of truth have been heretical and controversial. But what has the Baptist Banner to do with tne present points at issue? Is the gentleman so hard pressed as to form such alliances, to deliver himself or cause from ruin? I trust he will either keep, or be kept to the question in debate, and leave Protestants to settle their own controversies.—[Time expired.]

Twelve o'clock, M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I thought we should be placed under considerable obligations to my friend, for putting his finger upon the historic page that records the day and date of the apostacy of the Roman Catholic church from the true and holy Apostolic church, with so much precision. But now we are adjourned back nearly 1000 years, and yet nothing more definite than a "some time about the year 250!" Some time about! He does not tell us whether it was in one year, or another, that the church began to be corrupt. It was *some time about*, and so on. About this time, it seems, the Novatians separated from the church—well, Paul foresaw that such events would occur in the church's history—he foresaw that "ravenous wolves would enter the fold;" that dissensions would exist, at all successive periods, to the end of time—that every day new heretics would start up, who would deny the truth, introduce false doctrine, and trouble the people of God. The Novatians were one of these sects—and what did they teach? Why the most revolting and horrible doctrines; among others, the doctrine that a convert to christianity, who, in times of peril and temptation, nay *even when compelled by physical force*, should forsake his creed, could never be restored, no matter how sincerely penitent. Who that feels his frailty and knows that his heart in an evil hour might stray from duty, does not revolt at such a doctrine, that for one offence would cut him off forever! God dealt not so with Adam, nor Christ with Peter, when at the voice of a woman, and in an evil hour, even *his* strong heart failed him. He admitted him to mercy, received him back to his bosom, and made him the rock of his church.

But if all heretics are right, and this among the number—if the church was wrong in separating herself from these men—if it is her duty to say to the upholder of false doctrine "all hail," you are as free from error, as incorrupt and immaculate, as we are, come partake with us, we are of one communion; the rule should, according to the gentleman's logic, *work both ways*, and Rome has as good a right as anyother to be called the church of Christ. On the other hand, if the Novatians were right, as he says they were, in excluding others, the church was right in excluding them. The speech of heretics, St. Paul tells us, 2d Tim. ii. 17, spreadeth like a cancer; he elsewhere says, that evil communication corrupts good manners; and the Pagans were not insensible to the wisdom of the distich—

"Principiis obsta; sero medicina paratur
"Cum mala per longas invaluere moras."

My friend must have forgotten his argument of this morning, when he said that the church of the living God should include none but the pure and holy. If this be true, we must all give it up; for WHO is holy? Which of us can lay his hand upon his heart and say I AM WITHOUT sin? No, we are only holy in acknowledging our sinfulness and guilt in the sight of God, with humility and prayer. "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us! If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to clear us from all iniquity." St. John, Ep. If such be the gentleman's requisitions, there can be no church of Christ in this erring world. There is none pure from defilement, says Job, and all are included as the

objects of divine displeasure, from which only the blood of Christ, with faith, repentance and good works, can save us. If the gentleman insists on applying a test which would require absolute perfection to enable us to endure it, there is no such holiness, that I am aware of, exhibited in this probationary state. My friend may feel a proud consciousness that he is a happy instance of its existence, but for my part, I cannot, I should not think it safe to lay the flattering unction to my soul. I would advise no man to do so, while the great St. Paul commands us to work out our salvation with fear and trembling; and tells us, he chastised his own body, lest while he preached to others he himself "should become a reprobate," 1st. Cor. ix. 27. It is our duty to acknowledge that we are frail and sinful mortals even like the rest of men. Establish a contrary rule, and pride digs one abyss after another beneath our feet, and there will not be left one virtuous feeling, one sound principle upon which we can take our stand to make a last appeal to heaven for mercy! When Christ empowered the church to throw her nets into the sea of human life, as the apostles did into the lake, she gathered into it fishes, both good and bad; when the nets are hauled ashore, the good fish will be selected and the bad thrown back into the sea. So will it be at the end of the world. The angels of God will come forth and select the elect from the reprobate—they will gather the wheat into the garner, but the tares they will burn with unquenchable fire. The Catholic church with a consciousness of man's true condition in this life, and a liberality which does her honor, and which, all agree, ought to belong to the fold of Christ, permits all to join in her religious festivals and exterior communion who profess the same faith, and are willing to submit to her decisions as her children.

But mark the distinction between the body and the soul of the church, all who profess the true faith, assist at the same religious exercises and obey the same pastors, belong to the body of the church and are therefore numbered among her children; but to faith and exterior communion of which alone man can take cognizance, must be added hope and love and grace with God, that we may belong to the soul of the church. Of the latter the church does not undertake to decide. This she leaves to God, who alone can see the heart. She, herself, judges not the inscrutable things of the spirit of a man, but contents herself with knowing and teaching that nothing can escape the piercing and all-seeing eye of God, who will render to every man according to his works, on that day when the hope of the hypocrite shall perish. Hence, as long as one of her members disqualifies not himself for the communion of the faithful by flagrant impiety notorious depravity, or scandalous excess, she rejects him not; but like that charity of which St. Paul speaks, 1st Cor. xiii. "is patient, is kind, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, with modesty admonishing men, if peradventure God may give them repentance."

The gentleman quoted from Waddington the history of the Novatians. He says, they continued, how long I know not, but TILL! (forget not the word,) *till* they merged in the sect of Donatists. The expressive word *till* is enough. There is no such fatal and terminating word in Catholic history. The Catholic church is universal, and not sectarian. It is perpetual in duration, and is not *merged* as one wave of error is merged in or obliterated by another. The gentleman asserts,

that the Donatists did not differ from the Novatians. This is incorrect. The Donatists fell from schism into errors which the Novatians had never adopted. They employed the "*savage Circumcellions*," as the protestant historian Waddington calls them, to pillage churches, murder Catholics, and perpetrate other acts of barbarity unheard of among the meek followers of Jesus Christ. What, too, will my friend say to the uncontrollable propensity to suicide, which they were accused of encouraging and indulging with dreadful frequency? Not so the true church—she comes like Jesus Christ to call sinners to repentance, and heal the contrite of heart—she employs his own inviting, and attractive, accents of pity and compassion:—"Come to *me* all you that labor and are heavy burdened, and *I* will refresh you, not drive you to despair, to acts of self destruction; and you shall find rest for your souls." Matthew xi. 28. A hard heart will fare badly in the end, says the scripture, and consequently every feeling of justice and humanity revolts at the idea that the Novatians could have been animated by the meek spirit of Jesus Christ, when they condemned to eternal exclusion from the church for a single, and that, frequently, a compulsory fault, as when an individual was condemned by brute force to offer incense to the idols, or the Donatists, who revolted against the authority of the African bishops, and ravaged the countries where they prevailed with a lawless soldiery. Is this the meek church of him who came to preach deliverance to captives? Must we palliate these and a hundred similar excesses, to criminate a church which would, if her mild counsels were obeyed, have averted these evils from mankind? Is it candid, is it just, to blame her without cause and to withhold praise where it is due? The Roman Catholic church has never given the example of such cruelty. She on the contrary admits all sinners to repentance; she counts as belonging to her communion, all the children baptized in Protestant communions who die before they are capable of committing mortal sin, or who living in invincible ignorance that they have been bred up in error, keep the commandments of God, and love him, as far as their knowledge of his divine nature will permit. All these belong to the soul of the church; and are consequently among the most precious of her fold. Even among the unenlightened Indians if any there be that keep inviolably the natural law and serve their Creator according to the best lights which they possess, these she enrolls among her children, and teaches us to consider them as objects of God's special mercy, whom he will not, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, fail to illustrate with the light of divine truth. For this purpose the resources of his wisdom, are like that wisdom, infinite. Thus while the Catholic church watches with the most scrupulous fidelity over the purity of faith, in her has the beautiful saying of the psalmist been fulfilled, "Mercy and truth have met one another, justice and peace have kissed." Ps. lxxxiv. 11.

By what ingenuity can the gentleman flatter himself he will establish the claims of the discordant and evanescent sects of these early ages to the title of Catholics. Sisyphus-like, these sects which he is laboring so hard, so vainly, to roll up to the summit of that "mountain placed upon the top of mountains," spoken of by Is. ii. 2, and which is the aptest figure of the Catholic church, to which all nations flow, will fall upon him and crush him. He can never prove

them Catholic in *time*, in *place*, or in doctrine. The Novatians did not slip into the Donatists, nor the Donatists into the Paulicians; there was no common bond of union, no identity of doctrine, among these heterogeneous sects. As it is the same sun which took its station in the heavens at the creation that now shines over us, so it is the same religion that was taught eighteen hundred years ago by Jesus Christ, that irradiates us at this very day with the light of truth; and not more difficult would it be to count all the vapors, mists and clouds, that passed athwart the bright luminary of day since he first gladdened the universe with his beams, than to enumerate the numberless sects that have cast their shadows on the light of Catholic holiness, and purity, and truth, since the origin of christianity. They have passed, or are fast passing away for ever, while she lasts on, and will last till the end of time. "I have seen the wicked," says the Psalmist, xxxvi. 35, "highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed, and lo! he was not, and his place was not to be found." This is a glorious indication of the stability of the Catholic church—of the truth of the power that sustains her. And as she signalized her triumph over all the false gods of Paganism, by establishing the church of All Saints, and of the God who made them saints, on the ruins of the greatest of idolatrous temples, so does she signalize her triumph over all sects and heresies, falsely professing to be christian, by the august pontiff who speaks to the eternal city and the Catholic world. From the inspiration of scripture, and of splendid facts, I pass to the inspiration of poetry, I care not whose, and close the words of my argument in the words of Byron:

"But thou of temples old, or altars new,
Standest alone—with nothing like to thee—
Worthiest of God, the holy and the true!
Since Zion's desolation, when that He
Forsook his former city, what could be
Of earthly structures in his honor pil'd
Of a sublimer aspect? Majesty,
Power, glory, strength, and beauty, all are aisl'd,
In this eternal ark of worship undefil'd."

* * * * *

My friend has dwelt eloquently upon riots in the church in particular seasons of excitement. But shall a society forfeit all claims to regard, because, in seasons of high excitement, differences of opinion proceed to violence? or a few bad people come to blows? It has happened, and may happen among all denominations, even the most peaceful sects, and every body of men; (instances were here specified.) A riot may take place at an election of president, and blood be shed; but does this affect the title of chief magistrate of this union? Is he to lose his office because blows were struck during the election? and if the pope could not always be elected peaceably, by reason of the disturbances created by men, was the succession to cease, and was there never to be a pope again, or a bishop, or any other pastor in the church? was Christ not God because Peter, the servant Malchus, shed blood for him? See the terrible effects of my friend's bad reasoning. The deist has availed himself of it, and denied the God of the Old Testament, because exterminating wars, as we there read, were waged at his command. We must make allowances for the passions and

weaknesses of human nature; but the aim of religion is to correct, to heal, if she cannot entirely remove them. When the pope was elected, in the case alluded to, he restored order. As Christ said to Peter, so said he to the mob excited by Novatian, "Put up again thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Matthew xxvi. 52.

The gentleman asked me to tell him in what objectionable sense the bishop of Constantinople claimed the title of Universal Father. It was in a sense never used before; he had no title to it; he assumed too much in claiming it. Again, it was he who pretended that no sacrament could be administered but by his authority. The Catholic church teaches that, however *illicitly* he may exercise it, no authority on earth can take even from a degraded priest the *power* of consecrating. Schismatical bishops, when duly ordained themselves, could ordain bishops, priests and inferior clergy. We admit the baptism of Methodists and Baptists by aspersion, or immersion, as I have already explained; and even the orders of the English Episcopal church are contested, on the ground of the very serious doubt whether the first of their bishops was, himself, consecrated by a bishop, or if so, by a valid formulary.

My friend was not at all accurate in stating the number of bishops present at some of the first councils. There were more present at them, as I can easily shew, than he has stated. He draws a parallel between the council of Nice and the house of representatives. I do not understand the force of his analogy. If that council belonged exclusively to the Greeks, why did they permit a Latin to preside? But it was to shew the world that they admitted the authority of Rome that Osius, the pope's legate, presided—and without his signature, and the pope's approbation, their acts would have had no force as rules of Catholic faith. What analogy is there between Henry Clay and Osius? Did they stand in the same relation to their respective assemblies? Did they ever dream that they would be placed in juxta position? If the speaker of the house, or the president of the senate, were to object to the passing of a law, would his veto avail anything? would not the majority rule?

My friend said, first, that *Catholic* was a new term; and next, when he found it impossible to prove that, insisted it was not used to designate the church, by inspired writers. I have abundantly disproved both of these assertions. The apostles were inspired writers, and it dates from their time; and they alone, according to the rule of St. Augustin, had the right to institute it. Besides, what are all the glorious prophesies of the universal diffusion of the church by Isaiah, &c. &c. but the evidence that it should be what its name imports? In fact, it was *Catholic* before *all* the New Testament was completed. And the apostles, aware of the doubts that error would originate on the authority of the church, gave a sure and unerring guide to every sincere believer, teaching him to say, next after the profession of his belief in God himself—not, I believe in the bible—it is not once mentioned—not in any sect—there were none heard of at that time—but "I believe in the holy Catholic church."—[Time expired.]

Three o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

I may have mistaken in ascribing to the bishop of Rome what was done by the bishop of Constantinople, in reference to the personal consecration of the successor of Mauritius; but this does not affect the justice of my remark, or invalidate my reasoning: and I think my worthy friend apprehends this, inasmuch as the consecration was approved and sustained by Gregory. I read those documents at the same time, and may have confounded them, but we shall hear them again and see how much is either gained or lost by the admission.

"As a subject and a christian, it was the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government, but the joyful applause with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint. The successor of the apostles might have inculcated with decent firmness the guilt of blood, and the necessity of repentance: he is content to celebrate the deliverance of the people and the fall of the oppressor; to rejoice that the piety and benignity of Phocas have been raised by providence to the imperial throne; to pray that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and to express a wish, perhaps a prophecy, that, after a long and triumphant reign, he may be transferred from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom."*—*Gibbon Hist. Dec. and Fall Rom. Emp. vol.* viii. *p.* 211.

Now this, if I mistake not, amounts in substance to my affirmation. Gregory approved the usurpation, and sanctioned the induction into office of a man who had wrested the throne from the legitimate master, and who was both a murderer and a usurper.

I could wish that my opponent would select some of the great points of my argument in his replies, and form an issue with me. Were this piece of history blotted out of existence, what loss to the main argument? These are merely incidental and minor matters—illustrations rather than proofs, and leave the great facts as they were. I must, however, briefly glance at some other little things before I resume my argument.

The gentleman's next remark was, "that Joshua was the successor of Moses." True it is, that every man is in one sense successor to some one who preceded him. But Moses was, for a time, captain, prophet, priest, and king of Jeshurun. Joshua, however, merely commanded the people, and divided the land of Canaan among them. This did not Moses: Moses accomplished all that he was appointed to do. He needed no successor in the peculiar work assigned him. They were both extraordinary offices. Moses was a law-giver, and Joshua a savior. The law was given to the people by Moses: Joshua gave them an inheritance. Neither of them, in the nature of things, could have a successor in the same office, for its duties were all discharged.

I was pleased to hear the gentleman admit all that I said concerning the Novatians. They had one fault which we both allow—they were too severe in one branch of discipline—they could never receive those who had grievously fallen—no repentance would obtain re-admission if the penitent had very flagrantly sinned. The occasion was this:

* Gregor. 1. xi. epist. 38, indict. vi. Benignitatem vestræ pietatis ad imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus. Lætentur cœli et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus universæ reipublicæ populus nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat, &c. This base flattery, the topic of Protestant invective, is justly censured by the philosopher Bayle, (Dictionnaire Critique, Gregoire 1. Not. H. tom. ii. p. 597, 598.) Cardinal Barronius justifies the pope at the expense of the fallen emperor.

In the interim of the Pagan persecutions, many new converts were added to the churches. By and by, when the storm of persecution arose, they withdrew and fell away: but when a calm ensued, they sought to be restored to the church. The Novatians opposed their restoration; the other party contended for it. The Puritans got vexed with the frequent indulgences and backslidings of such professors; and this occasioned that extreme on their part, which drew down upon them many anathemas from the other party. They had other objections besides this against the opposing party; but this was sufficient for a division.

I was sorry to hear the gentleman excusing the church for embracing in its bosom men of every sort of wickedness. He spoke with great feeling and eloquence upon the subject of calling ourselves holy, &c. We admit that there is no man free from all pollution, whose heart is always and only pure. But what has this to do with the openly wicked and profane—reprobates of the deepest dye? Ought the church to open her doors as wide as the human race, and admit every human being without discrimination? Is there no medium? He quoted the parable of the tares and wheat. It is true, the Savior commanded to let the tares and wheat grow together till harvest: but the gentleman *assumed* that it was spoken of the *church*. I admit the doctrine, as applied to the *world*. "*The field is the world*," not the church, said the Savior. Does this excuse us for tolerating reprobates *in the bosom of the church?* "You are not of this world," says the Savior to his disciples—"My kingdom is not of this world," "Come out from among them, and separate yourselves, and I will receive you, says the Almighty Father. What concord has Christ with Belial, or he that believeth with an infidel?"

As to the "continuation of the Novatians *till* the Donatists, and the Donatists *till* the Paulicians," &c. my friend emphasizes the word *till*, as if those witnesses for Christ had died away when some new sect arose. The fact is, that when some great leader arose, his name was imposed upon all that associated with him; and different leaders. in various parts of the world, moved great masses of professors, who were essentially the same people; and when they became acquainted with each other, they coalesced under one great profession, variously nicknamed by the opposite party. So are the Lutherans, Calvinists, Wesleyans, Cameronians, &c. of our own time.

Sorry was I to hear my liberal antagonist compare the Protestant sects to the psalmist's description of a prosperous wicked man—"I saw," says he, "the wicked great in power, spread himself like a green bay tree: he passed away; yea, he was not. I sought him, and he could not be found." I do not know how his Episcopalian friends will thank him for this compliment. I have no doubt in this he was sincere, for the Romanists often bewailed the long life of Elizabeth, because, under her reign, a new race of Protestants was born and educated, and alienated from the Roman hierarchy, who were proof against all the machinations of Rome. They hoped that the Protestant Episcopalians would, like the green bay tree of David, (emblem of the prosperous wicked,) have withered away, and been reabsorbed by the mother church; but for once the application failed, and the wicked Protestants have for three centuries grown and increased, in despite of all the policy and effort of Rome, and are now in expectation

of seeing the same 37th psalm verified in the fates of Roman Catholicism.

Every sect and individual, as I said before, is passive in receiving a name. Sectarian names are generally given in the way of reproach; thus the disciples were first called christians at Antioch, most probably in derision; yet it was a very proper name. Call us what you please, however, it does not change nature or race. The disciples of Christ are the same race, call them Christians, Nazarenes, Galileans, Novatians, Donatists, Paulicians, Waldenses, Albigenses, Protestants, or what you please. A variety of designation affects not the fact which we allege; we can find an unbroken series of Protestants—a regular succession of those who protested against the corruptions of the Roman church, and endeavored to hold fast the faith once delivered to the saints, from the first schism in the year 250, A. D. to the present day; and you may apply to them what description or de signation you please.

The gentleman spoke of these sects as waves passing by while the true church remained like a wall, immoveable and unchangeable. History refuses him her suffrage in this assumption: for it deposes that she has changed, in whole, or in part, her tenets and her discipline, no less than eighteen times in all—that is, once, at least for every general council. She is the mutable immutable church, contending for uniformity in faith and variety of discipline.

My opponent has quoted the apostles' creed. Du Pin, and a learned host prove that the apostles never wrote it. The doctrine contained in it, I admit is apostolic. And it is worthy of remark that like all old creeds, it states *facts*; whereas modern creeds are human expositions of *doctrines*. For my own part, I can adopt every article of that creed, *ex animo*; except, perhaps, I would change one expression, and say that 'I believe in *a* Catholic church.' I believe that there does exist such a thing as a truly Catholic church of Christ. But as for human creeds, I make no such platforms a bond of union among christians. We, like the Romanists, differ about church discipline among ourselves: but all the Protestant world believes this 'apostles' creed,' as it is called; and are as uniform in this faith as the "mother church" herself.

I was sorry to hear the election of the pope, the pretended vicar of Christ, as respects riots, and blows, and carnage, compared to that of the president of the United States, and to have the excesses complained of in Rome, excused on the ground, that sometimes we have mobs, and perhaps a fight on a presidential election. Is the presidential chair of such dignity and sanctity as that of the vicar of Christ?! And is a riot or murder no more incongruous in the one case than in the other? We opine, that he who holds that exalted station should come into it without blood. And yet in all these political elections, since the Protestant reformation, there is nothing to equal half the uproar, and tumult, and murder, that happened in filling the chair of St. Peter, at the conflict between Damasus and Ursinus, not to mention a second. Can it be compared to the election of the president so as to transfer to the one the language which is *pertinent* to the other? As, for example, "Take heed to the flock over which the Holy Spirit has placed you!"

The gentleman is glad that his church is *so liberal* as to authorize

every sort of baptism, even that performed by heretics, provided only the proper name be pronounced! This is certainly a modern excess of liberality. If I am rightly informed, his predecessor, in this very charge, was not so liberal as he—in one case, at least, which occurred at Portsmouth in this state. There were two members of the Episcopal church, one of the parties the son of an Episcopalian minister, desirous of entering into matrimony. Bishop Fenwick desired to know of what party they were, and on learning that they were Episcopalians, refused to marry them, unless previously baptized by himself. There may be many other instances of the same sort, certainly, in former times there were many, and so far as they prove that the church is not immutable, are hopeful indications of the possibility of reform. But this is not the question before us. We are not discussing baptism, or the eucharist, or any of the "seven sacraments," or any ordinance of the church. Will the gentleman inform us whether his church regards the administration of the eucharist, or any other of her seven sacraments valid, unless at the hand of those whom she authorizes to minister them. Let him not wave the question by a reference to a practice which he knows can be explained on other principles.

I shall not now stop to dispute about Sylvester and the council of Nice: but shall resume my general argument where I left off.

All agree that if primacy or supremacy reside in the church at all, it must reside *in some person.* If Jesus Christ intended to make Peter the prince of apostles, the vicar of Christ; the title will prove it clearly. If this headship, on the other hand, was not given to Peter; none can derive it from him by succession. Was Peter invested with this authority? If not, none can pretend to it as his successors. The whole question rests on this. My learned opponent cannot show that Peter ever had such an office. He affirms, indeed, that Peter was superior to the rest of the apostles: but does he show in what respect? How many kinds of superiority might there have been in his case? I will answer for him and say that there are, at least, *four.* 1st. of age, 2nd. of talents, 3d. of character, and 4th. of office. These are clearly marked in holy writ, and fixed in society. Admit then that Peter is head of the list; can he decide which of these four has placed him first. The bishop *asserts* that he was first in *office.* But how can he take this for granted, when there are three other ways in which Peter might be at the head? Is this the reasoning that logic or Catholicism sanctions or requires?

I would request the gentleman to tell us, how he knows which of these four sorts of superiority to ascribe to Peter! He assumes one, and is bold in asserting the Catholic doctrine of a supreme head of the church on this assumption. Peter may have been the oldest, or the first called of all the apostles: or his character or talents may have given him a decided superiority; why then assume one, to the exclusion of the others. The greatest empires have been built on the most bold assumptions. But never was there a more baseless monarchy in the annals of time than that of papal Rome. I wish my opponent would for once assume, or take up some one of these grand points, on which his church rests, and not waste his time in fighting about shadows or peccadillos. Let him come at once to the great principles of the debate. I challenge him to show cause, why he assumes for Peter a supremacy of office, rather than of age, of talent, or of character;

any one of which is much more feasible and probable than that which he has begged.—[Time expired.]

Half past 3 *o'clock, P. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I was far from charging Mr. C. with a wilful dereliction of the truth when he stated, what he now confesses to be untrue, that Gregory crowned Phocas. The imputed motive was very base, but he now sees that it was not the pope's. I attribute this extraordinary mistake, on the part of my friend, to the fact of his having been too apt to believe that every thing written against Catholics must be true, and to his memory's not having been lately refreshed in his early readings. But it is due to the public that he should apologize for having, through want of care on a matter of so much importance, fallen into so very serious a mistake in what was calculated so deeply to injure the truth. He should first have inquired whether all he said was true. I repeat, then, that Gregory did not crown Phocas at all, much less for the express purpose of eliciting from the gratitude of the sovereign an acknowledgment of his "papal supremacy" for this recognition was as old as Christianity. Order was restored in Constantinople. He then sent him words of compliment on his accession. It is contrary to the rules of sound argument to presume that Gregory approved of the circumstances which led to the change of dynasty. Napoleon grasped the Iron crown of Italy, from the altar and put it on his brow, for he acknowledged no Donor thereof but his sword. So would Phocas, very probably have done with the crown of C., whatever Gregory might have thought of the act. Moreover, Phocas did not hurl Mauritius from the throne. Mauritius abdicated, and the people, not the bishop of C. P. made Phocas king, in the place of Mauritius, a miser, and a tyrant; and Gregory rejoiced, not at the disturbances but at the restoration of order. My friend now treats these matters as light, and incidental. It was he himself who made then principals, by the manner in which he introduced them. He was arguing a knotty point, the manner in which Rome came to "assume" her high prerogative over the church. The plain, scriptural truth, that she came to it by divine appointment was before his eyes, but he would not see it. Is it to be wondered at that he saw in history what was not there! I will say no more on the subject of Joshua. Eusebius confirms, p. 46, what I have said. The object of the ministry of the old or of the new law, of the coming of Christ, of the shedding of his blood, and all the institutions of his religion, was not the setting up of a tabernacle in the wilderness, or the crossing of the Jordan, or the surveying of a piece of land and dividing it among a few tribes, but the SALVATION OF MANKIND, without any exception, or distinction of age, or clime; and this great work of regeneration and redemption is just as important now, and will continue so while there are IMMORTAL SOULS to be enlightened and saved, as it was in the days of the apostles. Their office must remain, and their successors are charged with it. The bishops and their assistant brethren watch over the safety of the fold, and the sovereign pontiff sees that they and their flocks persevere in unity. He watches over all.

Mr. C. persists in saying that the Novatians, Donatists, Paulicians &c. &c. agreed in doctrine, and may be considered as the Catholic

church. I have already refuted this theory, but here is Protestant testimony again to destroy it, and I hope we shall not waste any more time on it, for it is too absurd. "No heretic," says Waddington, p. 154, "was as likely as the Donatist to lay claim to the name Catholic; yet even a Donatist, while he maintained that the true spirit and purity were alone perpetuated in his own communion, would scarcely have affirmed that that was *bona fide* the universal church, *which did not extend beyond the shores of Africa, and which had not the majority even there.*" Speaking of the sects in Dauphiné and other errorists condemned at Arras in 1025, the same author says, (p. 554) "It is proper to mention what these opinions really were, which were condemned at Arras, lest it should be supposed that they were at variance only with the Roman Catholic church, and strictly in accordance with apostolic truth." "It was asserted that the sacrament of baptism was useless and of no efficacy to salvation, (what does Mr. C. think of this?) that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was equally unnecessary.—It appears that the objections of the heretics on this point went beyond the mere denial of the change of substance—that the sacred orders of the ministry were not of divine institution—that penance was altogether inefficacious—that marriage in general was contrary to the evangelical and apostolical laws—that saint-worship is to be confined to the apostles and martyrs, &c. &c. so mixed and various is the substance of those opinions to which learned writers on this subject appeal with so much satisfaction." Again, "they were all tainted more or less deeply by the poison of Manichaesism: and since it is our object to establish a connexion, with the primitive church, we shall scarcely attain it through those whose fundamental principle was unequivocally rejected by that church, as irrational and impious." 555.

Mosheim says, 1st vol. p. 328, "Among the sects that troubled the Latin church, this century, (the 12th) the principal place is due to the Cathari, or Catharists, whom we have had already occasion to mention. This numerous faction, leaving their first residence, which was in Bulgaria, *spread themselves* throughout almost all the European provinces, where they occasioned *much* tumult and disorder. Their religion resembled the doctrine of the Manicheans and Gnostics, on which account they commonly received the denomination of the former, though they differed in many respects from the genuine primitive Manicheans. They all indeed, agreed in the following points of doctrine, viz. that matter was the source of all evil; that the creator of this world was a being distinct from the supreme deity; that Christ was neither clothed with a real body, nor could be properly said to have been born, or to have seen death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle, and were extinguished without the prospect of a new life. They treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the Old Testament, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the New." Speaking of the Waldenses, p. 332, Mosheim says, "They committed the government of the church to bishops, presbyters and deacons, but they deemed it absolutely necessary that all these orders should resemble exactly the apostles of the divine Savior, and be like them *illiterate*, &c. &c. The laity were divided into two classes, one of which contained the *perfect* and the other the *imperfect* christians." Of another sect, the Pasaginians, Mosheim says, p. 333, "They circumcised their followers, and held that the law of Moses, in every thing but sacrifice, was obligatory upon Chris-

tians." What the same Protestant historian says of the brethren of the free spirit is too horrid. It is the foulest of the many foul pages he has stained with the history of sects. "They maintained that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious." The celebrated Ziska, not a Roman Catholic inquisitor, but the austere general of the Hussites, another sect of Protestants, falling upon this miserable sect in 1421, "put some to the sword and condemned the rest to the flames." Mosheim, 428. "A sect of fanatics called *Caputiati*, infested Moravia and Burgundy, the diocese of Auxerre, and several other parts of France, *in all which places they excited much disturbance among the people.* They declared publicly that their purpose was, to level all distinctions, to abrogate magistracy, to remove all subordination among mankind, and to restore that primitive liberty, that natural equality, which were the inestimable privileges of the first mortals." Mosheim, p. 333. Luther repeatedly declared that he stood alone, that all antiquity was against him. Here are startling facts and no less startling admissions by sound Protestants. Will my friend insult this enlightened assembly by making up a monster-church, a very chimera, of all these sects, and give modern Protestants all the honors present and prospective of being the *tail of the beast?* I would counsel *him* not to dream of doing so, and *them* to look out for more reputable religious ancestors.

But the Roman Catholic church has changed at least in discipline. Grant it. And what of that? Is it not the very nature of discipline that it must be modified by times, places, peculiarities of nations and other circumstances, in order to be adapted to the wants of man in all the varieties of his being? Truth is unsusceptible of change. Like God it is always the same. But the form of the dress of the clergy, the color of the wine to be used at mass, days of fasting and abstinence, and of public meetings for prayer and certain unessential rites in the administration of the sacraments, may be changed. The constitution of the church should possess this element of good government. She has the power to make these changes, and she has made them as the wants of her children seemed to require. But the doctrine is invariable. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but, of it, not an iota shall change.

As to the deaths occasioned in the election of a pope, I ask again, what has that to do with the constitutionality of the office? The pope did not slay those people. According to the gentleman's theory, the president of this union would have to answer for the blood, if any, spilled at his election. I am astonished that such arguments should be repeated. I can say with certainty of my venerable predecessor that he would not have pursued the course, he did, if the story be true, if he had had reason to believe the individuals had never been baptized—and if any two or more young people will come to me, who have been rightly baptized in Protestant communions, I warrant them, if there be no other obstacles, they shall be quickly bound together in the indissoluble bonds of matrimony.

I am perfectly willing to revert to the point of the supremacy of St Peter and the continuance of his high authority in his successors, for it is a cardinal doctrine. It solves a thousand lesser points of difficulty and I am happy to argue it again from the New Testament, from church history, from reason. I have already quoted scripture for the dogma of the supremacy of Peter—"upon this rock will I build my church." My friend does not like to approach that rock,—He takes

care to keep shy of it. I also quoted "feed my lambs,—feed my sheep"—"To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,"—"Blessed art thou, Simon,"—and "when thou art anointed confirm thy brethren," &c. All these texts, and more, did I quote, and the gentleman has had my authority before him. I shall now strengthen my quotation from the fathers, adducing overwhelming facts to prove that Peter was bishop of Rome and that the bishops of that see have EVER been regarded in the Catholic church as his successors. Many of my hearers may suppose that this matter is buried in the night of time—that history is either silent, or not sufficiently clear upon it. But when they hear the splendid testimonies I am going to adduce, they will change their minds on this subject, and confess that, from time immemorial, in the very earliest ages, the church was precisely the same, in its faith, its sacraments, its hierarchy, its clergy, &c. &c. that *the Catholic* church is at the present day. (Here bishop Purcell held up the map of the succession of popes from the first, Peter himself, down to the present pontiff, Gregory XVI.; the names of all the most eminent men in the church; the date of the establishment of the gospel in the various countries of the world, the origin and authors of the various heresies and schisms, their condemnation by general councils, or synods, &c. &c.) let any other exhibit such an array!

Christ Jesus said to his disciples "go, teach *all* nations." They went! they preached every where, and the world believed! before their death they ordained others whose names are here faithfully recorded. Here is the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, and according to the pun upon his name (you see by us) you will see by him what a flood of light irradiates this subject. Eusebius wrote in the 4th century, and to remove all suspicion I bring before you the translation of his history by a Protestant minister, C. F. Crusé, A. M. Assistant Professor of the university of Pennsylvania, 2d. edition, revised and corrected by the author. [The reading was interrupted by the half hour's expiring.*]

Four o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

Is the original Greek of Irenæus extant? [The bishop intimates, '*No.*'] Of what authority, then, is the version from which he reads? I have never read in Irenæus nor seen quoted from him a warrant for the assumption that Peter was ever bishop of Rome? But of this again—

After raising such a dust as the gentleman has about Phocas and Gregory, it has become necessary for me to re-state my argument.

Gregory the great wrote to Mauritius, requesting him to induce John, bishop of Constantinople, to give up his claim to the title of universal father. Mauritius would not do it. Gregory the great, is supposed by all antiquity to have harbored a grudge, or bad feeling towards Mauritius, because of this; and therefore his exultation at his death, and his easy recognition of the pretensions of his murderer, which acquiescence, on his part, secured the compliance of Phocas with the wishes of Gregory, and secured to his successors the title of universal patriarch, or pope—

[Bishop PURCELL here observed, that Phocas was not the murderer of Mauritius.]

* The extract referred to will be found in a subsequent speech.

Very well, I have the authority of Gibbon for my assertion—not for saying that he killed him by his own hands: but by his authority, as he lays to Phocas the blood of Mauritius and his seven children, on the principle, *qui facit per alterum, facit per se.* He does himself what he does by an other. The said Phocas did afterwards, Barronius being a faithful witness, give the title of universal bishop to Boniface, Gregory's successor, and who can infer any thing else from all the circumstances, than I have done?!

I thought the gentleman was about to produce authority to prove that Sylvester did call the council of Nice. This, I again assert he cannot do. If he think he can, let him attempt it, and we will show he cannot. We, however, do assert on the authority of Eusebius, and all ancient history, that Constantine the great did call the council of Nice; and we affirm on equal authority, that the pope's legate did *not* preside in that council. Whether Hosios did is problematical. It is inferred from the fact of his being present: but there is no historic authority for it. But all this is very subordinate and of little value. The whole question rests upon the inquiry, *What office had Peter?* What was his ecclesiastical power and patronage? Was Peter the prince of the apostles? Was he made the vicar of Christ? Ay, this is the question! It requires explicit—nay, positive scripture authority—where is it?

The gentleman offers several passages to this point. I shall examine the prominent texts, and begin with the 16th chapter of Matthew.—I read from Griesbach's Greek Testament. In this chapter, Christ asks his disciples the question, "Who do men say that I am?" and afterwards asks them, "But who say ye that I am?" and Peter answered: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" "and Jesus answered and said unto him, blessed are you, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood has not revealed it to you, but my Father, who is in heaven: and I say also to you, that *you are Peter*, and upon *this rock* I will build my congregation and the gates of hades shall not prevail against it." Matth. xvi. 13—18.

"Upon this rock:" was Peter this rock? The words sound much alike, (*Petros* and *Petra*). Let us examine the passage. One of the internal evidences of the truth of the apostolic writings is, that each writer has something peculiar to himself. So has every speaker and teacher, that has appeared amongst men. Jesus Christ himself had his peculiar characteristics. One of his peculiarities most clearly marked by the four evangelists is, that he consecrated every scene and circumstance and topic of conversation to religion or morality. A few examples, out of many that might be given, must suffice. When standing by the sea of Galilee, he says to the fishermen, who were casting their nets into the sea: "follow me, and I will make you *fishers of men.*" At the well of Samaria, he says to a Samaritan woman, from whom he asked a drink—"Whoever shall drink of this water shall thirst again; but whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst: but it shall be in him a well of water springing up to eternal life." While with his disciples in the temple, and seeing the sheep going up to be sacrificed, he says: "My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me;" and he speaks of himself as the true shepherd, who lays down his life for his sheep. His disciples having forgotten to take bread, when embarking on the lake and when talking about it, he took occasion to say: "Beware of the

leaven of the Pharisees." When on Mount Olivet, among the vines and olives, he says, "I am the true vine, and my Father is the vine-dresser." And when looking at the temple, he says: "Destroy this temple, and I will build it in three days."—So in the passage before us. He asks his disciples an all important question, in reply to which, one of them who happens to be named *Peter*, utters the great truth, upon which he is to found his church forever: "THOU ART THE CHRIST, (THE MESSIAH), THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD." Jesus turns to him and says: "Thou art *stone*, and upon *this rock* (on this great truth which flesh and blood has not revealed to thee), I will build my church."

Ει συ Πετρος, και επι ταυτη τη πετρα—"*ei su Petros, kai epi taute te petra*"—'You are Peter and upon this *petra*,' strikes the ear of a Grecian as 'thou art *stone* and upon this *rock*,' strikes the ear of an English man; and as we have seen is a part of the Savior's peculiarity.

The construction of language requires that the word "*this*" should refer to something antecedent different from *thou*, or you. They are different in *person* and in *case*. But not only does the Savior's peculiar characteristics, and the change of person from "*thou*" the personal, to *this* the demonstrative, fix the sense: but other considerations of great moment, forbid any other interpretation. For let me ask, why did Jesus propound the question to his apostles—why did he elicit from them so great a truth, if in the solemn declaration which immediately follows, he meant to pass by that truth and allude to Peter alone. This would be a solecism unprecedented—a case unparalleled The whole authority of the christian religion and all its excellency is embraced in the radical ideas which had been for the first time pronounced by the lips of man. There are, indeed, but three cardinal ideas in all christian doctrine: for there can be but three cardinal ideas about any being. Two of these are distinctly embodied in Peter's confession of faith. The whole three are, 1st the person, 2nd the office, and 3rd the character of Christ. Beyond these—*person office* and *character*, what conception can mortals have of our Redeemer? Peter mouthed of these, the two which gave value to the third—The *person* and the *mission* of Jesus. He was the first mortal who, distinctly and intelligibly avowed the faith, in the person and mission of Jesus the Nazarene, upon which the empire of the ransomed race shall stand forever. This is the good confession spoken by Jesus himself at the hazard of his life, before Pontius Pilate, of which Paul speaks in terms of the highest admiration.

This great truth deservedly stands forward under the bold metaphor of the Rock. But still more creditable to this truth,—not "flesh and blood," but the Heavenly Father first uttered it from Heaven. On the banks of the Jordan, when Jesus had honored his Father in his baptism, his Father honored him; and was it not worthy to be honored by proclaiming it from the opening sky, "*This is my Son, the beloved in whom I delight*," while the descending Dove marked him out? A Pagan poet said,

"Never introduce a God unless upon an occasion worthy of him;"*

And who feels not the propriety of such an introduction here; for when first spoken, no angel in heaven, nor man on earth, could introduce the Messiah, in his proper person, but his own Father. Now,

* Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus—Inciderit.—*Hor.*

because Peter was the first to utter it, Jesus says to him: "I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

What a controversy there has been about these keys. Jesus gave them to Peter alone—not to him, his heirs. and successors forever! I was denoted as heterodox a few years since, because I alleged that the opening of the reign or kingdom of heaven, by Peter to Jews and Gentiles, was the true exposition of the keys. But I am glad to see this view promulged now from various reputable sources, even from Trinity College, Dublin. Peter opened the kingdom of heaven on the day of Pentecost, and by divulging a secret never told to that day, viz. "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God has made that Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ." This annunciation of the coronation, or *Christing*, that is *anointing* of Jesus king and governor of the universe, was a new revelation made on the Pentecostian morn by Peter. He declared remission on that day to 3000 souls, and introduced them into the kingdom of the Messiah Again, when it pleased God to visit the Gentiles in the family of Cornelius, a Roman centurion; an angel sent from heaven, commanded him to send for Peter to Joppa to come and tell him and his relations "*words* by which himself and his friends might be saved." He did so. He sent, and Peter came. Why thus call upon Peter? Because Christ's gifts are without repentance. He had given him the keys. He therefore must open the two-leaved gate, and introduce both Jews and Gentiles into the kingdom. This being once done, needs not to be repeated. The gates of heaven have not since been locked. There is no more use for the keys. Peter has them yet. He took them to heaven with him. He did not will them to any heir or successor. The popes are fighting for shadows. Heaven never trusted such gentry with the keys. They might take into their heads to lock the heretics out. I thank God that he gave them to Peter, that Peter opened the gates of the kingdom of heaven to us all, and that as the popes cannot shut them, we do not need them a second time. Peter will guard them, till he who has the key of David, who opens and none can shut, will appear a second time. Thus we dispose rationally, and I think scripturally, of this grand text.

The next text upon which confidence is placed by my opponent, is where Christ says to Peter, "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs." Language has no meaning but from the context. Every word serves to fix the meaning of its contextural associates. We must read the 21st chapter of John's Testimony, from the beginning, if we would correctly understand this passage. The facts are: Peter and some of his brethren had returned to Galilee, disconcerted and overwhelmed with the events of the day. They felt themselves destitute, forsaken, and in need. While their master was with them he provided for them in some way. He could say, when I sent you without scrip or staff or money, did you lack any thing? They answered, no. But he was gone, and they knew not what to do. In this distress, Peter says "I am going a fishing," and the rest accompany him: but they toiled all night and caught nothing. In the morning they see the Savior walking on the shore; they know him not. He says to them, "Children, have you any meat?" They answer, "no." He tells them to cast on the other side of the bark. They do so and take a large

number of fish. Peter, when he knew it was the Lord, girt his fisherman's garment around him, leaped into the lake, and swam ashore. They dine together, and after they had eaten to satiety, Jesus says to Peter, "*Do you love me more than these?*"

My construction of these words is, "Do you love me more than these fish, or these victuals." He then says to Peter, "Feed my lambs:" and the fact before him and all the circumstances say, I *will feed you.*

The bishop's construction is, "Do you love me more than these disciples love me?" But how could Peter answer such a question? Was he omniscient to know how much his companions loved his master. In that case he would have said, "Lord I love thee, but I do not know how much my brethren love thee; they also love thee, but I know not whether I love thee more than they do." But suppose he could have known, then I ask, was it comely to ask so invidious a question? Would not they have felt themselves disparaged, if Peter had said, "Yes Lord, I love thee more than all my fellow apostles love thee!!!"

Peter had erred. He had become discontented—had forgotten his duty to his master, and had betaken himself to his former occupation of fishing, and induced the rest to join him. Christ asks him solemnly, "Do you love me more than these fish, these boats, nets, apparatus, or these victuals, this worldly employment? if so, cease to spend your time in providing food for yourself; but feed my sheep and lambs, and I will provide for you." Besides, he having caught nothing till the Master appeared, was a very striking lesson, which I presume Peter never forgot. I confess, I think the gentleman's interpretation of *sheep* as bishops, and *lambs* as laity, most singularly arbitrary and fantastic, and needs not a grave reply. So we dispose of the second grand text on which the church of Rome has leaned with so much confidence for so many ages.

My learned opponent has not yet afforded us evidence for his assumption of official supremacy for Peter. These texts reach not the case. They do not institute a new office bestowed on Peter but are tokens of esteem, for reasons personal. Every privilege he received was on account of some personal pre-eminence, not because of an office which he held. The canon law has decreed that a personal privilege doth follow the person and is extinguished with the person. Now as all the honors vouchsafed Peter were in consequence of his promptness, courage, penitence, zeal, &c. they never can become the reasons of an hereditary office. His supremacy, or rather superiority, or primacy, most naturally arose from his being one of the first, if not *the first* convert—the oldest of Christ's disciples; because he was prompt, decided, courageous, zealous, ardent, and above all, he was a married man, had a wife and family. And although this fact might not comport with his being the fountain of papal authority, it obtained him an honor above John the bachelor, and all the bachelors of that age!!

Once more on this subject—let me ask, who made a more voluntary surrender of himself to his master—who more promptly forsook all that he had, than he—who, when his Lord asked, will ye also leave me, with more ardor said; "Lord, to whom shall we go but to thee for thou hast the words of eternal life?" Who more courageously, in the time of peril, drew his sword to defend his Master? who, when

the Savior foretold his own sufferings and indignities, more affectionately and devotedly exclaimed, in the warmth of his heart, "Lord, it shall not be so done unto thee!"

It is true that this ardor of disposition, this promptness, this decision of character, sometimes betray their possessor into errors; yet who will not say, give me the man of energy and decision, and ardor of character? John was meek as a dove; he was innocent and amiable as a lamb, and the Lord loved him; but those bold and stern, and manly virtues he wanted, which gave so much interest to the character of Peter; and so admirably fitted him to stand forward and foremost, amongst his colleagues and fellow apostles.—[Time expired.]

Half-past 4 o'clock, P. M.

Bishop Purcell rises—

Do you love me more than these fish!! My brethren, if the subject were not too serious, I should call my friend's construction a fish story!

Jesus Christ said to Peter, "lovest thou me more than these?" *plus his*—what, if fish? (Ιχθυας) *plus quam hos.* There is an end to all that argument.

Mr. Campbell. That is the Latin version. Let us have the Greek.

Bishop Purcell. The Greek is not more plain, nor will it prove your interpretation less revolting, less contrary to the obvious and more common interpretation of the text. Sad conclusion this, which my learned opponent reserved as his main reliance, for the last hour of the day! And is it thus that he proves the church of Rome to be neither catholic, apostolic, nor holy, but an apostacy from the only true, holy and apostolic church of Christ? He is heartily welcome to the proselytes this argument may gain to his tottering cause. Let learned Protestants now claim their champion's services in the difficult task of interpreting the scripture—or let them, as I have prophesied they would do, repudiate *his* advocacy.

The change of name from Simon to Peter, shows that Christ chose him to be, beyond the other apostles, a *rock*, or more firm, more constant, more immoveable than they—and that forever—in the confession of his divinity, his real presence with his church and all the other truths he had vouchsafed to reveal to the world. A rock does not melt.—The winds may beat and the rains may fall, but the house built upon a rock will stand, not for a few years, but forever. And as the rock, in the physical order loses not its nature, so neither do the promises of Christ lose their efficacy. "Thou art Peter, (or a rock) and on this rock, I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Matthew xvi. 18.

A professor of Andover College has published a volume, I think it is entitled "Elements of Sacred Criticism." I have examined this work, but my memory retains not the author's name,—perhaps some of the learned gentlemen present may aid it by the suggestion—however, he substantiates my interpretation, or rather that of all ages, by incontrovertible argument. And I confess the American College has, in this instance, a decided superiority, both in sound criticism and orthodoxy, over the "dumb sister," as the English and Scotch universities have invidiously, or facetiously, named Trinity College, Dublin.

There is one plausible difficulty, against the testimony of Peter's having fixed his residence at Rome, which the gentleman has overlooked, viz. that Paul does not mention Peter in his epistle to the Romans.

To explain this, it is only necessary to observe, Paul wrote A. D. 57. in the reign of Claudius, when Peter was absent from Rome; and this the illustrious convert of Damascus knew. But why waste time on a subject undisputed for fifteen hundred years. Pearson, Grotius, Usher, Hammond, Blondel, Scaliger, Casaubon, Dumoulin, Petit, Basnage, all agree that Peter transferred his see to Rome and there suffered martyrdom.

And here another objection is overruled; he said there had been contests among the apostles, who should be greatest. He said that if Peter had confessed that he loved him most, a greater controversy would have arisen. But there was good cause to the contrary. Andrew saw him first—John reposed on his bosom, &c.—for many reasons, these disputes may have arisen—surely such objections after so great a mass of testimony deserved not serious attention.

I have long ago seen, in a little work written in Philadelphia, the remarks of my friend about the Savior's saying he was the vine, when among the vines, on mount Olivet, &c. &c. This is not therefore original or new.

I now take up a connected argument on the apostolicity of the church, for I wish this matter to go before the public in its peculiar strength. I look upon it as the most powerful argument that can be advanced in favor of the Catholic church. I read from Fletcher. His style is good.

"Christ Jesus had called the apostles '*fishers of men*,' he had told them to '*go and preach the gospel to every creature*,' assuring them, at the same time, that '*all power was given to him in heaven, and on earth*,' and that '*himself would be always with them*.' Animated by this commission, and these assurances, and fired too with the love of God, and an ardent charity for men, these heroic victims of benevolence, did '*go forth and preach*.' *They preached;* and although the world with all its passions, prejudices and superstitions was leagued against them;—although its doctrines, which they preached, were repugnant to all the bad propensities of the heart, and exceeded far the measure of the human understanding; yet did an immense portion of the public, of the corrupted and the vicious, of the learned and the enlightened, hear them, and believe. *They preached;* and the love of vice was converted into zeal for innocence; prejudice, into the desire of truth: superstition, into the warmth of piety. Vice itself was exalted into the heroism of sanctity; and every defilement done away, which corruption had introduced into the sanctuary of the heart. *They preached;* and Satan, like a thunderbolt, was hurled from his throne; his temples razed; his altars overturned; and idolatry, abashed and trembling, fled from those scenes, which it had so long disgraced by its follies, and infected by its abominations. *They preached;* and the Universe was changed! The spectacle which they exhibited was new; the spectacle of exalted virtue and consummate wisdom. Men beheld the virtue and it edified them; they listened to the wisdom, and it convinced them. In this manner did the first apostles of Jesus Christ completely realize the figure of the '*fishers of men*,' completely verify the assurance which their divine Master had given them, that '*himself would be always with them*, completely illustrate that passage of St. Paul, in which he says, '*God employ the weak to confound the strong, and the foolish to confute the wise*.' It is th*call and mission* of the apostles, which are the sources of the *call and mission* of their successors; and it is the successes that attended the preaching of the apostles, that are the proof, not only of the divinity of *their* mission, but of the mission of those who have replaced, and shall yet replace them till the end of time. In religion, as every thing was originally *apostolical*, so every thing to merit veneration, must continue *apostolical*. According to the definition and import of apostolicity, it is necessary that the church which was founded by the apostles, and the mission also which was imparted to the apostles, should, without destruction, or interruption, have been perpetuated to the age we live in, firm amid revolutions, unchanged amid changes.

I have said, that to ascertain in the Catholic church this stability of duration, a more positive proof cannot be adduced, than the spectacle of its pastors (who

compose a large portion of its members, and whose functions are the most important duties of religion) regularly in each age, succeeding to each other, and transmitting to each, the mission which originally had been inherited from the hands of the apostles. The only difficulty here, is by the light of evidence to establish these important facts. Well, my brethren, and this is what, without any difficulty, the Catholic exults to do. To do it we need only to consult the records of history; those records which the Protestant himself considers authentic. The light of history is a testimony, which, beyond the power of reasonable doubt, attests the regular and perennial succession of the Catholic ministry.

The apostles, whom Christ had sent, *as his Father had sent him;* and with whom, likewise, he had promised *to remain all days to the end of the world;* in consequence of the above commission and assurance, chose for themselves co-operators and successors in their sacred ministry:—*co-operators*, in order to assist them in the government of the churches which their zeal had planted;—*successors*, to whom, on occasion of their departure from this scene of their labors, they might resign the burden of their functions, and the honor of their sees. Now, fortunately for the cause of religion, we have in the annals of history, and in the writings of the learned, the accounts very carefully preserved, of the resignations, which the apostles made of their functions and sees to their successors; and of the resignations also which their successors' successors made, during a series of ages, to the pastors, who, in long order, have till the present age, continually replaced each other. Among these accounts, that which of all others is the most interesting, and which religion has preserved with the nicest care, is the history of the continuation until to-day, of the apostolic powers which Christ Jesus conferred upon the prince of the apostles, St. Peter. We have, thanks to that Providence, which watches over the church, and which marks its paths with beams of light, we have the proof of this continuation so luminously attested, so evident, that not hostility can contest, nor incredulity doubt it. Important testimony! itself a bright feature in the divinity of the church; a testimony, which, proving *immediately* the apostolicity of the mission of its supreme pastors, proves also *immediately*, yet directly, the apostolicity of the mission of all its other pastors. For, if you consult the rolls of history, you will find that with our supreme pastors, the Catholic pastors of every age, and of every nation, were always united in communion; acknowledging their supereminence, and revering their jurisdiction; considering them as the great source, after Christ, of spiritual power, and the centre of spiritual unity.

There have been several distinguished writers, who, incapable of misrepresentation, and possessing the means of knowing the history of the successors of St. Peter, and the order of their succession, have carefully handed down to us, each to his own time, the lists of these illustrious men. The first of these I believe, who is known to have preserved the important catalogue, is St. Irenæus.

After Tertullian, the next who continues the catalogue of St. Peter's successors, is St. Optatus. He brings it down to the time of Siricius; that is, to the year three hundred and eighty-four. '*In this one chair*,' says the *saint, speaking of the see of Rome*, '*sat Peter first, to him succeeded Linus, to him Clement, &c..... To Liberius succeeded Damasus; to Damasus, Siricius, the present pontiff, with whom we and all the world hold communion. And now*,' he adds, addressing himself exultingly to the Donatist, '*and now*, do you *give an account of the origin of your sees*, you, *that pretend to call yourselves the Catholic church.*' (Contra Parmen.)

St. Austin is another writer, who had attended to the succession, and has preserved for us, the list of St. Peter's successors; deriving from the long order of their continuance, the same conclusions as did Irenæus, Tertullian, and Optatus. The list which the Saint has communicated, reaches down to his own time, to the pontificate of Innocent the first, in the year four hundred and two, and in its earlier eras it exactly corresponded with the list which I have alluded to already. '*Come*,' says he to the Donatists, '*come, brethren, if it be that you wish to be ingrafted on the vine. I weep to see you as you are; lopped off from its sacred stock. Count up the pontiffs in the chair of Peter, and in that order see which succeeded which. This is that Rock, over which, the proud gates of hell cannot prevail.*'

Hence, without the necessity of producing further testimonies, it follows, if men will not contest the authority, or call in question the veracity of some of the fairest characters, that the christian world reveres; it follows that from the

time of St. Peter to the time of Innocent, in the fifth century, there existed in the see of Rome, an uninterrupted chain of pastors, and a continuation of an apostolic mission. The continuation of that same apostolic mission which Christ Jesus had imparted to St. Peter. Only he, can doubt this, whose incredulity doubts of every thing.

And has the chain of Roman pastors,—for this is now the only point which we must investigate,—been continued and extended from the time of Innocent the first, to the present day; an interval, it is true, extremely long, and filled up with storms, and changes, and revolutions and great events? Yes, the chain has been continued and extended all this whole length of period; from Innocent, who consoled the great Chrysostom, under the persecution of an ambitious princess, to Pius the seventh, who himself is the heroic victim of the persecution of a relentless victor. Indeed, the fact is so obvious, it is not even contested. It is conceded by the men, who are interested to deny it. To be assured of it, you need only to consult the political annals of any considerable state, or to appeal in our historians to the mere tablets of chronology. You will find that all give to our Roman pontiffs the same line and length of succession, which I here assign them. Their conduct has been always prominent; their influence always conspicuous. Few were the great events and transactions, in which, either from a principle of piety, or sometimes of ambition, they did not bear a part.

Yes, but if prompted by curiosity, you will give yourselves the trouble to consult the annals of the church, there you will trace, more distinctly still, the evidence of the truth, which I am now establishing. There attending to the occurrences of each epoch, you will observe, that the helm which had been confided to the trust of Peter, is with the greatest regularity transferred from hand to hand; and with pious care, confided to the trust of each successor. You may mark the name, and read the character of each individual, who directed it, the date of the day when it was committed to his guidance; and the hour, almost, when he resigned. In short, admitting the accuracy of the lists which have been preserved by Irenæus, Tertullian, &c., you trace in the annals of the church, a clear plain, and incontestible evidence of a line of Roman pontiffs, the successors of St. Peter, during the long course of above eighteen hundred years.

If the ancient fathers, in their times, and at the distance only of a few years so triumphantly produced the list of these holy men, evincing by it the divinity of the church, and the apostolicity of the mission of its pastors, and by it confuting the novelty and claims of heresy; if Tertullian, impressed with the force of this argument, victoriously called out to the hosts of innovators, "*shew us any thing like this. Unfold and shew us the origin of your churches; shew us the list of your bishops, in regular order from the days of the apostles, succeeding to each other;*" if he could say to them, "*Who are you? Whence is your origin derived? What have you to do in my estate? I am the possessor. My possession is ancient. I am the heir of the apostles:*" if he could say all this; and from this, after scarcely the lapse of two centuries and the succession of hardly a dozen pontiffs, demonstrate the apostolicity of the church; with how much more reason and with how much more effect, might I, or any other Catholic, demonstrate its apostolicity at present, at present when the continuance of Peter's successors forms a chain, of above eighteen hundred years, and their number fills up a list of above two hundred and fifty pontiffs? Oh! were only a Tertullian now, or an Austin, standing in the same situation in which I am placed before you, addressing you from this seat of truth and pressing the same argument, which I do to day, upon your attention; and pressing it recommended by the circumstances which I have just referred to, how the thoughts would glow, and the words burn, with which they would convey the exultation of these feelings to you! How the cause of truth would triumph in their eloquence! With what redoubled enthusiasm would they exclaim, "*let heresy shew any thing like this?*" In reality, if the argument which these great men have employed to prove the apostolicity of the church, proved aught in their times, it certainly proves the same, and a great deal more, at present.

To the thoughtful and the philosophic mind, there is much, I have already observed, to admire in the stability of the church amid the fluctuation of human things. It is the same in regard to the long continuance of the successors of St. Peter. Wisdom and reason, when they consider it, are struck with wonder; and piety discovers in it the visible effect of an Almighty superintendance. The institutions of men soon perish. The modifications of human policy do not long

retain their forms. Nothing human is permanent To contemplate, therefore, an order of pontiffs reaching the whole length of eighteen centuries unchanged, whilst every thing else was changing; uninterrupted, whilst all other institutions were perishing,—is a spectacle at once striking, awful, and impressive ; calculated to inspire the protestant himself, if not with the conviction of its divinity, at least with a conviction of its wisdom ; with a respect for its strength ; with a veneration for its antiquity. Let only reason cast a look into the annals of time, or recall to its recollection the events and revolutions, which during the lapse of eighteen centuries, have taken place on the theatre of life. During that interval in every kingdom of the civilized world, every government has changed its form , every dynasty resigned its power ; every empire sunk to ruin. Rome itself, during it, has experienced in particular, all the vicissitudes of human instability : has been ruled alternately by Consuls, Emperors, Kings and Exarchs : has been taken, plundered, sacked and reduced almost to a heap of ashes. In short, during it, every thing that is human and political,—the work of the power and ambition, of the wisdom and art of men, has either perished or undergone a variety of alterations—Kingdoms, states, cities, monuments, laws, opinions, customs, heresies. Nought but the succession of our pontiffs, and the institutions of our holy religion, have remained unaltered. These alone, amid the general revolution ; amid the storms of war ; the ravages of passion ; the conflicts of heresy, subsist undecayed and undecaying. They even subsist in spite of all those evils ; though assailed by the violence of persecution ; though combated by the machinations of passion ; though attacked by the artifices of error ; though assaulted by the combined efforts of vice, Satan and the world. Surely prejudice itself will own it,—a succession of Pastors thus perpetuated for eighteen centuries, and perpetuated amid such obstacles, is not the effect of chance, nor of earthly policy; not the creation of ambition, nor the offspring of worldly wisdom. The only method of accounting rationally for it, is to allow, that it is the result of a divine institution ; and the consequence of that assurance given by our great Redeemer to his apostles, that he *would be with them all days, to the end of the world;*—or in other words, that it is the result and the proof of an *apostolic mission.*

From the evidences of the apostolicity of the church of Rome, is inferred the evidence of the apostolicity of the various other Catholic churches, which are disposed throughout the universe. In reality, they are all of them the parts of one whole ; the branches of one tree ; the streams of one fountain ; the rays of one sun. They all form only *one communion,* whose centre and head is the church of Rome. Of these churches, some were established by the apostles themselves, and their immediate successors ;—some and a very considerable part, by the successors of St. Peter, the Roman pontiffs, who in each age have with pious zeal, deputed missionaries to preach the gospel in almost every region of the globe But in every age, and in every region, the churches that were thus planted, were only considered as apostolical, or as portions of the true church, from the evidence of their union with the church of Rome. It is the remark of St. Jerome ; *that no bishop was ever acknowledged to be a lawful bishop, except in as much, as he was united in communion with the chair of St. Peter.*"

And why may I not adduce as another evidence of the apostolic mission of our pastors, the venerable subsistence of a multitude of other churches, which without having lasted from the age, which saw the apostles live, have still lasted from the ages that are not long subsequent to it ? This is the case with several churches in Spain, Italy, France, &c. In Spain, the churches of Toledo, Cordova, &c. in Italy, those of Milan, Naples, &c. in France, those of Lyons, Tours &c. have subsisted from the early ages of christian fervor ; from those ages which are often denominated apostolical, down to the present period of degeneracy Their annals, more accurately preserved than the annals of civil governments exhibit to our astonished, but gratified reason, a line of pastors during this whole length of ages—unbroken and uninterrupted—uninjured by the violence of persecutions, as well as unimpaired by the sunshine of prosperity ; a line of pastors that in canonical succession have till the present day, replaced each other. These are monuments of stability, compared with which profane history has nothing similar ; Protestantism nothing analogous. These too attest the apostolicity of the mission of our pastors ; and the apostolicity consequently of our church. And now once more, let it be recollected, in relation to all these churches, that their founders, and the successors of their founders, were in communion with

the see of Rome:—the former deputed perhaps immediately by it; the latter exulting always in their union with it as the best proof of the apostolicity of their own delegation."

[The above quotation was read in parts, in two different speeches; but it has been thought proper to insert it entire, here.]

I close here. To-morrow is the sabbath of our God. Let us devote the remainder of the day to the preparation of our souls for its holy duties.

MONDAY, JANUARY 16TH, *Half past 9 o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

It is a trite and a true observation, that the material universe is resolvable into a very few elementary principles. And not a few of our wisest philosophers suppose that the time may yet come, in the progress of chemical science, when material nature will be resolved into some two, or three rudimentary elements. The sciences, too, mental and moral, are all resolvable into a few great cardinal principles.

The papal empire itself depends also upon a few points, indeed, upon one great point, and that relates to the office upon which the whole superstructure rests. The most fundamental question is not whether the apostle Peter was invested with the office of pope, or vicar of Christ; but rather *whether there ever was such an office at all.* On this question we have not proceeded in the most logical manner. I have been compelled to approach it at different times, and by different avenues. My opponent has not adverted to the rules of this discussion. I am compelled to lead, and he to follow. He can only lawfully reply to such matter as I introduce. But instead of replying to my arguments, already offered, he read you some dissertations upon succession to an office, not yet canvassed and established. This reading of foreign discussions instead of replying to me is contrary to our rules and most illogical. I hope we shall have no more of it. What was read on Saturday afternoon on the question of succession is clearly irrelevant. Before we contend about succession, the question is, What is to be succeeded to? We have had seven presidents, and the succession is indisputable; yet the office depends not upon the seven incumbents, nor upon their rightful succession; but upon what is written in the constitution—upon the positive and express institution of the office.

If it is not found in the constitution, succession is of no virtue: however unbroken and orderly it may be, the present incumbent has no power. The grand question then is, *Is there in the constitution of the Christian church, in the New Covenant, or last Testament, a chair of primacy, or superintendency?* This is the logical and the cardinal question. On this single point rest all the fortunes of the papacy in an enlightened community. I wish all to perceive it, and I will present it in different forms. The first question is, *Has Jesus Christ appointed the office of pope?* The second, *Who was the first officer?* Third, *Was there a succession ordained?* and fourth, *Has that succession been preserved uncorrupt to the present day?* In this way our reason, or common sense, or logic arranges the matter; and in this way only can it be rationally and scripturally decided. With all men of sense, the controversy will hang on this point. A failure here is ruin to the

cause. If this point cannot be proved, it is as useless to contest others, as it would be to finish a house that is built upon the ice. Strike off the head and the body perishes. Yet this capital point rests upon an inference!

How would an American like to be told that the office of president depended upon an inference? that there was no provision for it in the constitution—that it was inferred from twenty clauses, scattered here and there in as many sections? Could it be possible, that the greatest office in this nation—the very head of this government, should rest on the construction of these clauses; that there is no chapter in the constitution, expressly creating the office? Yet, this is precisely the case with the pope. The gentleman does not claim for him a positive grant in the New Testament. He must acknowledge that there is no such office distinctly asserted—that it depends on the reasonings of fallible men to ferret it out. Here I must expose the nakedness of the land and sweep from the arena the dust of tradition, which blinds the eyes of implicit believers.

It is said by the Romanists that a belief in the supremacy of the pope is essential to salvation. Boniface VIII. decrees in his canon law in the words following:

"Moreover we declare, and say, and define, and pronounce to every human creature, that it is altogether necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff.'

It appears, if not pedantic, at least awkward to read Latin to an English audience. However, my learned opponent, so often sets me the example, that he will allow me to quote this important decree:

"*Subesse Romano Pontifici omnis humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse necessitate salutis.*"

It is then solemnly decreed that a belief in, and submission to, the Roman pontiff is essential to salvation. Ought not, then, his authority to be as clearly pointed out in the Bible as the mission of Jesus Christ? for the person and mission and sacrifice of Christ are to us useless, without faith in the pope. Again, of what use is the Bible, without this belief; and especially, if so important a matter is so obscurely expressed in it as to rest upon a mere inference? Does the person and office of Christ depend on a mere inference? Is it not asserted and re-asserted, a hundred times by the voices of all the prophets and apostles of both Testaments? In the Jewish economy, the high Priest was on earth: but in our economy he is in Heaven. There was truth in the type, and there must be truth in the anti-type. Yet every thing concerning that priesthood was positively and expressly ordained. The office, the officer, the succession, and the means of keeping the blood pure. For, No man dare "take that office upon himself, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron." Aaron then was distinctly called to be a high priest. Now we argue that if we had a high priest on earth under our high Priest in heaven, and if salvation hang upon obedience to him: it ought to be as clear as that of Aaron.

But in reference to the Old Testament priesthood, we find every thing distinctly and unequivocally stated, Exodus xxviii. 1. "Take Aaron and his sons from among the children of Israel, that he and they may minister to me in the priest's office." Again, xl. 13. "And thou shalt sanctify Aaron and his sons, that he may minister to me in the priest's office; and their anointing *shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations.*" How often in the books of the

law, and in the subsequent history of the Jews, as it is in 1 Chron. 23d and 24th chapters, do we find the unequivocal institution and records of this priesthood!

But it is not only in a distinct and unequivocal call and consecration, but in the subsequent care evinced in sustaining this appointment, that we see the necessity of such a positive and express covenant and understanding. The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the destruction, by a miraculous interposition, of themselves and of their company, together with two hundred and fifty princes of Israel, for seeking to invade the office, is another solemn attestation of the divine erection of this office, and the certain call of Aaron's family.

Again: The appointment of God to select an almond rod for each tribe, and to inscribe the name of each of the twelve families upon those rods, every tribe's name upon a separate rod, and the miraculous budding and blossoming and almond-bearing of Aaron's rod, in the course of a single night, was another settlement of this matter, so special, supernatural, and divine, as to put it to rest for ever. Here we ought to read in full the 16th and 17th chapters of Numbers; but we have only time to refer to them. Thus by a positive call, and two splendid and awfully glorious miracles, was the office of the high priesthood established in Israel.

And may we not ask, that if as Boniface has defined, and all Roman Catholics believe, '*that there is no salvation, but in the admission of the divine call of the popes of Rome;*' ought not the institution of a new order to be as clearly pointed out, and sustained in the new law, as it was in the old?!

But my opponent has to concede that there is no such positive or express institution of St. Peter's chair, nor of his call and consecration, nor any law of succession whatever in the New Testament; and that it rests wholly upon inference. Now, if no man can take this honor upon himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, where is the office and the authority of the popes of Rome?! There is for it no such call. Or will my friend say that mere inference or assumption is a proper foundation for such a call and office?

On Saturday evening I began the examination of the premises from which is *inferred* this high and responsible office; and so far, I think, proved that he cannot even find a good logical inference for it. In Matthew xvi. we found no support to the idea that the church of Jesus Christ was to be built upon the flesh and blood and bones of Peter; neither upon his person nor office. We saw that every rule of grammar—that the construction of language forbade such a transition as was necessary to the hypothesis. To have addressed Peter in the second and third persons as both present and absent, in the same breath, is wholly unprecedented. To have spoken of him, and to him at one time, in one period, and on a matter so cardinal as making him the foundation of his church, is not to be admitted on the authority of mere assumption, without a single case parallel in all holy writ to lay along side of it.

The case in no rational point of view will endure such violence. Jesus asked for a *confession*, Peter gave it. The conversation turned upon that confession, and not upon Peter. The comment ought to have been upon the text, and not upon him that gave it. It was upon the text and not upon the preacher.

We Protestants say that the church is founded on the thing confessed. Christ himself is, indeed, the rock; but figuratively the truth which represents him. I was struck with astonishment when I heard my worthy opponent say, that Peter was the rock, and Christ only a stone in this spiritual temple!

[Bishop Purcell here explained, 'that he had said that Christ was the corner stone which was to strengthen and give consistency to the foundation; and Peter the rock which was to strengthen and give consistency to the superstructure.'] Mr. Campbell proceeded:

Christ the corner *stone!* and Peter the rock!! Does this help the matter?

What says 1 Cor. iii. "Other foundation can no man lay than what is already laid,"—very Peter!! No, indeed; but Jesus Christ himself is the corner stone, the rock, the foundation? Then Peter is but a *stone*, as his name imports. But there were eleven other stones of equal value: for, says the Holy Spirit, the church is built upon the foundation of the *apostles*—all the apostles; and of the prophets too! When, then, all these stones are at the foundation, and Christ the chief corner, where is the room for Peter the rock?

But, we have other expressions that illustrate Matthew xvi. Looking at the temple one day, Jesus said to those before him, "Destroy *this* temple and I will build it again in three days." Were the persons he addressed in the second person and the *temple* the same thing? Here, then, are the persons addressed, the subject of conversation, and himself—*you*, (the addressed,) and the temple, (himself.) So have we Peter, his confession, and Christ the builder of the church, in the passage before us. They understood by his question that he spoke of his body; but his body was not himself: neither was the confession of Peter, Christ himself; nor Peter's person, the rock of ages. Surely the papal rock is not as our rock; our enemies themselves being judges.

But *petros* and *petra* sound alike, and therefore, though of different gender, case, and person, they must be identical! Of the person and case we have said enough, (for my friend has not attempted to refute it.) Of the difference in gender, he will tell us, that it was written in Syriac, and that the word signifying stone in that language is of no gender. This is gratuitous. He can produce no copy of Matthew in Syriac; the only authentic copy we have is that before me. It is the Greek version of Matthew: "*Thou*" is in the second person, and "*this*" is in the third. *Petros* is masculine and *Petra* is feminine. It is impossible for language to do more to prevent mistake; and he that would attempt to explain away these three—gender, person and case, is not subject to the laws of language, neither *indeed* can be.

It is commonly observed that Peter seems not to have been any better qualified after than before the confession, to be the foundation of the church: for he is reproved for his worldly notions of the Messiah and his kingdom, in these words; "*Get thee behind me, adversary;* for thou relishest not the things of God; but the things of man." The word *satanas* signifies adversary. Jesus calls him not *ho satanas*, Satan; but simply opponent. Stand aside thou who opposest me in this matter: Thou dost not understand these divine things.

There is another of the bishop's texts to which, out of courtesy, I must allude: "Peter, when thou art converted, confirm your brethren." The meaning of which is,—Peter, as you have experienced the

bitterness of repentance, you can hereafter comfort and strengthen your penitent brethren. My learned opponent interprets it thus; Peter, when you are converted, *you shall be my vicar and prince of the apostles!*

John xxi, "Lovest thou me *more than these*," is again before us. The bishop will have *these* to refer to the apostles. My audience will remember that when I read the Greek of the passage, he quoted Latin (*plus quam hos*,) as if to correct the Greek by deciding that *these* was *masculine* and not *neuter*, the very point in debate—that when he was challenged to sustain his Latin comment by the original, he immediately after taking up the Greek Testament laid it down.

It will elucidate this passage to read the whole in the original, verse 13th.

Ερχεται ὁ Ἰησους καὶ λαμβάνει τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, καί το ὀψάριον ὁμοιως. In reference to which Jesus says, Σιμων Ιωνα, ἀγαπᾶς με πλειον τουτων; The grammatical antecedent to τουτων must be τὸν ἄρτον and το ὀψάριον, which makes it *neuter*. Now, I ask, on what grammatical authority does the Vulgate convert these into the masculine? Ought a translator to judge for his readers, or ought he to give the same latitude of inquiry to his readers which the original gives to him. The latter, certainly. So decides the highest tribunal in the commonwealth of letters. And neither my opponent nor his Latin nor Greek supplements, nor interpolations, have any right to make that masculine, which the original makes at least doubtful, himself being judge: and according to my judgment, on the laws of language, certainly, neuter.

On what precarious, inferential and illogical grounds rest the proud aspirations of the pope of Rome! He out-rivals the proudest monarchs of the east. He that styles himself "brother to the sun and moon," and "disposer of Asiatic crowns," is modest compared with the vicar, who claims dominion over angels and saints in heaven—over all the spirits in the wide domains of purgatory; who styles himself, or permits others to address him as a *God* on earth—as "his holiness, Lord God the Pope," as holding the keys of heaven and hell, and the two swords of ecclesiastic and political justice; and all this mighty empire resting upon the words, "*petra*," "*strengthen thy brethren*," "*lovest thou me more than these*," "*feed my sheep and lambs*," &c. Was there ever so proud a superstructure reared upon so many and so baseless assumptions?!

The gentleman quoted yet another verse from the Vulgate; 1 Pet v. 3, "*Be not lords over the clergy.*" Hence he infers, the apostle Peter had the *clergy* under him. But the apostle says, "not as lords over the clergy," there then, was a plurality of *lords*,—not one supreme head! Although this passage was quoted at an early period of the discussion, by my opponent, I reserved my remarks upon it till now. It reads in the original and the common version, "not as lords over the heritage, lot, or people of the Lord." Κληρος, the word here translated clergy, occurs twelve times in the New Testament, and in nine of these it is translated *lot*. In Acts, xxvi. 18, and in Col. i. 12, it is translated *inheritance*, and in the passage before us, it may be either *lot*, *heritage*, or *inheritance*: but *clergy* is most whimsical and arbitrary. As well might the Vulgate have said to Simon Magus, "thou hast neither part nor clergy in this matter:" or, in Col. i. 12, "he has fitted us to partake in the clergy of the saints." In both

cases the word is the same in the original. These shew by what a stretch of power and arbitrary dominion over words, these critics would bring the clergy or christian ministry under the bishop of Rome. So fades from the face of reason the whole evidence from the Bible, in favor of the grand office without which the papacy is as mere a figment of fancy as the visions of the prophet of Islamism!

Having found the office of vicar, or general superintendant of the whole church, the universal episcopate of Rome, without express or positive precept or institution, and without even inferential probability; I proceed in the third place to show still farther, that it is *anti-scriptural*, not only in theory, but in the facts recorded.

I have said that the first church was the Hebrew. It was catholic and apostolic: for all the twelve apostles were in it. This cannot be said of any other society that ever existed. The whole college of the twelve apostles had their seat in Jerusalem. The Samaritan daughter of Jerusalem was the first fruits out of Judea. Philip, one of the apostles' evangelists, carried the word of the Lord to Samaria. They had believed, repented, and been baptized. News is brought to Jerusalem. The cardinals all meet.—The twelve apostles are in session. But where is Peter's chair? The prince of the apostles, the vicar of Christ, had not yet learned his duty, and his brethren had not yet learned to call him pope. The fact is, they made a legate of him. They sent two legates to Jerusalem. And who do you think were the two first apostolic legates? They, indeed sent pope Peter and his brother John!! Thus it is clear that the notion of Peter's universal episcopacy, and princeship of the apostles was not yet conceived. This fact speaks a volume against the pretended successors of Peter.

But—again, and still more humiliating to his successors, when Peter had introduced the Gentiles into the church, the brethren of the circumcision rose up *en masse* against him, not regarding him as having the least supreme authority in the case. "How," do you ask, "did Peter receive the complaints from all quarters for his daring to innovate, by mere authority on all the holy brethren? Did he say, I am Christ's vicar—chief of the apostles,—the supreme head of the church—I hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and do you demand of me, why *I* should act thus"?! Never thus, spoke Peter. He did not assume any thing: but tells the matter over, and shows how God had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles; "and what was I," he reasons, "that I should withstand God?" Ought I to have stood up and said to the Gentiles, you shall not enter the kingdom of the Messiah, nor be enrolled amongst the children of God?—In the 11th chapter of the Acts of the apostles, we have a full exposition of the groundless pretension of his successors, in the details of this case from the lips of the apostle himself. A third instance of the entire absence of all such vicars in the primitive church, appears in the "council held at Jerusalem." So the bishop's party designate it, and for the sake of argument, let it be a *council.*

It was not called by Peter the pope, nor was it a council of the whole world; but of two or three churches. Well, they met. Who was president? Neither the pope nor his legates. Peter is not in the chair; but on the floor. He spoke first, as he was always accustomed to do: but did he dictate the course to be pursued? No. Had he the honor of drafting or submitting the decrees? He had not. He arose

and spoke to the assembly, and told what God had done by him among the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas, also on the floor, then stated what the Lord had done by them among the Gentiles, and when they had done, James arose to present his views. "*My sentence is*" says he, "that we ought to write so and so to the Gentiles." In his views they all acquiesced. They do not say in this letter, "it seemed good to Peter!" No, "it seemed good to *us*." Indeed, if any was pope in this assembly, it was James: not Peter. All the popes of Rome as successors of Peter, are therefore not only unscriptural; but anti-scriptural.

Again, and stronger still. In Gal. 1st chap. we are told of a certain controversy between Paul and Peter,—not about faith, nor morality; but about expediency. Paul never would have related this matter: but in self-defence. There were some in Galatia that regarded him as a sub-apostle, not equal to those who had been companions of the Lord during his public ministry. In self-defence, he affirms that, in conversations with the *pillars*, as some called Peter and James and John—three of the oldest apostles—he did not receive a new idea. So far from being dependant on Peter, or inferior to him, he was the only apostle in those days with whom Paul had the slightest dissension: "for," says he, "after Peter came down to *Antioch* I withstood him to the face, *for he was to be blamed:* for before certain persons came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated from them, fearing the Jews. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him, insomuch that Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation. Seeing that they walked not uprightly, I said to Peter in the presence of them all; "Why do you compel the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" Thus Paul reproved the head of the church, his father, pope Peter, in the presence of all the brethren for a sort of temporizing expediency in its practical details, squinting at dissimulation. All these facts show how contrary to the doctrine and facts of the sacred writings are the assumptions of popery.

A word or two from the last will and testament of the apostle Peter. Being far advanced in years he writes two letters containing his last advice to the brethren. In the first he associates himself with the elders of the Jewish church, and claims no other eminence than that of *fellow* elder, and as such exhorts them to feed the flock of God willingly. In the second letter, he wills, that the brethren addressed, "should, after his decease, be mindful of the commandment of *us*, the *apostles* of the Lord and Savior." Thus, with his last words, he disclaims every attribute of official supremacy. He is known only in the New Testament, as *an apostle*, either from his own words simply, or those of Paul, or from any other circumstance, which in the history of the church is recorded from Pentecost to the end of the New Testament. I shall leave other scriptures for the calls of my opponent, and the occasion.

I now proceed to show that as there is no foundation in scripture, so there is none in fact, nor in reason, for the papal supremacy. I have shown, that it wants *positive* proof—that it is built on inference—that this inference is not found in the premises—and that other scriptural facts and documents preclude the possibility of such an inference.

We have emphatically stated, that the first point is to establish the

office. If there is no office, there can be no officer. But my friend the bishop's system is still more at fault, for if he could prove (what he never will) that there was such an office; still he has to prove that Peter was the first officer.—That Peter was that officer is as cardinal a point to his system, as that the papal office had been set up by Jesus Christ. The Scriptures are perfectly *mute* on that point! What says church history? It is only *inferred* that Peter ever *was in Rome!* It is only *probable.* Barronius only says it is probable he had a see there: he does not moot that question. *There is not a single word in all antiquity which positively asserts that Peter was ever bishop of Rome, or was ever in Rome.* The gentleman quoted Irenæus. Can he quote the original? I affirm that it does not exist: and even the copy from which he read was not found for centuries after Irenæus wrote. But admit it to be genuine. I affirm that Irenæus *no where asserts, that Peter was bishop of Rome.* If neither he nor his contemporaries assert it, what is the authority of Grotius, or Casaubon, or Usher or such modern authors?! It proves nothing. The assertion of my present opponent is worth as much as that of any man who has lived for a thousand years, to prove an event which happened a thousand years before he was born.

The bishop and his friend the editor of the Catholic paper and at least fifteen hundred citizens heard me lecture when last in the city; and yet, so faithless is tradition, that I have seen it stated in a print of this city—in a Roman Catholic Telegraph, too, that I had asserted as a proposition to be proved, "*that Charles Carroll, of Carrollton was not a Roman Catholic!*"—words that never fell from my lips or pen. If then tradition cannot be kept here for a single week, in this day of light and knowledge, and good faith, how can you respect and believe traditions descending through ages of darkness and superstition?—why bring up men from the remote corners of the earth, who lived more than a century after the time in question, to tell us their *hear-says* or the rumors of past ages.

I have affirmed, that there is no document to prove that Peter was ever bishop of Rome. My friend disputes this point; we are then at issue, and this is a vital point. Let him then meet me upon it, and decide the controversy. Irenæus says not, that either Peter or Paul was bishop of Rome; but, "over that church that was planted by Peter and Paul sat Linus." True, the inference is, that Peter and Paul must have been at Rome; if not, how believe that the church was planted by them? But the church at Rome *never was planted by them.* The faith of the Romans was known through all the earth when Paul wrote his letter to them, and at that time he had never been in that city. The proposition is therefore not true; and Irenæus, if he wrote so, wrote on erroneous tradition, and is not worthy of credit. Admit, for argument sake, that we take the testimony of the fathers on the succession, which are we to believe? They tell us stories irreconcilably different. The gentleman triumphantly held up a map, as if there were some hidden virtue in it, and said he could speak upon it till doomsday. I have also a map here, which will prove that his map can prove nothing without a tongue in it; and if holding up this map before you could convince you, I should soon carry the point. Bellarmine admits, that the fathers contradict each other on the succession of the first popes. A phalanx of authors can be adduced to prove that the

fathers are not unanimous upon any one point of importance, on that or any other dogma of the papacy.

Divine authority cannot exist, but in the holy oracles: against any other pretended infallible standard, all men should protest. The fathers agreed in bearing testimony to the scriptures, as far as they individually knew them; but their unanimous consent on any thing else has not yet been found.

Justin Martyr, for example, proves my interpretation of the 16th ch. Matthew, on the *rock*. He is one of the primitive fathers. He gives substantially the same views of that whole passage as I have adduced here. Now it is impossible for my opponent to find a unanimous consent of the fathers with him, as I have Justin Martyr, of the second century, and many others, with me. My standing argument, on the consent of the fathers, is this:

I find many of the fathers unequivocally agreeing with me. These, therefore, must express the unanimous consent, if there be any; for it cannot be unanimous without them. Now, if there be no unanimous consent, the Romanists build upon a false foundation; and if there be, they build on a false foundation; for we have that consent, not they.

But this unanimous consent fails in the succession. Admitting that Peter was first bishop of Rome, no living man can tell whether Linus or Clement was the second bishop of Rome. The ancients do not agree upon that point. Tertullian makes Clement second bishop, and others make Linus. I have a chart, in Eusebius, which differs from his own history in various points. I have other charts and indexes that place the bishops of Rome in a different order. Eusebius does not place Peter first; nor do any of the fathers. He places Linus first, then Clitus, then Clement. Another tells us, that Peter was first, then Linus, then Clement. A fourth, perhaps, on the authority of the last, places Peter first and Clement second.—[Time expired.]

Half past 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Bishop Purcell rises—

'It is well, beloved friends, to keep our eyes upon the polar star, when once we have embarked upon the sea of controversy. The polar star of this question, is the attempted disproof, by my learned friend, of the Roman Catholic claim, to be the holy, apostolic, catholic church. He was pledged to show her to be an apostacy from the only true church. Has he proved this? Is there one intelligent man in this assembly prepared to answer this question in the affirmative? I asked, from what church was she an apostacy? He told us that she had apostatized in the year 1054. But he has not yet told us what or where was the one true holy and apostolic church from which she seceded. There was a good reason for it: no other catholic church existed at the epoch indicated, but ours, the Roman Catholic. We were then taken to the year 250, or some time thereabout. These were indefinite words; and I ask again what and where was the true church from which she apostatized in 250? Has he informed you? we were referred to the Novatians—and a Protestant church historian Mosheim, tells us—

[Mr. Campbell here called Bishop Purcell to order as not speaking to the point; the moderators decided that he was in order and he proceeded.] The gentleman cannot confuse me by these interruptions.

My eye is on the star. I say, that Mosheim, a Protestant ecclesiastical historian tells us that the Novatians embraced essential errors. I have quoted from that historian, for this sect and all other prominent sects, to the beginning of the 16th century. They taught some doctrines which Catholics, and some, which Protestants hold. They taught some errors which Catholics and Protestants agree to reject—they taught disorganizing doctrines, which armed the civil power both Catholic and Protestant against them—and these doctrines, Catholics and Protestants mutually abhor. They were not then united, pure, or apostolic. They were not the church of Christ. The question then reverts upon us—which was the church of Christ, from which the Roman Catholic church separated in the 3d century?

I now come at once to the last speech of the gentleman.—I have already agreed that this controversy is resolvible into two or three grand principles—and by the discussion of these we may succeed in ascertaining their ulterior consequences. If true that Christ has established a head of the Church on earth, it follows that we must recognize that head. So far we are right. If Peter was made that head, we are right. If Peter was to have successors, we are right. If that succession was to last to the end of time, we are right, for we hold these propositions to be irrefragable. If on the contrary, these propositions could be satisfactorily proved to be untrue, the Catholics would be wrong.

I have proved the first of these, viz. that Peter was made the head of the church, by Christ, from scripture. And what has my friend discovered to weaken the force of the numerous and strong texts I have adduced,—the rock, the keys, the feeding of the lambs, and of the sheep whom the lambs are wont to follow, the prayer of Christ that Peter's faith should never fail, the charge given him by Christ to confirm his brethren, his confession of the divinity of Christ before the other apostles, and the BLESSEDNESS pronounced on him for that confession by Christ, the deference shewn him—the poor illiterate fisherman, by Paul, imbued with the sublimest lessons of the Law at the feet of Gamaliel, &c. &c.? Why he says: "Peter, lovest thou me more than these fish!"

My friends, I know not how to treat this interpretation seriously. But since the gentleman is so curious an interpreter, let us see if the text will bear him out. After the miracle of the draught of fishes, the apostles, at Christ's invitation, proceeded to some distance from their nets and barks, for the purpose of dining. It is natural to suppose they selected, for dinner, no more of the fish they had taken, than they would probably eat. Can my friend say that after they had dined there were any of the cooked fish remaining? There might have been some bones left on the table; but would Christ point to these fish bones, and say, Peter, lovest thou more than *these?* What a question for Christ to ask his leading disciple! Surely such an interpretation is absurd. But what is the voice of antiquity? My friend says that Justin bears him out in his interpretation. Will my friend point out the passage in that father's works? Will he say that it is the principal sense, the sense that father approves? I pledge myself he will not pretend to do so while refutation is near. Now if scripture is so very clear, and this meaning as obvious as Mr. C. supposes, is it not strange that this light should beam upon us to day for the first

time? The gentleman charges me with having dared to change the gender of the word signifying *these*, from neuter to masculine. Does he not know that the word τουτων is both masculine and neuter? It is generally applied to persons, though I do not deny that it may be applied to things. The Greek therefore leaves us as much in the dark as ever.

We find a parallel passage in the new Testament. "He that loveth father and mother *more than me* is not worthy of me." Matth. x. 37. Here the words are ὑπερ εμε (more than me). εμε is in the accusative case—τουτων is in the genitive case. But, my friends, this has nothing to do with the question at issue; it does not make for or against my argument, whether we adopt the natural, or the gross interpretation. Christ said to Peter, "*lovest thou me.*" He demands an assurance of his faithful attachment. Peter three times replies in the affirmative, and thrice the command is repeated to him, "feed my lambs," "feed my sheep." The argument is entirely independent of either construction referred to. Hence I maintain that Peter was established, head of the church by Jesus Christ. The "rock," the "keys," the prayer, the prophecy of the place and manner of Peter's death, which we read in the same chapter, all prove it.

The gentleman says that a doctrine should be so clear, that it could not possibly be contested. This is really too soft for a man of Mr. C.'s strong mind. What is there so clear that it *could not possibly be contested.* Does not the universe tell as clearly as Genesis, that God created the heavens and the earth, and is not that contested? What doctrine more clearly revealed in the bible, or more important than the divinity of Christ? and is not that contested? and by one of the most learned societies of christians in the United States, I mean the Unitarians. They read the bible and they think it impiety and blasphemy to call Jesus Christ God!

It was essential in the Jewish institution that there should be a high priest. If the old institution was a type of the new, where is the anti-type? And if the headship of the high priest of the Jews derogated not from the authority of God the Father, who was pleased to be their special ruler, neither does the headship of the pope derogate from the supreme authority of God the Son, Jesus Christ, who acquired the church by his blood and established Peter its visible head on earth, to exercise the office during his natural life, and by his successors for ever.

My friend flies from scripture to tradition, and from a father of the early age to a modern historian. I will pledge myself to this enlightened assembly that the supremacy of Peter and of Peter's successors in the Roman see can be abundantly attested by an appeal to tradition: and I may here observe that Baronius has been misrepresented. He does not say it is not improbable that Peter fixed his see at Rome—of this he knew there was no doubt; but that it was not improbable he fixed his see there by the express *command* of Christ, which is, the intelligent hearer will perceive, quite a different proposition. Peter acted as the other apostles did, under the guidance of inspiration, in the choice of the scene of his pastoral toils; but Baronius thinks it not improbable that Christ *expressly* commanded him to select Rome for his—There he could "TEACH ALL NATIONS." Mr. C. asserts that for a thousand years there is not a voice heard to attest

this fact. My friends, not one voice, but five hundred attest it. There is one loud chorus of testimony among the fathers and historians, giving almost universal consent to the doctrine. Some obscure individuals may have doubted, or denied it in late years. They are but motes on the surface of the overwhelming stream of testimony. Again my friend went back to the bible. He read of the high priest—but he cannot open the bible without seeing his own refutation written there—almost the first words that struck my ears were, the *dresses* and *anointing* of the priests. Where are such things done among Protestants? Do they not make void the scriptures? Anointing the clergy and the sick,—commanded by the bible—rejected by Protestants—superseded by the fashions of the day! Again: Aaron was separated that he should bless and sanctify—and yet if the pope bless or sanctify, he is an impious assumer of what belongs to God alone!!

The case of Korah, Dathan and Abiram was mentioned. God really appears to me to extort from the adversaries of his church the most striking proof of her authority, vindicated in the Type, from the sacrilegious contradictions of the schismatics of the old law. The ground opened and swallowed them up! So have all the sects, that in the early ages opposed the church, perished. The grave has hidden their guilt from the earth, too happy if they bear not its penalty in the world that expands beyond the grave! Again 250 priests perished for opposing the ordinance of God! the ecclesiastical guide he had appointed!

My friend asks, if the headship of Peter and his successors were as certainly divine as the high priesthood of the old law, would it not have been established by proof as plain? Why, he emphatically demanded, cannot the Roman pontiff, like Aaron, shew his authority by an equally convincing miracle? My friends, I take the gentleman at his word. He that has eyes to see let him see. Has not God wrought a similar miracle—I will fearlessly say—a far more splendid miracle, to attest the preeminence of the see of Peter? Has not the night of Mahommedanism and infidelity thrown its sable pall over the once flourishing churches of Africa and Asia? Has not the bright light of the gospel become extinct in the most celebrated of the sees founded by the other apostles—Crete, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, Philippi, Jerusalem? Where is the hymn of praise to Christ intoned, the voice of pure confession heard, the TABERNACLE OF THE TESTIMONY seen in any of these famous churches, where St. Paul had formed such a multitude of adorers in spirit and in truth? which he visited with so much solicitude, prayed for with so much fervor, and loved with so much tenderness. Returning to visit these churches, not on the following day as Moses did the rods of the twelve tribes but after eighteen hundred years, we see that the rod of Aaron, th church formed by the high priest appointed by Jesus Christ in th New Law, has budded and blossomed, and produced fruit of which all the nations have participated, while the churches formed by the other apostles have been stricken with a melancholy sterility, and have utterly withered! The murmuring of the children of Israel against Moses and Aaron ceased when they beheld the prodigy related in the book of Numbers; is it too much to expect that we will be less insensible to an equally authentic declaration in favor of the church and pontiff, the special objects of the divine protection and care?

When Pius, VI. died at Valence, in France, it was said that quick lime was thrown on his corpse, that no vestige of it might remain, and infidelity boasted that christianity was buried in the same grave with its pontiff. But a successor was soon beheld to ascend into the chair of Peter—alas! he too, is doomed to suffer contumely for the name of Jesus. He is seized with violence, by a ruthless soldiery, and carried off from Rome, an exile and a prisoner, to Fontainebleau. The doom of his persecutor is written: he is precipitated from the giddy heights of his ambition, and the meek, but invincible heir of Peter's sacred power, contrary to all human foresight, is reinstated by a Protestant government, by 30,000 Protestant bayonets, in the peaceful exercise of his duties, as the chief pastor of the Catholic world. England, with all thy faults I love thee still. You are Protestants, but you can be just. Rome, changeless amid change, Rome, free among the dead, unaffected by earthly revolutions, by earthly conquests unsubdued, why have the nations raged, and the people devised vain things against thee? The Lord is thy protector still. He hath wonderfully sustained thee, amidst all the vicissitudes of human institutions. "He that dwelleth in heaven," to use the language of the Psalmist, "hath laughed at them that stood up against thee, and the Lord *shall* deride them." My friend would call it "*morbid*" in England, to sympathise with the Catholics, as he has called your generous sym pathies for your persecuted fellow-citizens; but it is not morbid, it is magnanimous, it is just to confess an error, to abjure an unfounded prejudice, and to side with the wrongfully oppressed.

I quoted scripture to prove that Christ was the corner stone, on which the whole building securely rests—and that Peter is the *rock* of the foundation, deriving whatever strength it has thus exhibited from Christ. There is no contradiction in this. I am compelled to follow the zigzag course of my friend. The reader of the printed controversy will be at no loss to bring together the diverging rays of evidence and to find my answers to objections, where they may be, apparently out of place.

There is no distinction of persons in Syriac. In Greek it is once πητρος, and again πητρα—but this change of gender is merely to avoid a repetition of the same word in the same sentence. This is reason sufficient, to account for the difference. I give my friend thanks for proving that Peter was not Satan. It is the correct reading, and therefore, I agree with his interpretation of the text; when Christ says to Peter, "get thee behind me Satan," that is you, who differ from me on this particular subject. This text has been much abused.

Again: Peter did think, that he loved Jesus more than the rest, and Christ knew that he did. Do you remember, my friends, the scene which took place shortly before the Savior suffered? When he told his apostles, with a holy melancholy on his sacred heart, that one of them would betray him—that the shepherd should be stricken, and the sheep dispersed? Ah! is there not something in the noble hearted enthusiasm of Peter, which is at once the cause of his offence and its palliation? "Although all shall be scandalized in thee, yet not I." This proves an impulsiveness, an ardor, and a strength of attachment to the person of Christ, which Peter, too confidently it may be, but yet sincerely, believed to be greater than the other disciples felt for their divine master.

Jesus knew this, but he warns him not to be presumptuous. "Amen,

I say to thee, to-day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice," Mark xiv. 30. From this, and other texts, Peter's ardor, and the Savior's knowledge of his confidence in his own steadfastness are perfectly plain. Why, then, deny them both?

I quoted the vulgate, not through ignorance of Greek, on which I have shewn as much knowledge as my friend; but not to boast of a little learning on the words, Πλειων τουτων. The Greek, the Latin, and the English, as verbal criticism is necessary to elucidate the meaning of the text, are by a singular coincidence, in this case, equally ambiguous. How can an unlettered Protestant understand the text?

The popes do not claim to be lords, spiritual, and temporal. But very few of them exercised any temporal power beyond the limits of their own principality, where they rule, as Gibbon told you, by the voice of a free people whom they have redeemed from slavery. Their throne is established in the affections of their people, who, with reason, prefer their pontiff's mild sway to kingly usurpation—the crosier, to the sceptre. The popes have never taken the title of kings of Rome.

I can shew from Waddington and Southey, both Protestant historians of the church, that through centuries of darkness and doubt and civil commotion, while the Turk was ravaging the southern regions of Europe and the northern hordes were pouring down in swarms from their ice-bound regions, desolating the blooming fields, and destroying all that was useful and beautiful of the works of civilization, the pope was the only savior of Europe, from their barbarian ravages. He gave to science and to letters the only refuge which could then have availed them—the refuge of an altar—and the now calumniated monks who reproduced in more auspicious times, the intellectual ray. They handed us the works of the sages, and heroes, the poets, historians and orators of Greece and Rome across the isthmus of the "dark ages" so called. They preserved for us a better gift—the Bible.

Benefits conferred by the church.—"Yet should we be very unjust to the Roman Catholic church, if we should allow it to be supposed, that she opened no receptacles, for the nurture of true excellence; that in her general institutions, especially in her earlier age, she has overlooked the moral necessities of man—the truth is far otherwise. We have repeatedly observed, how commonly, in seasons of barbarism, religion was employed in supplying the defects of civil government and diffusing consolation and security. The *Truce of God* mitigated the fury of private warfare, by limiting the hours of vengeance, and interposing a space for the operation of justice and humanity. The name of the church was associated with peace; and it was a prouder position, than when she trampled on the necks of kings, (what she never did by the bye as I shall prove.) The emancipation of the Serfs was another cause, equally sacred, in which her exertions were repeatedly employed. In her interference in the concerns of monarchs and nations, she frequently appeared as the advocate of the weak, and the adversary of arbitrary power. Even the much abused law of Asylum served through a long period, as a check on baronial oppression, rather than an encouragement to crime.

The duty of charity, during the better ages of the church, was by no means neglected by the secular clergy, while it was the practice and office of the monastic establishments. And even the discipline, so strictly inculcated by the earlier prelates, however arbitrary in its exercise, and pernicious in its *abuse*, was not unprofitable in arresting the first steps, and restraining the earliest dispositions to sin. Confession and penance, and the awful censures of the church, when dispensed with discretion, must have been potent instruments for the improvement of uncivilized society." Waddington's Church Hist. page 546, New York edit. 1835.

We now come to the word Κληρος (cleros,) which the gentleman says means *lot* and not *clergy*. *Lot* does mean the whole people of

God—clergy and laity. Now if the apostle could not lord it over the whole people, he could not lord it over the clergy. The pope does not lord it over the consciences of either clergy or laity—he believes as they do.

The apostles sent Peter and John to Samaria. Peter and John probably offered themselves for the early mission—Peter, to whom God had given superior power—and John, who had leaned on the bosom of Jesus at supper—both pre-eminent apostles, to confirm the people of Samaria.

No man can read the New Testament attentively without seeing, at almost every page, the evidence of Peter's divinely appointed and acknowledged primacy; or the history of the church, without every where discovering the primacy of his successors. Not one council has been received that the pope did not approve. His approbation is in the last resort, the only certain test of a council's orthodoxy.

Peter spoke first in the council at Jerusalem. Peter was justly reprimanded by Paul. The very fact of Paul mentioning his boldness on this occasion, confirms the fact of Peter's supremacy. So did Irenæus remonstrate with pope Victor in the controversy of the Quartodecimans—about the time of observing the Easter—and the pope's sentiments prevailed—although Irenæus' dissuasive did good. So did the controversy about re-baptization terminate between St. Cyprian and the popes Cornelius and Stephen. The popes' decision was every where received.

Now Paul himself did the same for which he blamed Peter. He knew and prized the freedom with which Christ had made him free, yet he says, "If meat scandalize my brother, I will not eat it forever."

He vainly persists in saying there is no good ground for asserting that Peter was ever in Rome, after all the proof I have adduced. Here is Robinson's Calmet, a Protestant dictionary of the Bible, a standard work in Protestant libraries. Calmet was a *Roman Catholic*. He was a prodigy of learning and ancient literature—and Robinson, a Protestant divine, thought he could not furnish a better gift to the public than this book.

"If the reader wishes to see the evidence from antiquity, on which Peter's having been at Rome rests, he will find it fully set forth by Lardner, who concludes his inquiry as follows: This is the general, uncontradicted, disinterested testimony of ancient writers in the several parts of the world, Greeks, Latins, Syrians. As our Lord's prediction concerning the death of Peter, is recorded in one of the four Gospels, it is very likely that christians would observe the accomplishment of it, which must have been in some place. And about this place, there is no difference among christian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named besides Rome; nor did any other city, ever glory in the martyrdom of Peter. It is not for our honor, nor for our interests, either as christians or Protestants, to deny the truth of events ascertained by early and well attested tradition. If any make an ill use (as *he* calls it) of such facts, we are not accountable for it. We are not, from a dread of such abuses, to overthrow the credit of all history, the consequence of which would be fatal." Robinson's Calmet, p. 741.

The gentleman has said that not one voice has attested the fact of the succession of the Roman see for a thousand years. I have quoted Eusebius, a Greek father of the fourth century, translated by a Protestant minister, a splendid work. Here is a list of 29 bishops who sat in the chair of St. Peter, all of whom he names in the body of the work; also the succession in the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Laodicea, &c.

OF ST. PETER.

(Simon Magus) "entering the city of Rome, by the co-operation of that ma

lignant spirit which had fixed its seat there, his attempts were soon so far successful, as to be honored as a god, with the erection of a statue by the inhabitants of that city. This, however, did not continue long; for immediately under the reign of Claudius, *by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great apostle, who, by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome* against this pest of mankind. He, like a noble commander of God, fortified with divine armor, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the East to those in the West, announcing the light itself, and salutary docrine of the soul, the proclamation of the kingdom of God."—Book II. chap. 14, page 64.

OF LINUS.

"After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first that received the episcopate at Rome."—Book III. chap. 2, page 82.

ANACLETUS.

"After Vespasian had reigned about ten years, he was succeeded by his son Titus; in the second year of whose reign, Linus, bishop of the church of Rome, who had held the office about twelve years, transferred it to Anacletus."—Chap. 13, page 100.

CLEMENT.

"In the twelfth year of the same reign, (Domitian's,) after Anacletus had been bishop of Rome twelve years, he was succeeded by Clement."—Chap. 15, page 100.

EUARESTUS.

"In the third year of the above mentioned reign (Trajan's,) Clement, bishop of Rome, committed the episcopal charge to Euarestus."—Chap. 34, page 120.

ALEXANDER.

"About the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan, ... after Euarestus had completed the eighth year as bishop of Rome, he was succeeded in the episcopal office by Alexander."—Book IV. chap. 1, page 128.

XYSTUS.

"But in the year of the same (Adrian's) reign, Alexander, bishop of Rome, died, having completed the tenth year of his ministrations. Xystus was his successor."—Chap. 4, page 130.

TELESPHORUS AND HYGINUS.

"In the first year of this (Antonine's) reign, and in the eleventh year of his episcopate, Telesphorus departed this life, and was succeeded in the charge of the Roman church by Hyginus."—Chap. 10, page 137.

PIUS.

"But Hyginus dying after the fourth year of his office, Pius received the episcopate."—Chap. 11, page 138.

ANICETUS.

"And Pius dying at Rome in the fifteenth year of his episcopate, the church there was governed by Anicetus."—Ibid. page 138.

SOTER.

"It was in the eighth year of the above mentioned reign, viz. that of Verus that Anicetus, who held the episcopate of Rome for eleven years, was succeeded by Soter."—Chap. 19, page 156.

ELEUTHERUS.

"Soter, bishop of Rome, died after having held the episcopate eight years. He was succeeded by Eleutherus, the twelfth in order from the apostles."—Book V. Prelim. page 168.

VICTOR.

"In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus, Eleutherus, who had held the episcopate for thirteen years, was succeeded by Victor."—Chap. 22, page 206.

ZEPHYRINUS.

"But after this author (Victor,) had superintended the church, Zephyrinus was appointed his successor about the ninth year of the reign of Severus."—Chap 28, page 214.

CALLISTHUS AND URBANUS.

"In the first year of the latter (Antonine's reign,) Zephyrinus the bishop of Rome, departed this life, after having charge of the church eighteen years. He was succeeded in the episcopate by Callisthus, who survived him five years, and left the church to Urbanus.—Chap. 21, page 242.

PONTIANUS.

"Whilst this was the state of things, Urban, who had been bishop of Rome eight years, was succeeded by Pontianus."—Chap. 23, page 243.

ANTEROS AND FABIANUS.

"Gordian succeeded Maximus in the sovereignty of Rome, when Pontianus who had held the episcopate six years, was succeeded by Anteros in the church of Rome; he also is succeeded by Fabianus."—Chap. 29, page 248.

CORNELIUS.

"Decius .... raised a persecution against the church, in which Fabianus suffered martyrdom, and was succeeded as bishop of Rome by Cornelius."—Chap. 39, page 254.

LUCIUS AND STEPHEN.

"After Cornelius had held the episcopal office at Rome about three years, he was succeeded by Lucius, but the latter did not hold the office quite eight months, when dying he transferred it to Stephen."—Book VII. chap. 2, page 271.

STEPHEN AND XYSTUS II.

"But after Stephen had held the episcopal office two years, he was succeeded by Xystus."—Chap. 5, page 273.

DIONYSIUS.

"Xystus had been bishop of Rome eleven years, when he was succeeded by Dionysius."—Chap. 27, page 302.

FELIX.

"Dionysius, who had been bishop of Rome for nine years, was succeeded by Felix."—Chap. 30, page 308.

EUTYCHIANUS, CAIUS, AND MARCELLINUS.

"At this time Felix, having held the episcopate at Rome five years, was succeeded by Eutychianus, and he did not hold the office quite ten months, when he left his place to be occupied by Caius of our own day. Caius, also, presided about fifteen years, when he was succeeded by Marcellinus."—Chap. 32, page 310

MILTIADES.

"Constantine Augustus, to Miltiades bishop of Rome."—Book X. chap. 5 page 429.

I need only refer to what I have read from this authentic historian for splendid and indisputable proof. Here is the succession equally plain in all the churches, but *longest in Rome.* Thence it has been faithfully noticed, and regularly perpetuated in an uninterrupted chain of pontiffs down to the present chief pastor, auspiciously presiding over all the church.

Now, my friend, in the name of God what is to become of this controversy, when testimony like this is overlooked? And to close the testimony of Eusebius who has embodied that of the preceding ages, so as to leave no doubt, that the same identical doctrines, the present organization, orders and sacraments of the Catholic church were those of the first ages of Christianity, and heresy too the same then that it now is. I crave your attention for one of the most instructive chapters that could possibly be read on a subject of such absorbing interest to the Christian.

Of Novatus, his manners and habits, and his heresy.

About this time appeared Novatus (Novatian) a presbyter of the church of Rome, and a man elevated with haughtiness against these (that had fallen), as if there was no room for them to hope salvation, not even, if they performed every thing for a genuine and pure confession. He thus became the leader of the peculiar heresy of those who, in the pomp of their imaginations, called themselves Cathari. A very large council being held on account of this, at which sixty indeed of the bishops, but a still greater number of presbyters and deacons were present; the pastors of the remaining provinces, according to their places, deliberated separately what should be done: this decree was passed by all; "That Novatus, indeed, and those who so arrogantly united with him, and those that had determined to adopt the uncharitable and most inhuman opinion of the man,

these they considered among those that were alienated from the church; but that brethren who had incurred any calamity, should be treated and healed with the remedies of repentance."

There are also epistles of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, addressed to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, which show the transactions of the council of Rome, as also, the opinions of all those in Italy and Africa, and the regions there. Others there are also written in the Roman tongue, from Cyprian, and the bishops with him in Africa. In these, it is shewn that they also agree in the necessity of relieving those who had fallen under severe temptations, and also in the propriety of excommunicating the author of the heresy, and all that were of his party. To these is attached also an epistle from Cornelius on the decrees of the council, besides others on the deeds of Novatus, from which we may add extracts, that those who read the present work may know the circumstances respecting him. What kind of a character Novatus was, Cornelius informs Fabius, writing as follows: "But that you may know, says he, how this singular man, who formerly aspired to the episcopate, and secretly concealed within himself this precipitate ambition, making use of those confessors that adhered to him from the beginning as a cloak for his own folly, I will proceed to relate: Maximus, a presbyter of our church, and Urbanus, twice obtained the highest reputation for their confessions. Sidonius also, and Celerinus, a man who, by the mercy of God, bore every kind of torture in the most heroic manner, and, by the firmness of his own faith strengthened the weakness of the flesh, completely worsted the adversary. These men, therefore, as they knew him, and had well sounded his artifice and duplicity, as also his perjuries and falsehoods, his dissocial and savage character, returned to the holy church, and announced all his devices and wickedness, which he had for a long time dissembled within himself, and this too in the presence of many bishops; and the same also, in the presence of many presbyters, and a great number of laymen, at the same time lamenting and sorrowing that they had been seduced, and had abandoned the church for a short time, through the agency of that artful and malicious beast." After a little, he further says: We have seen, beloved brother, within a short time, an extraordinary conversion and change in him. For this most illustrious man, and he who affirmed with the most dreadful oaths, that he never aspired to the episcopate, has suddenly appeared a bishop, as thrown among us by some machine. For this dogmatist, this (pretended) champion of ecclesiastical discipline, when he attempted to seize and usurp the episcopate not given him from above, selected two desperate characters as his associates, to send them to some small, and that the smallest, part of Italy, and from thence, by some fictitious plea, to impose upon three bishops there, men altogether ignorant and simple, affirming and declaring, that it was necessary for them to come to Rome in all haste, that all the dissension which had there arisen might be removed through their mediation, in conjunction with the other bishops. When these men had come, being as before observed, but simple and plain in discerning the artifices and villany of the wicked, and when shut up with men of the same stamp with himself, at the tenth hour, when heated with wine and surfeiting, they forced them by a kind of shadowy and empty imposition of hands, to confer the episcopate upon him, and which, though by no means suited to him, he claims by fraud and treachery. One of these, not long after, returned to his church, mourning and confessing his error, with whom also we communed as a layman, as all the people present interceded for him, and we sent successors to the other bishops, ordaining them in the place where they were. This asserter of the gospel then did not know that there should be but one bishop in a catholic church.* (εν καθολικη εκκλησια).

* The word catholic, in its Greek etymology, means universal, as we have sometimes explained it in this translation. It is applied to the Christian, as a universal church, partly to distinguish it from the ancient church of the Jews, which was limited, partial, and particular in its duration, subjects and country. The Christian is also called a universal or catholic church, because it must in regard to doctrine hold *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* In this latter view, which it should be well observed is the original application, it is synonymous with *orthodox.* This is evident, from the fact that our author applies it to different churches in other parts of his history. And in the present instance the expression is general, *a catholic church.* It is in a sense allied to this also, that we are, no doubt, to understand the title of our general, (*catholic*) epistles, in the New Testament. They are *catholic*, because as consonant to the doctrines of the church *in* all respects, they have been also universally received. In this sense, the term is also synonymous with *canonical*

In which, however, he well knew, (for how could he be ignorant?) that there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi (clerks,) exorcists, readers, and janitors, in all fifty-two; widows, with the afflicted and needy, more than fifteen-hundred; all which the goodness and love of God doth support and nourish. But neither this great number, so necessary in the church, nor those that by the providence of God were wealthy and opulent, together with the innumerable multitude of the people, were able to recall him and turn him from such a desperate and presumptuous course." And again, after these, he subjoins the following: "Now let us also tell by what means and conduct he had the assurance to claim the episcopate. Whether, indeed, it was because he was engaged in the church from the beginning, and endured many conflicts for her, and encountered many and great dangers in the cause of true religion? None of all this. To him, indeed, the author and instigator of his faith was Satan, who entered into and dwelt in him a long time. Who, aided by the exorcists, when attacked with an obstinate disease, and being supposed at the point of death, was baptised by aspersion, in the bed on which he lay; if, indeed, it be proper to say that one like him did receive baptism. But neither when he recovered from disease, did he partake of other things, which the rules of the church prescribed as a duty, nor was he sealed (in confirmation) by the bishop. But as he did not obtain this, how could he obtain the Holy Spirit?" And again, soon after, he says: "He denied he was a presbyter, through cowardice and the love of life, in the time of persecution. For when requested and exhorted by the deacons, that he should go forth from his retreat, in which he had imprisoned himself, and should come to the relief of the brethren, as far as was proper and in the power of a presbyter to assist brethren requiring relief, he was so far from yielding to any exhortation of the deacons, that he went away offended and left them. For he said that he wished to be a presbyter no longer, for he was an admirer of a different philosophy." After this, he adds another deed, the worst of all the man's absurdities, thus: "For having made the oblation, and distributed a part to each one, whilst giving this, he compels the unhappy men to swear instead of blessing; holding the hands of the one receiving, with both his own, and not letting them go until he had sworn in these words, for I shall repeat the very words: 'Swear to me, by the body and blood of our Savior, Jesus Christ, that you will never desert me, nor turn to Cornelius.' And the unhappy man is then not suffered to taste until he had first cursed himself; and instead of saying Amen, after he had taken the bread, he says, 'I will no longer return to Cornelius." And, after other matters, he again proceeds, as follows: "Now, you must know, that he is stripped and abandoned, the brethren leaving him every day and returning to the church. He was also excommunicated by Moses, that blessed witness, who but lately endured a glorious and wonderful martyrdom, and who, whilst yet among the living, seeing the audacity and the folly of the man, excluded him from the communion, together with the five presbyters that had cut themselves off from the church." At the close of the epistle, he gives a list of the bishops who had come to Rome, and had discarded the incorrigible disposition of Novatus; at the same time adding the names, together with the churches governed by each. He also mentioned those that were not present at Rome, but who, by letter, assented to the decision of the former, adding also the names and the particular cities whence each one had written. Such is the account written by Cornelius to Fabius bishop of Antioch.—From pages 263-4-5-6-7 of Eusebius' Eccles. Hist. transl. by Rev. C. F. Crusé, Book vi. chap. 43.—[Time expired.]

Half past 11, *A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

I have some respect, my friends, not only to the audience who hear, but to those who may read this discussion; and, therefore, I wish my argument to be as continuous and unbroken as possible. I could, indeed, wish that my ingenious and eloquent opponent would reply to my speeches in regular sequence, and thus give more of system and tenacity to our debate. Before I trace his zigzag course, I wish to add to my last speech a few kindred considerations. While it behooves him to prove that Peter was first bishop of Rome, I am gratuitously in display of my resources, as the advocate of Protestantism, rather spontaneously prov-

ing a negative, or showing that Peter never was bishop of Rome. Two considerations may be added to my remarks on this head: 1st. The special commission, which he had to the Jews as Paul had to the Gentiles, precludes the idea of his here devoting himself to any portion of the Gentile world. The "ministry of the circumcision" was committed to him, and therefore not the Roman capital; but rather the Syrian capital or Jerusalem should have been the place of his location. 2d. His commission, as apostle, precludes the idea of his being stationed as *bishop* at any one place. You cannot place Peter as bishop of Rome, any more than you can make the president of the United States mayor of Cincinnati. The duties of these officers are not more incompatible than the duties of an apostle and a resident bishop. What are the duties of the bishop's chair? Are they not to watch over a particular diocese? What does the apostles' commission say? "Go ye into *all the world*, and announce the glad tidings to the whole creation." It would be as easy to prove that the bishop of London may be vicar of Bray, or curate of St. Ives, as that Peter was, or could be, bishop of Rome. These two considerations deserve the attention of my friend, and I hope that he will not pass them too in silence.

That every important office, essential to the government of any community, must have a place clearly specific in the constitution is scarcely necessary to prove; yet, as my opponent seems to slur over this matter, I shall read a sentence or two of the Constitution of the United States, to show that in the estimation of its framers, it was necessary to have a distinct assertion of the office and power of the president.

ART. II. SECT. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term as follows:

SECT. 2. "Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector." *The American's Guide, p.* 20.

Now the head of the christian church was, at least, as wise as the convention which framed this instrument, foreseeing all the difficulties of the church in all time, and as he was determined to make all things plain, and certainly he was as capable as they to reveal and express his own will, had he resolved to build his church on the shoulder of St. Peter, he would have unequivocally expressed it. He would have defined the office, appointed the first officer, and legislated the mode of election. The practice of electing popes in the church of Rome is a candid acknowledgment that there is no law in the case: for they have had very different modes at different periods of their history. What would we Americans say, if every few years a new mode should be adopted, without regard to the constitution? Would they submit to such a chief magistrate?

The gentleman proceeded to read and reiterate his remarks on two passages of scripture, often before us: he objects to my criticism on the last chapter of John. His last remarks enable me to give it a more thorough exposition. He says my construction "requires the *accusative* for *these*." I say, with more of the philosophy of language, his construction requires the nominative. The question would have been plainly this: "Do you love me more than these love me." Πλεῖον, it is true, always requires the genitive; but the whole construction of

the sentence would have been changed, if *these* were to be the nominative to the verb here understood. My construction is critically correct as the sentence now reads, but it will not bear his construction. But there is yet another great assumption in the quotation of this passage on which I have not yet emphasized. He says, "*feed my sheep*" means, feed my *pastors*, and "*feed my lambs*" means, feed my *flock*. Mark the *assumption*, that sheep signifies pastors, and lambs the people! Where does he find authority for this? If "*sheep*" any where else signified "*clergy*," and "lambs" laity, there would be some plausibility in it; but with the absence of such usage it is supremely whimsical and arbitrary; and yet the point of this passage rests upon the assumption of sheep for clergy. So far he presses it into his service, for that *bishops* are to feed the flock is not disputed, but that one of them is before the others is the question in debate.

The gentleman, on Saturday, called my interpretation of this passage a fish story; this mode of treating so holy an institution, so solemn a matter, is not in the true dignity of the subject, nor of the occasion; nor is it very respectful to the great personage on whose words we comment; but the audience have not met it with a laugh, and therefore I presume they felt the incongruity. In the same style are the morning's remarks on the *bones*, &c. but the bishop might remember there was more in the premises than the spoils of a single meal; there were many fish and all the apparatus before them, but no one would interpret the words of the question in that style on any other occasion. It was sustenance in general, and not a particular meal, concerning which the Savior spoke.

The gentleman suggests that, in the 1st chap. of John, Christ in his first interview with Peter changes his name to Cephas; and he assumes "that it was that he might afterwards make him the rock of his church!" It was a very common thing in the history of the patriarchs and Jews to change names. Thus we find from the beginning of their history, various instances of this: "Sarai" is changed into *Sarah;* "Abram" into *Abraham;* "Jacob" into *Israel*. Two of the apostles were called "Boanerges" *sons of Thunder;* but that did not convert them into thunder; neither did the name Cephas convert Peter into a stone. If I were to give a reason for the addition to Peter's name, (but it was neither change nor addition, rightly considered,) I would say that it was most probably occasioned by the fact, that Daniel spoke of the kingdom of the Messiah under the figure of *a stone* cut out of the mountain. With an eye probably to this kingdom of the stone, (as Peter was the first convert,) his name is improved by being translated into Syriac; for after all, it is rather a translation of *Petros* than an addition to it! He was, however, the beginning of this new spiritual edifice, and a foundation stone; but only one among many.

This kingdom of the stone, it is foretold by Daniel, was to commence in the days of the Cesars: but it was to become the kingdom of the mountain. It was, indeed, to become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth. This building is composed of a succession of foundations, provided only that all the popes are successors of Peter, in virtue of his being the rock. To have this whole building at the foundation, or to be always laying new foundations in every election of a pope is rather a singular idea, which grows out of the extravagance of the Romish assumption.

The bishop observes that a headless trunk is worth nothing, and would seem to think that our argument on that subject leaves the church without a head. Has the church no other head than the pope? Of whatever church the pope is head, that church is the body of the pope: And is it Christ's body too? The Romanists are the body of the bishop's church—cut the head off that body, or annul the pope's assumption and you destroy its organization. The gentleman rightly appreciates my argument: he feels that it makes the church of Rome a headless trunk: but the mistake is in supposing that this annihilation of the pretension annuls the church of Christ. Jesus Christ is independent of the pope. *He* is head; and the saints of all ages are the component parts of his spiritual, his *mystical* body.

The gentleman's allusion to the High Priest was peculiarly unfortunate There never was but one high priest at a time: one in heaven and one on earth is without a single hint or allusion in the Bible. We cannot now descant upon such an incongruity.

The word Ἱερυς (Hierus) *priest*, occurs not once in the New Testament, in reference to christian bishops, or deacons. It is only found once, and that in the apocalyptic style, in all the christian scriptures: for the idea of any one officiating on the earth as a sacrificing priest, or that christian bishops have aught of a priestly character is anti-christian. But Christ is the anti-type of Aaron. The order of Aaron is extinct. The order of Melchisidec is the model of the Christian High Priesthood. Christ is called of God as was Aaron: but he is called to officiate after the order of Melchisidec. The doctrine of Protestants is, that their High Priest made one great sacrifice for sin on earth: and that he offered it in the heavens; and that by one offering of himself, he *has* perfected the sanctified. "Brethren, consider the high priest of our profession, Jesus Christ." He ever lives and ever intercedes, and is able to save to the uttermost all that come by him to God. We, therefore, need no high priest on earth.

The gentleman has told us too often of his love for America, and his love for England. If he repeats these declarations so often, we shall begin to think he loves too much in word, and too little in fact. He tells you of 30,000 English bayonets employed in defence of the papacy. And what of this? England is the cradle of all political freedom. Our notions of free government were all promulged in English books, and taught in English schools before they were imported here. We have, indeed practised upon the science of free government more than our mother country. But as in America, we tolerate all religions: so the British empire in every country where she has territory or subjects, supports and protects all. England tolerates every thing. She supports Catholicism in Canada, Episcopacy in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and Paganism in the East Indies. Is she not too free and tolerant for my opponent, and for many Protestants?! She takes no part against any religion. The popular doctrine in England at this moment is, that Church and State ought not to be amalgamated, or consociated under the same earthly head. Indeed, she is disposed to follow her American children very far in this doctrine.

The bishop seems to apply to Peter what was common to all the apostles, "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." I remark upon this passage, that when the Messiah gave

the keys to Peter to open the kingdom of heaven to Jews and Gentiles, he did not appropriate to him the sole and exclusive power of binding and loosing: this power he bestowed on all the apostles. For after Peter opened the kingdom, they all introduced citizens into it, as well as he; and had the same official power; for as John says, chap. 20: he addressed them all—"As my Father hath sent me, so do I send you; whose soever sins you remit they are remitted to them, and whose soever sins you retain they are retained!"—This was spoken, in substance, repeatedly to them all. It is therefore asserting too much, to say that Peter alone was gifted with this power. He only used it first. They always exercised it in its true intent and meaning. I shall be glad to resume again the regular order.

We have heard much about the bishops of Rome and how they can be traced back even to Peter, &c., &c. I wish my learned opponent would confine himself to the proposition in debate, and permit me to go through with this argument, for succession. Then I will show of how much value are the traditionary enumerations found in Eusebius, from whose authors I can make out two or three successions.

The gentleman brings up the erudition of the 4th century. I would as soon call on people in this room for testimony that the battle of Bunker's hill, or Blenheim was so and so fought—not one of whom lived at that time; as on persons living in one century to prove what happened in centuries before they were born. In the fourth century there is one writer testifies to the succession. What a decisive proof! Is there any testimony for the first *two hundred years* affirming this succession? I affirm that there is not. All the tradition on earth fails just in this radical and essential point!

Again: tradition is wholly silent on the election of the first popes. No one pretends to tell how Peter and Linus and Clement were invested with the office. Tradition is even in the hands of Catholics ashamed to depose any thing upon this point. We all know how to dispose of tradition three hundred years too late, in other matters; and I think to the matter of fact people of this generation, it must appear preposterous to prove an event by those who lived one, two, and three hundred years after.

Irenæus was introduced as a witness of Peter's having been bishop of Rome: but Irenæus does not say so on his own responsibility: for he lived at the close of the second century. With him it was only *hear-say*. Again, his testimony of the church of Rome, having been *planted* by Paul and Peter is certainly false; and his saying that Polycarp was appointed bishop of Smyrna *by the apostles*, greatly weakens his traditionary statements concerning the Roman see: for Polycarp must have been ordained in the year 97, as he died in the year 147, having been 50 years bishop of Smyrna. Consequently it was impossible he could have been ordained by the apostles: but of this again. While my opponent speaks so fluently of early fathers, and of the short interval of two or three hundred years from Christ, he seems to forget how long a hundred years is, and how few know much about the events that happened a hundred years ago. Even now, in this age of books and printing, and steam presses, and steam-boats, and railroads, and general reading, how few of us could accurately, from memory relate the history of the American Revolution! And yet the gentleman talks about the opportunities of a person to ascertain these his-

toric facts, one or two hundred years after they occurred, from tradition too, in an age when all these facilities which we enjoy were unknown. Is not this tradition a very loose and uncertain witness?—[Time expired.]

Twelve o'clock, M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

Irenæus lived in the second century. He was a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John the evangelist. Irenæus, was bishop of Lyons in France. The chain of testimony consists of three links, John the evangelist, Polycarp of Smyrna, Irenæus of Lyons. John told Polycarp what Jesus did—Polycarp told Irenæus what John had told him, and Irenæus bears testimony here. This edition was published by a Protestant divine, named Nich : Gallaisus. It is dedicated to Grindal, bishop of London ; and as I do not like to advance any thing merely on Catholic testimony, I prefer the Protestant to the Catholic edition of this father's works. Irenæus distinctly says : "Since it would be very long to enumerate in this volume the succession of bishops in all the churches, by appealing to the tradition of a church the GREATEST AND MOST ANCIENT AND KNOWN TO ALL, which was founded and established at Rome, by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul ; a tradition which she has from the apostles, and the faith which she announces to men, and which comes down to us through the succession of bishops, we confound all those who in any way, either through evil self complacency or vain glory, or blindness and perversity gather otherwise than is meet. For with this church, on account of her more powerful principality, IT IS NECESSARY THAT EVERY CHURCH AGREE, that is the faithful who are on all sides, in which church, the tradition of the apostles has been preserved by the faithful who are on all sides." Iren. lib. III. chap. 3, (adversus hæreses.)

Eusebius, has preserved for us a letter, written by the martyrs who suffered in Gaul, in the 19th year of Antonius Verus, and who were charged by the Pagans, as they say in their address to their fellow-citizens in Phrygia, "with feasts of Thyestes, (*who ate part of his own son,*) and the incests of Œdipus, and such crimes as are neither lawful for us to speak nor to think, and such indeed, as we do not believe were committed." In this document the martyrs commend Irenæus, then a presbyter of the church of Lyons, to pope Eleutherus, whom Irenæus appealed to on the subject of the Quarto-deciman controversy. I have this letter here in Greek. It may perhaps have more authority if I read the original.

Thus do we perceive that Eleutherus was styled "father and bishop of Rome," by these illustrious confessors of Jesus Christ, and his favor invoked in behalf of their brother.

In book III. chap. 3, (the title of this chapter is, of the apostolic tradition, or the succession of bishops in the churches from the apostles.) "These blessed apostles (Peter and Paul) founding and instituting the church, delivered the care of administering it to Linus, of whom Paul makes mention in his epistle to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus, after whom Clement obtains the episcopacy, in the third place from the apostles, who had seen and conferred with the apostles, who had heard their preaching sounding in his ears. and had

with his own eyes beheld their traditions. Nor was he the only one—there were many more yet living who had been taught by the apostles. Under this Clement, when no inconsiderable discussion occurred among the brethren at Corinth, the church of Rome addressed to them most forcible letters, gathering them together in peace, *repairing their faith, and announcing to them the traditions they had recently received from the apostles.* To Clement succeeded Euaristus, and to Euaristus, Alexander; next was Sextus, sixth from the apostles, and after him Telesphorus, who also endured a most glorious martyrdom; then Hyginus, afterwards Pius, and after him again Anicetus. But when Soter had succeeded Anicetus, now in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherus hath the episcopate." There is then the fullest manifestation that one and the same vivifying faith has been handed down in the church and preserved to the present day. I would fain read the rest of this admirable chapter, but enough—here is the volume to which all who are anxious for more proof are invited to refer.

Tertullian, a little later says, confounding the heretics of his day—"let them produce the origin of their churches, let them display the succession of their bishops, so that the first may appear to have been ordained by an apostolic man, who persevered in their communion." Lib. de præscrip. He then enumerates the pontiffs from St. Peter, to his own time in the Roman see, and concludes by the memorable words, "Let heretics exhibit any thing like this." The evidence of Eusebius is also before you. On this subject I have one remark to make, which no one in this assembly who sincerely desires to know the truth, and of such I trust, the number is not small, will hear with indifference. This is, that in the letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch concerning Novatus, which is given in full by Eusebius, and is a faithful exhibition of the doctrines of the whole church at that early period, there is not a single doctrine or usage mentioned, which is not taught and observed in the Catholic church in this very city, at this very hour. Is not this an admirable proof of the apostolicity of our church? The supremacy of the pope in the supplying of vacant sees, the sacraments of the holy eucharist, baptism, confirmation, orders, a hierarchy, bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, porters, or janitors; asylums for the needy and afflicted—one bishop in a Catholic church; the right of excommunication, acquiescence of other bishops, personally testified or by letter, in the judgment of the bishop of Rome, &c. &c. &c. In the same letter we see heretics pictured to the life, the errors and evil practices of some modern sectarians described and strongly reprobated, viz: the forcing of communicants to take an oath never to quit a church they have joined. This I know to have occurred in Maryland, and I presume it is not uncommon.

Three o'clock P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

The last half hour of the gentleman was spent in culling antiquity to find some collateral evidence in attempting to defend the great point of the succession of pontiffs; and with what success you have all seen. His sensibility on the present occasion is truly gratifying. His conduct here shows that he perceives it to be vital, supremely essential to his system to make Peter bishop of Rome, and to fix the first twen-

ty nine links in the apostolic chain. But the barrenness of ancient history cannot be remedied in the nineteenth century. He brought forward one fragment of antiquity on the subject; and it is the only fragment on which Eusebius himself relies. In truth that fragment, the Latin version of Irenæus, is the only fragment of antiquity now extant, or extant in the time of Constantine, from which any thing can be gleaned on this subject. And he never once says *that either Paul or Peter separately or jointly were bishops of the church of Rome!*

And here again I cannot suppress my astonishment at the choice of the Romanists:—Why they did not make *Paul* rather than Peter bishop of Rome. In the first place he was a bachelor; and that is now a most cardinal point: again, he informs us that "he had the care of all the churches." He says, moreover, that he is not behind the chief of the apostles. This is rather disrespectful of pope Peter! It could be so easily proved, too, that he was once at Rome (though a prisoner for two full years.) Now, if he did not plant the church of Rome; he certainly watered it. He labored more abundantly than all the other apostles. Is it not then ten fold more probable that Paul rather than Peter was bishop of Rome? But probability will not do in the case. We must have the strongest evidence: we must have contemporary testimony: we cannot prove a fact by witnesses who did not see it. We require the evidence of sense. We should not believe the records of Christ's actions, even, unless we received them from eye and ear witnesses. To illustrate the difficulties that environ my ingenious opponent, I will suppose a case like the one he has to manage. Suppose that in the year one thousand, a tradition had been current that a certain bridge over the river Tiber had been built in the time of the apostles, and that Peter laid the corner stone of the Roman abutment. Some incredulous persons began then to doubt of the matter, and called upon those who affirmed that Peter laid that stone to prove it. They go to work. They found very many believing it in the 10th century: fewer in the 9th, fewer in the 8th, fewer in the 7th, till within 200 years of the time, they find only one person that affirms faith in it, and with him it is an unwritten tradition. All record ceases. There is a perfect chasm of 200 years without a single witness. How shall they throw a bridge over this chasm? Where is tradition during this period? Is there not one voice? NOT ONE. But they say it is *only two hundred* years! But according to all the laws of mind and society, these two hundred years should have the most witnesses: for, the nearer we approach any true event, the more numerous are the vouchers of its reality and authenticity. Therefore the total failure of testimony during that period is fatal to the credibility of the tradition. But they say, it was traditionary for two hundred years: but who can prove the tradition? It is as hard to prove this tradition as the fact! To prove the existence of it first, and then the authenticity of it afterwards, is only rising from the positive to the superlative difficulty. We can as easily build a house in the air eighteen stories high, leaving out the two basement stories, as prove the truth of an event 1800 years old, finding a chasm of 200 years in which there is not one word about it. The church of Rome believes many miracles of her own on mere tradition. There is a legend in Ireland to this day, commonly believed, that St. Patrick 1200 years ago literally sailed from that country to Scotland on a mill stone. Now, if we trace this back we shall find the evidence diminishes

with every century until you come within two or three centuries of the time assigned. Then it comes to a solitary individual, who heard some one say, that he heard another one say, that such a one *dreamed so!*

I think it would be well to advert more pointedly to that law of mind, that the testimony of a fact is always best and strongest because of the number and opportunity of the witnesses *at the time*, or *near the time* it actually existed. For example, at this day, there are many biographies of Washington and narratives of the revolutionary war; some four or five hundred years hence there will be but one or two. This is the established order of things. Genuine evidence diminishes as we descend from, and increases as we ascend up to the events, or facts recorded. All history is proof of this. It is a law of evidence, and a law of the human mind. Therefore, had Peter been bishop of Rome, we would, as we advanced upwards have found much more evidence of it than in the third and fourth centuries. But on the subject of tradition, I will gratify my audience with a few remarks from Du Pin: certainly he had no temptation to weaken its authority.

"Criticism is a kind of torch, that lights and conducts us, in the obscure tracts of antiquity, by making us able to distinguish truth from falsehood, history from fable, and antiquity from novelty. 'Tis by this means, that in our times we have disengaged ourselves from an infinite number of very common errors into which our fathers fell for want of examining things by the rules of true criticism. For 'tis a surprising thing to consider how many spurious books we find in antiquity; nay, even in the first ages of the church. Several reasons induced men to impose books upon the world, under other men's names.

The first and most general, is, the malice of heretics; who, to give the greater reputation to their heresies, composed several books, which they attributed to persons of great reputation; in which they studiously spread their own errors, that so they might find a better reception, under the protection of these celebrated names. And thus the first heretics devised false gospels, false acts, and false epistles of the apostles, and their disciples: and thus those that came after them published several spurious books, as if they had been written by orthodox authors, that so they might insensibly convey their errors into the minds of their readers, without their perceiving the cheat.

The second reason that inclined people to favor books under other men's names, is directly contrary to the first; being occasioned by the indiscreet piety of some persons, who thought they did the church considerable service in forging ecclesiastical or profane monuments in favor of religion and the truth. And this idea prevailed with some ancient christians to forge some testimonies in behalf of the christian religion, under the name of the *Sibyls*, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and divers others: and likewise induced the Catholics to compose some books, that they might refute the heretics of their own times with the greatest ease. And lastly: the same motion carried the Catholics so far, as to *invent false histories, false miracles, and false lives of the saints, to keep up the piety of the faithful.*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The third reason of the forgery of some books, keeps a middle way between those we have already mentioned; for there have been some persons in the world, that have been guilty of this imposture, without any other design, than to divert themselves at the expense of their readers, and to try how nearly they could imitate the style of other men. Hence it is, that some authors have composed treatises under *St. Cyprian's*, *St. Ambrose's* and *St. Austin's* names— * * * * * desiring rather (as the Abbot of Billi says,) to appear abroad, and be esteemed under other men's names than to continue despised, and be buried in darkness, by writing in their own. And these are the reasons that may have occasioned the forgery of books; malice, indiscreet piety and the humors of men.

But besides these reasons that have advanced this trade of forgery, there are

several others that have occasioned the setting authors' names to several books, which they never writ.

'Tis very ill done to conclude that such a book is spurious, because it pinches us, and afterwards to search for reasons why it may be thought so." [*Preface, p.* 6, 7.

We select only one of all these judicious and weighty remarks, from one of the most learned of Roman Catholics, viz. "*that the Catholics themselves have* INVENTED FALSE HISTORIES, FALSE MIRACLES, AND FALSE LIVES OF THE SAINTS," to promote piety in their own members, from which I emphatically ask the question: *What is an article of faith worth which is founded alone upon the traditions of that church?.* I will only add, these are the words of Du Pin, a learned and authentic ecclesiastical historian, whose work is published by the authority of the learned doctors of the Sorbonne.

I have, let me now add, strong suspicions of the authenticity of that passage of Irenæus. The Greek original in the first place is lost: and in the second place the Latin translation was not found for some hundreds of years afterwards. In the third place, two things asserted by Irenæus are not true: 1st, that Peter and Paul founded the Roman church; whereas it has been shown by Paul's letter to the Romans, not to have been the case. 2d. This same Irenæus says, that Polycarp was ordained by the apostles, when according to Polycarp himself, he was not ordained till the year 97, when all the apostles were dead save John, and there is no document to prove that even John lived till that time. Thus dispose we of *Roman traditions.*

The gentleman first introduced this authority which I have in my hand—an Episcopalian doctor—one of the most learned authors of the present day, George Waddington—"History of the Church, 1834." This author enumerates the bishops of Rome; but listen to his own candid testimony. In his chronological table of eminent men, and of the principal councils, he says:

"The succession of the earliest Bishops of Rome and the duration of their government, are involved in inexplicable confusion."

But I have here before me the *Romanorum Pontificum Index*—a chronological index of the Roman pontiffs, prefixed to Eusebius. I have compared it for the first two centuries with Eusebius and some of the primitive fathers, on whose authority it partially rests, and I can say with confidence there is no faith can be reposed in it. I find the authorities on which its assertions rest sometimes obscure, frequently contradictory, and often at variance with other facts which they assert; involving the credibility of the whole story of the successions from different chairs. There are the following traditions to be collected from Eusebius and his fathers for only the first five links of this chain:

1*st. Lineage.*	2*nd. Lineage.*	3*rd. Lineage.*	4*th. Lineage.*
1. Peter.	1. Linus.	1. Peter.	1. Peter.
2. Linus.	2. Anacletus.	2. Anacletus.	2. Clement.
3. Cletus.	3. Clement.	3. Clement.	3. Linus.
4. Clement.	4. Sixtus.	4. Alexander.	4. Cletus.
5. Anacletus.	5. Alexander.	5. Evaristus.	5. Alexander.

I might argue this subject for hours and hours, but it is not worth it. I do not like to imitate my opponent in dilating upon matters, which, whether true or false, do not affect the points at issue the weight of a feather. But the display we have now made of the beginning of succession, according to various traditions and statements, is susceptible of immediate proof, and shows how vacant and dubious these oral and

hearsay traditions are. Is not Waddington justified in saying "*this matter is involved in inexplicable confusion?*" and well it is that saving faith depends not upon such testimony!

I have said the Romanists have never been uniform in electing their popes. I can show some six or seven different modes of filling the chair of Peter, equally approved by the church of different ages. The chair has often been filled by bribery, by force, by the bayonet, and by all sorts of violence. It has been filled by men and boys, and by all sorts of characters. But of this more fully at another time.

The gentleman remarked, on Saturday, that the pope is not infallible. The question was not about the *man*, but the *pope*. I take him at his word, and will now prove, that neither the present pope nor his predecessors are successors of Peter; because Peter was infallible, both in doctrine and in discipline. How, then, can these fallible gentry—these fallible popes—be successors to Peter, in the capacity of officers, when they have not *the grace* of office,—my opponent himself being judge?

I shall now attempt continuously to show, that if even Peter had been placed by a positive precept in the office of vicar and head of the church, all the official grace of such an appointment has failed by the various schisms in the Roman see. The chain has been broken; for Roman Catholics themselves admit, at least, *twenty-two* schisms; some count *twenty-six*. Protestants can find *twenty-nine*. I have already shown that the *hook* and the first *link* must be better secured, if not welded; for Peter the hook and first link has not yet been fastened to the right place; and some of the first links are so entangled that Eusebius, the pope, and G. Waddington, cannot strengthen them. And to quote the words of *A. Pope*, not *the* pope, if one link be missing,

"*Tenth or ten thousandth breaks the chain alike.*"

Ah me! I am jostled out of my course again! The mention of Eusebius reminds me that the bishop has quoted him against the Novatians, &c. But what avails the testimony of Eusebius as a *sectary?* It is quoting a Jansenist against a Jesuit—a Calvinist against an Arminian—a Romanist against a Protestant. Eusebius speaks as a *historian*, and he speaks as a *sectary;* sometimes *Arian*, perhaps, sometimes *Trinitarian;* but certainly opposed to Novatus and his party. It is very hard for a warm partizan, in any case, to state his opponent's views fairly. I have never yet heard any one oppose Calvinism, or Arminianism, just precisely as it was. There is some little difference or other in the most equitable hands, which the opposite party would ot have stated just so; and we know how often the merits of controversy rests upon these minute matters. Novatus and Cornelius were both elected bishops of Rome, and a controversy arose on their respective claims. In the course of the controversy, we learn, that it turned on these two points:

"*That Cornelius admitted those who had been guilty of Idolatry to communion;* and Novatus taught that the church neither could nor ought to admit those to the communion that had apostatized." *Du Pin.* Vol. I. p. 135.

Novatus was the rival of his friend Cornelius, and he regards him as an anti-pope; he is, indeed, called anti-pope 1st. And, at this day, we cannot tell whether Novatus or Cornelius was the successor of Peter! So the first schism commenced, and we look for the faithful

witnesses against Roman assumption from that hour amongst the Remonstrants—call them the Novatians, Puritans, or Protestants.

The second schism we shall notice is that between Liberius and Felix, A. D. 367.

"Constantius being enraged against St. Athanasius, as supposing him the cause of that enmity which his brother Constans had against him, Liberius as to this answered wisely, you ought not, sir, to make use of bishops to revenge your quarrels; for the hands of ecclesiastics ought not to be employed, but only to bless and to sanctify. At last Constantius threatened him with banishment; 'I have already,' says he, 'bid adieu to my brethren at Rome, for the ecclesiastical laws are to be preferred before my living there.' Three days time were given him to consider of it, and because he did not change his opinion in that time he was banished two days after to Berea a city of Thrace. The emperor, the empress, and the eunuch Eusebius, offered him money to bear the expenses of his journey, but he refused it, and went away cheerfully to the place of his banishment. The clergy of Rome having lost their head, took an oath to choose nobody in the room of Liberius as long as he was alive; but Constantius, by the management of Epictetus bishop of Centumcellar in Italy, procured one *Felix* a deacon to be ordained bishop, who was himself also one of them that had sworn not to choose a bishop in the room of Liberius * * * But Liberius, who had given proof of so great constancy in time of peace, could not long endure the tediousness of banishment; for before he had been two years in it, he suffered himself to be over persuaded by Demophilus bishop of that city, of which he was banished, and did not only subscribe the condemnation of St. Athanasius; but he also consented to an heretical confession of faith."—*Du Pin.* Vol. I. p. 190.

Now, if we take Liberius for the true pope, we must take an *Arian* head; for it must be acknowledged that he subscribed the heretical and Arian creed; and, perhaps, at this time the majority of the Roman Catholic church were Arians; but that is not the present inquiry.

We shall now read an account of the third schism:

DAMASUS, BISHOP OF ROME.

"After the death of pope *Liberius*, which happened in the year 369, the see of Rome being vacant for some time, by reason of the caballing of those that pretended to fill it, Damasus at last was chosen by the greater part of the clergy and people, and ordained by the bishops. But on the other side, *Ursinus*, or rather Ursicinus, who was his competitor for the popedom, got himself ordained by some other bishops in the church of *Sicinus*. This contest caused a great division in the city of Rome, and stirred up so great a sedition there as could hardly be appeased. The two parties came from words to blows, and many christians were killed in the churches of Rome upon this quarrel. The governor of Rome called *Prætextus*, being desirous to allay the heat of this contention, sent *Ursicinus* into banishment by the emperor's order: but his banishment did not perfectly appease the quarrel; for the partizans of Ursicinus assembled still in the churches of which they were possessed, without ever communicating with Damasus; and even when the emperor had ordered that their churches should be taken from them, they still kept up their assemblies without the city, so that it was necessary at last to drive them quite out of Rome. And yet all this did not hinder *Ursicinus* from having his secret associates in Italy and at Rome. The bishop of *Puteoli* called Florentius, and the bishop of *Parma* were most zealous for his interests. They were condemned in a council held at Rome in the year 372, and afterwards banished by the authority of the emperor. However they found means to return into their own country, and stirred up new troubles there. They got pope *Damasus* to be accused by one *Isaac*, a Jew. This accusation was examined in a council of bishops held at Rome, in the year 378, which declared *Damasus* innocent of the crime that was laid to his charge. This council wrote a letter to the emperor *Gratian*, praying him to take some order for the peace of the church of Rome. The emperor wrote to them, that *Ursicinus* was detained at *Cologne*, that he had given order to banish *Isaac* into a corner of Spain, and to force the bishops of Puteoli and Parma, out of their country. This did not hinder *Ursicinus* from returning into Italy in the year 381, where he stirred up new tumults, and endeavored to pre-engage the emperor: but the bishops of *Italy* being assembled in a council at Aquileia, in the

year 381, wrote so smartly to him, that he banished *Ursicinus* forever, and left *Damasus* in peaceable possession of the see of Rome, in which he continued until the year 384." *Du Pin. Vol. I. p.* 226, 227.—[Time expired.]

Half past 3 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

In the 2nd. century lived Tertullian—a priest in Africa. He showed how clear was the chain of tradition—he says distinctly that Peter was bishop of Rome. I am going to quote another splendid passage from his testimony. But first let me ask, how could a massive, an enormous volume like this (holding it up) of which the zeal of the early Christians, has made so many copies; and a portion of which, the admirable apologetic, or defence of our Christian ancestors, was addressed to the Pagan Emperors, have been vitiated? It was spread over the whole world—it was read with avidity by Christians and heathens. It is authentic history and based on testimony far more credible than we possess of the genuineness of Homer, or Horace, of Tacitus, or Cicero. We could not believe any fact of history, not even our title to our houses and other goods and chattels, without admitting it. How else but by such records, do we know with certainty of events of which our senses have not taken cognizance, of which we have no personal knowledge, that a few years ago we fought a hard battle with England and gained our independence? That our general was named Washington, and that he was aided by La Fayette? Comparatively recent as these events be, they are matters of tradition! and tradition is but another name for history. Admit my learned opponent's principle, and the world will be turned topsy-turvy. We cannot be sure of any thing. I now cite Tertullian; and mark, I pray you, the clearness and force of his reasoning in the following syllogism, for apostolical succession.

Tertullian de præscriptione adversus hæreticos, lib. p. 394. "If the Lord Jesus Christ sent his apostles to preach, no other preachers are to be received than those whom he commissioned: for no one knows the Father but the Son, and they to whom the Son hath revealed him, nor is the Son seen to have revealed him to any others than the apostles, whom he sent to preach what he revealed to them. Now what they preached, that is to say, what Christ revealed to them, I will here lay down as a principle (hic præscribam) cannot be otherwise proved than by the same churches which the apostles, themselves, founded, by preaching to them, themselves, both by word of mouth, as they say, and, afterwards, by their epistles. If this be so, it is therefore plain that all the doctrine which agrees with these apostolic churches, the *matrices and originals* (or exemplars) of faith, is to be reputed true, as undoubtedly, holding that which the churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God: but that all other doctrine is to be prejudged false, as teaching contrarily to the churches and to the apostles, to Christ and to God. All, therefore, that remains now to be done is to demonstrate that the doctrine we preach, as already explained, has been handed down to us from the apostles, and thus convict all other doctrines of falsehood....." They, (the heretics) object that Peter was reprehended by Paul. But let those who make this allegation shew that Paul preached a different gospel from what Peter preached and the other apostles. If Peter was reprehended for withdrawing, through human respect, from intercourse with the Gentiles, with whom he previously associated, this was a fault of conduct (conversationis) not of preaching. He did not, on this account, preach a different God from the Creator, a different Christ from the son of Mary, a different hope from that of the resurrection—and, (to refute these heretics,) I will answer as it were for Peter, that Paul, himself, said that he made himself, all things to all men, a Jew to the Jews, and no Jew to those who were no Jews, that he may gain all. So that Paul reprehended, under certain circumstances, in Peter, what he, himself, under certain circumstances, did."

But I might read the whole book of prescriptions by Tertullian against heretics.

The fish story again—here is Henry's exposition of the Bible. The principal meaning, in his view, is that which I have given.

Could Paul, my friends, claim to be the chief of the apostles? He had probably done more than any man then living against Christianity, until prostrated by anger and mercy, on the road to Damascus "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me" changed him from a wolf to a lamb, from a persecutor to an apostle.

Eusebius informs us that Paul of Samosata, was deposed by a council in consequence of the heresy introduced by him at Antioch, of which a detailed account had been rendered by the council to Dionysius, bishop of Rome. Paul being unwilling to leave the building of the church, "an appeal was made to the emperor Aurelian, who decided most equitably on the business, ordering the building to be given up to those whom the christian bishops of Rome and Italy should write." Another Pagan, Ammianus Marcellinus, giving an account of the persecution raised by the emperor Constantius against the famous patriarch of Alexandria St. Athanasius, tells us that this emperor strove hard to procure the condemnation of Athanasius by Liberius, on account of the supreme authority enjoyed by the bishops of the Roman see." "Even from the mouths of babes and sucklings," says the Scriptures, "hath God made perfect praise." I may observe, that he has extorted testimony from Pagan kings and historians, to prove the authority of the bishop of Rome throughout the Christian world.

My friend has introduced the subject of unity, in connection with tradition. We shall argue that, if he pleases, from the Bible; but in the mean time let us hear Cyprian, a bishop of Carthage, in Africa, on this subject, in the 3d. century. I am bold to say, you have never heard argument stronger, illustration more apposite, or language more beautiful, than what this father employs.

Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, p. 181, and De Simplici Præs. The primacy is given to Peter that the church and the chair of Christ may be shewn to be one. And all the apostles and shepherds, but there is seen but one flock, fed by all the apostles with unanimous consent; can he who holdeth not this unity, believe he holds the faith? Can he who resists and opposes the church, who forsakes the chair of Peter, on which the church was founded, flatter himself that he is in the church, while the apostle Paul teaches the same thing and shews the sacrament of unity, saying, "ONE BODY AND ONE SPIRIT, ONE HOPE OF YOUR VOCATION, ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM, ONE GOD." Let no man deceive the brotherhood by a lie; let no man, by perfidious prevarications corrupt the truth of faith! The episcopacy is one, each separate part being consolidated in one. The church too is one, with luxuriant fertility extending her branches throughout. As there are many rays of light, but no more than one sun, many branches, but only one trunk, held fast in the earth by its tenacious root, many streams gushing from one fountain, but all blended in their source. Sever a ray from the sun, the unity of light suffers no division; break a branch from the tree, the broken branch will bud no more, cut off a stream from the source, the severed stream will dry up. So likewise the church, irradiated with the light of the Lord, diffuses her rays throughout the universe. The light, however, which is every where diffused is one, nor is the unity of the body separated. She spreads her copious streams, but there is one head, one origin, one blessed mother with a numerous progeny. We are her offspring, we are nourished with her milk, we are animated with her spirit, He can no longer have God for his father, who has not the church for his mother. If any one out of the ark of Noe could escape, so likewise he that is out of the church may escape. The Lord says, I and the Father are one: again, it is written of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost: "and these three are one,"

and can any one imagine that the unity which proceeds from divine strength and which is maintained by divine sacraments, can be torn asunder in the church and destroyed by the opposition of discordant hearts?"

I will now go over the ground, my friend travelled this morning. He said we allowed that we had two high priests on earth. I protest against the gentleman's saying for me what I have not said. One high Priest we have in heaven, God. He has a vicar on earth, the pope. But that vicar wields no authority but from God.

I have, again, been reprehended for endeavoring to gain friends by expressing a liking for the English people, the Irish, and the Americans. But, my friends, have I done them more than justice? Have I swerved from the truth? Have I not said that the Englist had a thousand faults?—[Time expired.]

Four o'clock, P. M.

Mr. Campbell rises—

We have had a learned discussion on the unity of the church. We can sit and patiently hear my opponent while he fills up his time by reading the views of the saints on unity or any thing else he may deem edifying. But as this is not the business now before us, we shall be glad he would choose some other time for it. On this subject we have no controversy at the present time: and that the church should be one, and that she is one virtually and in fact, we doubt not. All that has been read by my opponent on this subject is wholly a free will offering, instead of that argument which the occasion demands.

Was Peter ever bishop of Rome? That indeed was a question: but is it a standing question? How often will my opponent recur to it without proving it? He says, indeed, that Irenæus says that he was: but I say, not a line can be shown from Irenæus nor any other writer of the first two centuries affirming in so many words *that Peter was bishop of Rome!* Let him then refute me at once, by producing the passages. He might have heard so. He has produced Tertullian as a commentator or a retailer of traditions. That you may know something of Tertullian as a theorist, and commentator, I will read you by way of offset a sample or two, simply to show how much these opinions are worth. He speaks very advantageously of custom and tradition, and relates several remarkable examples of ceremonies which he pretends to be derived from tradition.

"To begin," says he, "with baptism, when we are ready to enter into the water, and even before we make our protestations before the bishop, and in the church, that we renounce the devil, all his pomps and ministers: afterward, we are plunged in the water three times, and they make us answer to some things which are not precisely set down in the gospel; after that they make us taste milk and honey, and we bathe ourselves every day, during that whole week. We receive the sacrament of the eucharist, instituted by Jesus Christ, when we eat, and in the morning assemblies we do not receive it but from the hands of those that preside there. We offer yearly oblations for the dead in honor of the martyrs. We believe that it is not lawful to fast on a Sunday and to pray to God kneeling. From *Easter* to *Whitsuntide* we enjoy the same privilege. We take great care not to suffer any part of the wine and consecrated bread to fall to the ground. We often sign ourselves with the sign of the cross. *If you demand a law for these practices taken from scripture, we cannot find one there*; but we must answer, that *'tis tradition that has* established *them, custom has authorized them, and faith has made* them to be observed." Tertull. De Corona Militis.

When Tertullian asserts *a fact*, I believe: but when he relates a dream, a guess, an opinion, or reports a tradition, I listen to him as to the speculations of a contemporary. You shall have it both in Latin and English.

Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsidentur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ recitantur, sonates vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? Habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est."

"Come now, you who are desirous more fully to devote yourselves to the great affair of your salvation, hasten to the *apostolic churches*. Still do the very chairs of the apostles yet stand in their own places: still are their *authentic letters* recited, which sound forth their very tones, and which faithfully exhibit their very countenances. If you are in Achaia, you have Corinth: if in Macedonia, you have Philippi and Thessalonica. If you journey into Asia, you have Ephesus. If Italy be your residence, you have Rome," &c.

On this precious excerpt I will only remark that it fully proves,

1. That the *authentic copies* or autographs of the apostolic epistles were extant in the time of Tertullian, in those churches to which they were addressed.—

2. That the superiority of these churches named above others, so far as *salvation* was concerned, was, that they had these authentic epistles carefully preserved and read.—

3. That as respected authority in the grand affair of salvation, in the judgment of Tertullian, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus and Rome were equal.—Pardon the digression. The extract is worth a volume in prostrating the arrogant pretensions of Rome.

One word on the text, as commented on by Matthew Henry. I have had his work in my library for twenty five years. He is a highly esteemed *practical* commentator: but is not ranked among *critics*. But yet he decides nothing for my opponent. He admits that it may be either the one or the other explanation. But mind me. The Roman Catholic doctrine requires the explanation "lovest thou me more than these love me;" because it was on account of a supremacy of love over all the apostles, that it claims for Peter the supremacy. But Henry admits that Christ may have alluded to the nets and boats and occupation of Peter; while he refers to or says, "do you love me more than your companions." The Messiah never, indeed, had any jealousy of that sort. His comment on John xxi. 15, reads:

"Lovest thou me more than these"? Better than James or John thy intimate friends, or Andrew, thy own brother and companion? Those do not love Christ aright, that do not love him better than the best friend in the world, and make it appear, whenever they stand in competition, or, *more than these things* these boats and nets! Those only love Christ indeed, that love him better than all the delights of sense and all the occupations and profits of this world. *Lovest thou me more than these?* If so, leave them to employ thyself wholly in feeding my flock." *Henry's Commentary.*

But I would like to read what this commentator says about *the rock*: *Matthew* xvi. 18. "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock, I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Peter's confession contains that fundamental truth, respecting the person and offices of Christ, upon which, as on a rock, he would build his church. Nor could the powers of death or the entrance into the eternal world, destroy the hope of those who should build on it. Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose that Christ meant that the *person* of Peter was *the rock*, on which the church should be builded; except it be the wild notion that the bishops of Rome have since substituted in his place! Their rock is not as our rock, our enemies themselves being judges. Without doubt, Christ himself the rock—and tried foundation of the church, and woe be to him who attempts to lay any other. *Ib.*

If then, Matthew Henry is good autnority on one point he is good n the other.

Bishop Otey of Tennessee has been unceremoniously dragged into this controversy. He is a gentleman for whom I entertain a very high regard: and while we differ on some questions, concerning diocesan episcopacy, we perfectly agree on the import of ἱερεὺς (Hierus) a priest, as applied to christians. He has no idea, more than myself of a christian *hierus*, or priest offering sacrifices for sins on earth. He has not answered, indeed, seven letters addressed to him by myself on bishop Onderdonk's tract on diocesan episcopacy: but yet it is not too late. We expect one of these bishops to reply to them.

The Roman Catholics alone contend that priests, by which they mean an order of clergy, can offer sacrifice for sins. Nay, indeed, Mr. Hughes in his controversy with Mr. Breckenridge, says, "To offer sacrifice is the chief official business of the priests." p. 288. Hence, we learn that even in this enlightened land and 19th century, there are persons amongst us claiming the power of making sin offerings and expiating and forgiving sins!!

We now resume the history of schisms in the succession:

We last read you the contentions and havoc of human life on the succession of Damasus. The emperor at that time decided the controversy by banishing Ursinus, and on the decision of that emperor now rests the faith and salvation of the Roman church—themselves being judges. And yet, my learned opponent, in some of his speeches affects to tell you that emperors have nothing to do,—no right to interfere in councils, or with church officers; and here, and on numerous occasions, we find them filling Peter's chair, making vicars of Christ, and heads for his church!!

We cannot rehearse all the schisms, and shall therefore give only a specimen. We take another instance of an imperial pope—one of an emperor's creation.

"After the death of pope Zozimus, the church of Rome was divided about the election of his successor. The archdeacon Eulalius, who aspired to the bishopric of Rome, shut himself up in the church of the Lateran, with part of the people, some priests, and some deacons, and made them choose him in Zozimus' room. On the other side a great number of priests, several bishops, and part of the people, being assembled in the church of Theodora, elected Boniface. Both were ordained; Eulalius was ordained by some bishops, among whom was the bishop of Ostia, who used to ordain the bishop of Rome. Boniface was likewise ordained by a great number of bishops, and went to take possession of St. Peter's church.

Symmachus, governor of Rome, having tried in vain to make them agree, writ to the emperor Honorius about it. In his letter of the 29th of December, 418, he speaks in Eulalius' behalf, and judges Boniface to be in the wrong. The emperor believing his relation, sent him word immediately that he should expel Boniface and uphold Eulalius. The governor having received this order sent for *Boniface* to acquaint him with it, but he would not come to him, so that the governor sent to him to signify the emperor's order, and kept him from returning into the city. The bishops, priests, and the people that sided with *Boniface*, wrote immediately to the emperor to entreat him that he would order both *Eulalius* and *Boniface* to go to court, that their cause might there be judged. To satisfy them, the emperor sent to *Symmachus* an order of 30th of January, 419, signifying that he should enjoin *Boniface* and *Eulalius* to be at *Ravenna* about the 6th of *February*. *Honorius* convened some bishops thither to judge of their cause; and that they might not be suspected of favoring any one side, he commanded that none of those who had ordained either of them, should be a judge in the case. The bishops that were chosen to judge this cause being divided, the emperor put off the judgment till *May*, and forbade *Eulalius* and *Boniface* to go to *Rome*; and sent thither *Achillius*, bishop of *Spoleto*, to perform the Episcopal functions during the *Easter* holydays; in

which time he prepared a numerous synod, and invited the bishops both of *Africa* and *Gaul;* but Eulalius could not endure that delay, and spoiled his business by his impatience; for whether he distrusted his right, or whether he was of a restless temper, he returned to *Rome* the 16th of *March*, and would have staid there notwithstanding the emperor's orders, which obliged *Symmachus* to use violence to drive him out of *Rome;* and the emperor having been informed of his disobedience, waited for no other judgment, but caused *Boniface* to be put in possession in the beginning of April, 419."—*Du Pin, vol.* I. *p.* 417.

The Holy Spirit, then, by the emperor *Honorius*,—an *Arian*, too (if I recollect right,) establishes a vicar for Christ in the person of Boniface I. What, says bishop Purcell, have *emperors* to do with Christ's church?! Once, then they had a great deal to do with it; and where is infallibility now?

Next comes pope Symmachus. Again the church's head is the fruit of bloodshed and war.

"After the death of pope *Anastasius*, which happened at the end of the year 498, there was a fierce contention in the church of *Rome* between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus*, which of them two was duly promoted to that see. *Symmachus* who was deacon, was chosen, and ordained by the far greater number; but *Festus* a *Roman* Senator, who had promised the Emperor *Anastasius*, that his edict of agreement with the bishop of *Rome* should be signed, procured *Laurentius* to be chosen and ordained. This schism divided the church and the city of *Rome*, and the most eminent both of the clergy and the senate took part with one of these two bishops: but at length both parties agreed to wait upon King *Theodoric* at *Ravenna* for his decision in the case, which was this, That *he should continue bishop of Rome, who had been first chosen, and should be found to have the far greater number of voices for him. Symmachus* had the advantage of *Laurentius* on both these accounts, and so was confirmed in the possession of the holy see, and he ordained *Laurentius* bishop of *Nocera*, if we may believe *Anastasius*. At the beginning of the next year he called a council, wherein he made a canon against the ways of soliciting nuns' voices, which were then used for obtaining the papal dignity: but those who opposed the ordination of *Symmachus*, seeing him possessed of the holy see against their mind, used all their endeavours to turn him out of it, for which end they charged him with many crimes, they stirred up a part of the people and senate against him, and caused a petition to be presented to king *Theodoric*, that he would appoint a delegate to hear the cause. He named Peter bishop of *Altinas*, who deposed the pope from the government of his diocese, and deprived him of the possessions of the church. This division was the cause of so great disorders in *Rome*, that from words they came many times to blows, and every day produced fighting and murders: many ecclesiastics were beaten to death, virgins were robbed, and driven away from their habitation, many lay-men were wounded or killed, insomuch that not only the *church*, but also the city of Rome suffered very much by this schism.

King *Theodoric* being desirous to put an end to these disorders, called a council; wherein the bishop being possessed with a good opinion of *Pope Symachus*, would not enter upon the examination of the particulars alleged against him, but only declared him innocent before his accusers, of the crimes that were laid to his charge: and they prevailed so far by their importunity, that the king was satisfied with this sentence, and both the people and the senate who had been very much irritated against *Symmachus*, were pacified, and acknowledged him for pope. Yet some of the discontented party still remained, who drew up a writing against the synod and spread their calumnies, forged against *Symmachus*, as far as the east. The emperor *Anastasius* objected them to him, which obliged *Symmachus* to write a letter to him for his own vindication; but notwithstanding these efforts of his enemies, he continued in possession of the holy see until the year 514 wherein he died." Du Pin. Vol. I. p. 527.

If we cannot find Christ's church some where out of the Roman church at this time, we shall have a hard task to find her there!

Again, we shall read a few words concerning Boniface II.

"*Boniface*, the second of that name, the first pope of the nation of the *Goths*, was promoted to the holy see, under the reign of king Alaricus on the 14th day of October, in the year 529. At the same time one part of the clergy chose Dioscorus

who was formerly one of the deputies sent into the east by *Hormisdas*. Boniface was ordained in the church of Julius, and Dioscorus in that of Constantine. But this last died the 12th day of November. Boniface seeing himself left in sole possession used his utmost endeavors to bring over those who had been of the other party: he threatened them with an anathema, and forced them to subscribe. He called together the clergy, and condemned the memory of Dioscorus, accusing him of simony. He proceeded yet further, and, as if it were not enough for him to be secured of the holy see for himself, he would also appoint himself a successor, and having called a synod, he engaged the bishops and clergy by oath, and under their hands, that they should choose and ordain in his room the deacon Vigilius after his death. This being against the canons, he himself acknowledged publicly his fault, and burned the writing which he extorted from them." Du Pin. Vol. I. p. 542.

What an excellent head, truly, for the church of Christ!

We shall next see, that other *women* besides queen Elizabeth, whom my opponent denounces for being head of the English church, had something to do in pope manufacturing.—Pope Sylverius and pope Vigilius come next:

"The deacon Vigilius remained at Constantinople after the death of Agapetus, who had for a long time aspired to the bishopric, and made use of this occasion to get himself promoted to it. He promised the empress, that if she would make him pope he would receive Theodosius, Authimus, and Severus into his communion, and that he would approve their doctrine. The empress not only promised to make him pope, but also offered him money if he would do what she desired. Vigilius having given the empress all the assurances that she could wish, departed with a secret order addressed to Bellisarius to make him successful in his design. Vigilius being come into Italy, found all things well prepared for him, the siege of Rome was raised when he arrived there, but during the siege Silverius was suspected to hold correspondence with the Goths, and so he was rendered odious for refusing expressly to accept the empress's proposals of receiving Authimus. Thus Vigilius having delivered to Bellisarius the order which he brought, and having promised him two hundred pieces of gold over and above the seven hundred which he was to give him, found no great difficulty to persuade him to drive away Silverius."

* * * * *

"This was put in execution, he was delivered to the guards of Vigilius, and he was banished into the Isles of Pontienna and Panctataria, which were over against the mount Cirrellus, where he died of a famine in great misery, if we may believe Liberatus. Procopius, in his secret history, seems to insinuate, that he was killed by one named Eugenius, a man devoted to Antonina—the wife of Bellisarius: but what Procopius says, may be understood not of the death of Silverius, but rather of his accusation or apprehension."

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"Although Vigilius was promoted to the see of Rome, by a way altogether unjust, yet he continued in the possession of it after the death of Silverius, and was acknowledged for a lawful pope, without proceeding to a new election, or even confirming that which had been made. The conduct which he had observed during this pontificate answered well enough to its unhappy beginning. He had at first approved the doctrines of Authimus, and that of the Acephali, to satisfy the empress: but the fear of being turned out by the people of Rome, whom he hated, made him quickly recall this approbation; yet he did not, by this, gain the hearts of the Romans. They could not endure an usurper, who having been the cause of the death of their lawful bishop, would abuse them also. They accused him also, of having killed his secretary with a blow of his fist, and of having whipped his sister's son till he died. The empress who was not satisfied with him because he had gone back from his word, sent Authimus to Rome with an order to bring him into Greece, and at his departure the people gave him all sorts of imprecations." *Ib. Vol. I. page 552.*

We shall only at this time give the details of another column of the history of the popes in the work before us. It speaks for itself —tells how all the evil passions of human nature co-operated in the election and creation of Christ's vicars.

Under head—"An account of the popes, and of the church of Rome, from the time of Sylvester II. to Gregory VII. 'After his death there was a schism in the church of Rome, between *Benedict* VIII. son to *Gregory*, the count of *Frescati*, who was first elected by his father's interest; and one *Gregory*, who was elected by some *Romans*, who outed *Benedict*. He fled to *Henry*, king of Germany, who immediately raised forces, and marched into Italy to re-establish him. As soon as the king arrived, Gregory fled for it, and Benedict was received without any opposition. He conferred the imperial crown on that prince, and on queen *Chunegonda* his wife. Benedict died in the year 1034, and some authors say, that after his death he appeared mounted on a black horse, and that he showed the place where he had deposited a treasure, that so it might be distributed to the poor, and that by these alms, and the prayers of St. Odilo, he was delivered from the torments of the other life. We have only one Bull of his, in favor of the Abby of Cluny."

"The count of *Frescati*, that the popedom might be still in his family, caused his other son to be elected in the room of Benedict VIII. though he was not then in orders. He was ordained and called *John*, which, according to us, is the *eighteenth* of that name, but according to others the *twentieth*. 'Tis said, that some time after this pope being sensible that his election was vicious and simoniacal, he withdrew into a monastery there to suffer penance, and that he forbore performing any part of his function, till such time as he was chosen again by the clergy."

"John XVIII. dying Novr. 7, in the year 1033, Alberi count of Frescati, caused his son to be seated on St. Peter's chair. He was nephew to the two last popes the count's brothers, and was not above eighteen years of age at the most. He changed his name of Thophylact into that of Benedict IX.

Peter Darnien, speaks of him as a man that lived very disorderly, and was very unworthy of that dignity to which he had been advanced by the tyranny of his father. However, he enjoyed the popedom very quietly for ten years together; but at last the Romans, weary of his abominable irregularities, outed him, and put up in his place, the bishop of St. Sabina, who took upon him the name of Sylvester III. He enjoyed his dignity but three months; for though Benedict voluntarily resigned the popedom, yet he returned to Rome, and with the assistance of Frescati's party, drove out his competitor, and re-assumed the papal chair. But being altogether uncapable of governing it, and having nothing more in his thoughts than the gratifying of his brutal appetite, he made a bargain about the popedom with John Gracian, archbishop of the church of Rome, and made it over to him for a sum of money, reserving to himself the revenues due from England to the holy see. This Gracian took upon him the name of Gregory VI. In the meantime, king Henry, who had succeeded his father, Conrad, in the year 1039, being incensed against Benedict, who had sent the imperial crown to the king of Hungary, after he had defeated that prince, resolved to march into Italy to put an end to that schism. After he came thither he caused these three popes to be deposed in several synods as usurpers, simonists, and criminals. Benedict fled for it; Gregory VI. was apprehended and afterwards banished; and Sylvester III. was sent back to his bishopric of St. Sabina. He caused Suidger, bishop of Hamberg, to be elected in their stead, who took upon him the name of Clement II. and was acknowledged as lawful pope by all the world. He crowned Henry emperor, and as he was waiting upon him home to Germany, died beyond the Alps, October 7, in the year 1047, nine months after his election. Immediately upon this, Benedict IX. returns to Rome, and a third time remounts the papal chair, which he held for eight months, notwithstanding the emperor had sent from Germany Poppo, bishop of Bresse, who was consecrated pope under the title of Damasus II. but he did not long enjoy that dignity, for he died of poison, as is supposed, at Palestrina, three and twenty days after his coronation."

"It is no wonder that these popes have not left us the least monument of their pastoral vigilance, either in councils or by letters, since all their care and aim was how to gratify their ambition and the rest of their passions, without watching over the flock of Jesus Christ." *Du Pin, vol.* ii. *p.* 206.

Observe, a single count has the controlling power of some three popes during this administration; and may be said to have the church under his special management! Comment on such a narrative is unnecessary.—[Time expired.]

Half-past 4 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I should prefer replying to the last part of my friend's argument at once, but order requires that I should follow him through all his points.

We were told the 'old Irish story' of St. Patrick sailing on a mill-stone. Well, the Irish have always been remarkable for telling a good story; but this is told for them, and it is not even witty, much less has it any bearing on the argument. There is not, I presume, one educated Catholic in the world who believes a tale so ridiculous. For my own part, I had never even heard it before; but I have heard of a life of St. Patrick and St. Bridget, written by some young Protestant wag who gathered together all the absurd stories he could find and gave them this name. My friend must have felt the want of better arguments when he introduced such a silly tale, at this debate, for the purpose of weakening the authority of the most sacred documents. I will not call this profane, but I must say, that, in my opinion, it is indecorous.

I have been charged with exciting the laughter of this audience, at the expense of my friend; this is not my fault; what alternative but ridicule for the story we have just heard? It was thus that Elias mocked the false priests of Baal, by saying, "Cry louder on your god—peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked." 3d. Kings 15, 27.

Admit my learned opponent's reasoning, and you cannot be sure that ever there was such a man as Peter: admit it, and you cannot pretend to say that you have had grandfathers or grandmothers, or at least that they had had any themselves: you have never seen them; how then can you be sure they ever existed! Sometimes forged notes get into circulation; conclude with my friend, that you may as well part company at once with the genuine notes you may possess, for you can no longer prove them, to any man's satisfaction, to be worth having. I will go still farther: admit Mr. C.'s curious reasoning, and you can never be sure that such a personage as Jesus Christ ever existed, much less that he wrought miracles to prove the divinity of his mission! You did not see the miracles; the book that records them was written long after they occurred; and many of the most important portions of this very book were doubted of for upwards of 300 years after Christ. even by Luther himself, in the enlightened 16th century! His author Du Pin, says there were abundance of false gospels, false epistles, false acts, in the early ages. *How then, according to his principles, can we be sure of the authenticity of a single book of the Old or New Testament*, seeing we have no voucher for the truth but the testimony of men? Here are chasms to be bridged, and links in the chain of scriptural testimony, to be welded, for full 300 years, ay, 1600 years, before the various books of scripture were collected together: and when they were collected, this collection was made by men, who, he says, were liable to be mistaken like ourselves; and who knows to this day but they were mistaken! Such are the horrid consequences of his illogical reasoning—another sad illustration that, for the deserter from the Catholic church, there is no resource but to deny every thing, to become a deist. I would advise my friend, when he goes back to Bethany, to prove in the Harbinger that such a thing as the present controversy never occurred. I am sure that he can make some people believe, all editorials to the contrary notwithstanding, that it is all a hoax.

He gratuitously mixes up the names of the first five or six popes, in a way unknown to antiquity, whereas Eusebius, Optatus, Tertullian, and Irenæus, agree *perfectly* in the enumeration of Peter, Linus, Anacletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander—and two of these authors have been translated by Protestants! The mixture of the books of scripture is for him a far more insurmountable difficulty. There was much disputing for hundreds of years as to the time and place where the epistles and gospels were written; must we, therefore, reject them altogether? According to his rule of reasoning, we should reject them; but, thank God, Catholics admit no such rule. A few discrepancies about the minor points, where there is perfect unanimity as to the substance, only confirm our conviction of the historian's good faith. And there is as much indisputable testimony of the succession in the chair of Peter, as there is to prove any book of scripture whatsoever. I might, in fact, say there is more. I have already nailed Dupin to the counter; he leans on a broken reed. He quotes St. Paul, to prove that neither he nor Peter founded the church of Rome, whereas St. Paul says no such thing, but only that they should not indulge in foolish disputes about the ministers who had preached to them the word of life, "I am for Paul, I am for Apollos," but give all glory to Christ who died for them. There were christians at Rome before St. Peter or St. Paul went thither. The Roman soldiers who saw Christ crucified, and witnessed the prodigies attending his death, were, doubtless, many of them, as well as the centurion who smote his breast, and cried out "*truly this man was the Son of God*," converted to christianity; who, when they returned home to Rome, related what they had seen, to their countrymen, and made others converts. The apostles, afterwards, went to Rome and founded the see. So it was in England. Long before Gregory sent St. Augustin to that country, there were Catholics there—even in the days of pope Eleutherius.

What was the use of quoting Waddington as an author of infallible weight with me? He could not avoid making splendid acknowledgments to the church of Rome. The truth was too strong for him. But if we believe a man when he testifies *against* himself, is that any reason we should believe him when he testifies *for* himself? In fact, the inexplicable confusion of which Waddington speaks, is not to be found in any of the historians I have named and whose works I have exhibited—from which too I have read to this assembly. If any confusion exist, it is with respect to the *time* when each succeeded each, although in this respect the earliest historians agree, as you have seen. Linus, Cletus, (or Anencletus,) and Clement, are all spoken of in the epistles of St. Paul. They held a conspicuous rank in the church; their names and services in these high places were often seen, and hence could have occurred a mixture of their names and of the dates of their pontificates, among now remote historians. But in every case of doubt as to scripture, or ecclesiastical history, the tests of sound criticism must be applied, and then the sibyls and the Mercurius Trismegistus are sure to go overboard. "*Opinionum commenta delet dies*," says Cicero, "*naturæ judicia confirmat.*" *Time* exposes falsehood—and confirms truth. What Cicero says time does, a more respectable agent, the church, has achieved—she has selected the genuine books of scripture and stamped forgery upon such as were spurious. Had she not done this where would have been the Bible? There are other

ways of detecting error—Du Pin has told you of them. "A third class," says he, "forge for their diversion." You have all heard of the late prodigious humbug at Exeter Hall, England. The king suppresses the Orange lodges. The bigots of the nation rally. They invite a general convention of their brother bigots throughout the empire; a champion, it was the notorious Dr. McGhee, is invited from Ireland. He professes to have discovered a document penned by the reigning pontiff, and addressed to the clergy of England and Ireland, that recommended all the crimes that could be thought of to be committed against the Protestants. The crowd is gathered. The conquering hero comes. The air is vexed with the cries of "down with the Catholics,"—"long life to McGhee!" He opens his mouth, but he cannot speak. His emotions overpower him—some broken accents—the title of the document is heard. "Simpleton," says a tremulous voice from the crowd, "the Rev. Mr. Todd, of Trinity college, Dublin, forged and published that document for his own *diversion* and that of his friends, just to see how he could imitate the pope's Latin, but never dreaming that any man of sense could believe that he intended to impose it on the world as a genuine production of the pope!" McGhee was thunderstruck—the meeting horrified, and one by one they slunk away to their homes, muttering benedictions upon Irish bull-makers! This was diverting; but the consequences of such diversions were not always as harmless to the poor Catholics; in fact they had frequently cost them torrents of blood. The celebrated Dr. Parr, Dr. Johnson, Nix, Whittaker, all agree that the Catholic is the most calumniated society on earth.

My friend should know that the Latin translation of Irenæus is good authority, according to the soundest rules of criticism. It was made in the lifetime of Irenæus, who wrote the preface to it himself; by birth a Greck, he was bishop of a Latin see, (Lyons,) and he says he hopes the reader will excuse the roughness of his style, for he had been so long among the Celtæ that he had lost the purity of his native tongue. His proximity to the apostles is proof of the clearness of the testimony in his day. Polycarp was converted in the year 80—and St. John lived to the close of the first century—so that John taught Polycarp, and Polycarp taught Irenæus. We all know why Jacob (supplanter,) Sara (Lady,) Isaac, (laughter,) Peter, (a rock,) were so called—was there a reason for the giving of these names to all but Peter? The reason my friend alleges *is not it*; Peter was not the first convert, it was his brother brought him to Christ. John i. 41, 42. The word *head* is figurative; this remark cuts up the web of sophistry my friend has spun around it. The pope is Peter's successor without being all and every thing that Peter was, without being a fisherman, a swordsman, a man of impulsiveness, a martyr. He succeeds to all the power necessary to guide the church. The other apostles were infallible, as my friend admits, and yet their successors claim not to be so, individually; it is enough for every purpose of good government that they are so when they abide in the doctrine of the entire church. Liberius never erred in faith; and Du Pin himself is proof of his orthodoxy. He defended the faithful Athanasius against Constantius and the Arians his accusers! And yet Mr. C. would have us believe Liberius an Arian! He preferred, he said, to go into exile rather than break the ecclesiastical laws against his own conscience. Is not this one of the most heroic sayings recorded of popes? The formula he signed in exile at Perea, in Thrace, was not heretical.

but when this act was abused by the Arians, Liberius wept bitterly for the violent interpretation the document was made to bear. The clergy of Rome appreciated the pontiff's magnanimity, they had no doubt of his faith; they would have no other pope—Felix, the creature of the emperor Constantius, they justly despised; and, as in every similar instance, the righteous cause prevailed; God was stronger than the emperor, truth than error. So did the synod approve Damasus, and reject his rival.

Tertullian was quoted about the Eucharist, and prayers for the dead; I will show you how his testimony is in our favor. Talking of Corinth, Ephesus, and other cities, he says to the inquirer, if you want to find the established doctrine and live near Corinth, go to Corinth to find it out; if near Ephesus, to Ephesus; if near to Rome, go to Rome, and so on. This only proves that the doctrine at all these places was exactly the same; but what is the argument? Does it prove that all these churches were equal in authority to Rome? Suppose a man in New York writes to me to know what the Catholic doctrine in any point is—I tell him he must apply to the bishop or clergy of the churches of New York for information. Does it follow from this that I question the preeminent authority of Rome? Does it prove any thing whatever? It is so far in our favor that it proves *a uniformity of doctrine*—like the unity of that light which proceeds from a common fountain.

Mr. C. is stricken with the authority of Peter—it haunts him like a spectre throughout this discussion—it meets him at every turn and corner of his argument,—well! The Greek word Ποίμανε means rule, guide, govern, as well as "feed." See Homer, *passim*. "Ποίμενί λαων" was the epithet applied usually to Agamemnon. Feed my lambs means all the flock, with the subordinate pastors spread over the universal fold. The evangelist takes care to tell us, in the parable of the temple, *that he spoke of the temple of his body*. He explained, as St. John says, more than all the books of the whole world could contain, to his disciples, during the forty days from his resurrection to his ascension, spent, as the scripture assures us, in speaking to them of the kingdom of God, as he every where called his church. Mr. C. says there is no priest since Christ. I grant it, in the sense that the high priest holds the place of Christ, derives his power from Christ. In this sense Christ employs the priest as his agent, and exercises by him his own priesthood, in which God the Father hath (Ps. 109) confirmed him by an oath for ever. But in the sense that no such priest now exists, I cannot agree with the gentleman, for St. Paul says, thirty years after Christ's ascension, "*For every high priest taken from among men, is ordained for men, in the things that appertain to God*, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sin. Who can have compassion on them that are ignorant and err, because he himself also is compassed with infirmity, and therefore he ought, as for the people so also for himself, to offer for sins; neither doth any man take the honor to himself, but he that is called by God as Aaron was." Heb. ch. 5, v. 1, 2, 3, 4. Does not all this prove a priesthood distinct from the body of christians, thirty years after Christ, as it exists at present? Does not St. Paul say, we have an altar of which they cannot partake who serve the tabernacle? Heb. vi. 13, 10. And what was that altar for but for the sacrifices which the priests were taken from among men to offer?—[Time expired.]

M

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17TH, *Half-past 9 o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

I intend if possible, to sum up this argument on my second proposition this forenoon. I could wish that my friend, the bishop would reply to me instead of anticipating propositions in advance, and of reading or speaking of matters which are wholly irrelevant. He is even now occasionally on my first proposition; anon, on the second; and instantly, on subjects which we have not agreed to debate. He talks about my getting into thickets and circuitous labyrinths, without seeming to perceive that I am in pursuit of him. He makes propositions and assertions for me which I never uttered, and spends his time in descanting upon his own misapprehensions.*

I must however, intimate to him and my audience, my purpose of ceasing to respond to any thing he may introduce not in reply to my speeches. If I must lead the way; he must follow. I cannot be decoyed into all the minor and remote points he may originate. I must go on to sustain my propositions, whether he respond to them or not; and shall appropriate half an hour occasionally to such matters in his speeches as may call for my notice.

I cannot, therefore debate the priesthood, or any foreign topic. But as the gentleman has again reiterated the charge, "*feed my sheep*," and seems to make the whole merits of the question depend on the meaning of the word *sheep*; I will once more, and I think only once more advert to it. It is universally admitted by Protestants and Catholics, that it is the duty of pastors to feed the *flock* of their charge. If there be a *common* duty in the ministry of the old and new law, it is this. But it is essential to his argument to make the word κλῆρος signifying *sheep* denote *clergy*. This is an extraordinary assumption. It would be a waste of time to argue against it. But that you may see its absurdity, I will read from the Catholic version a part of the 10th chap. of John, substituting the bishop's definition for the term.

"He that entereth not by the door into the fold of the *clergy*, but climbeth up some other way, he is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth by the door, is the pastor of the *clergy*. To this man the porter openeth, and the *clergy* hear his voice; and he calleth his own *clergy* by name, and leadeth them forth. And when he hath let forth his own *clergy*, he goeth before them, and the *clergy* follow him, because they know his voice. I am the door of the *clergy*. And how many soever have come are thieves and robbers, but the *clergy* heard them not.

11th verse. I am the good pastor. The good pastor giveth his life for his *clergy*. But the hireling and he that is not the pastor, whose own the *clergy* are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the clergy and fleeth; and the wolf raveneth and disperseth the *clergy*. And the hireling fleeth because he is a hireling; and he hath no care of the *clergy*. I am the good pastor, and I know mine, and mine know me. As the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father; and I yield my life for my *clergy*. And other *clergy* I have that are not of this fold."

I submit this without comment to the good sense of my audience. The gentleman may find it more to his account, or he is more accustomed to speak to the prejudices of that part of the community

* The other day the bishop asserted that *I affirmed, the apostles wrote only to Greek cities.*' This is not found in my speeches; for it is so gross an error that I could not have uttered it, even in a dream. I request the reader to examine my speeches for my own assertions; for he will frequently find the bishop instead of meeting his opponent, demolishing men of straw of his own creation.

who rely on the authority of the Roman church without asking questions, who are told not to think or reason for themselves; but to believe in *the church*—to them he may hold up his map triumphantly. The face of Tertullian or Irenæus on paper is as good to them as ten arguments. But I speak to Protestants as well as Catholics; and, therefore, I must reason, for they are a reasoning population. I expect them to decide by evidence, and not by authority.

Reference has been made to Waddington, on the papal succession. His words *were* not correctly quoted by the gentleman. *His* interpretation is rather an evasion of the question. It is to the succession itself he alludes. He cannot make it out: he acknowledges he cannot; nor can any living man.

To resume the history of the schisms. I will read a few extracts that I have marked in a chronological table of the popes, which will exhibit a bird's eye glance of the fortunes of the Roman see, for little more than a single century.

1261. Alexander IV. dies June 24. The holy see vacant 3 months and 3 days. The cardinals who proceeded to the election, not being able to pitch on one among themselves, chose Francis, patriarch of Jerusalem, who takes upon him the name of Urban IV. and is consecrated Sept. 4.

1265. After a vacancy of four months, cardinal Guy, the Gross, born in Provence, is elected pope, Feb. 5, and consecrated March 18, under the name of Clement IV.

1268. Clement IV. dies Oct. 29. The holy see lies vacant for two years, nine months, and two days.

1271. The cardinals after a long debate on Sept. 1, by way of compromisal elected Thibald, arch deacon of Liege, native of Placenzia, who was then at Ptolemais.

1276. Gregory X. dies Jan. 10. Peter of Tarentaise, cardinal bishop of Ostia, is elected the 21st. under the name of Innocent V. After his death, which happened June the 2d. cardinal Ottobon, a Genoese, is elected in his place, July the 12th, and takes upon him the name of Adrian V. He dies at Viterbo, Aug. 18. without having been consecrated. Twenty-five days after, cardinal John Peter, the son of Julian, a Portuguese, is elected and consecrated, Sept. 15, under the name of John XXI.

1277. John XXI. is crushed by the fall of the ceiling of the palace of Viterbo, and dies May the 20th. Nov. 25, John Cojestan is elected, and takes the name of Nicholas III. and consecrated Dec. 26.

1280. Nicholas dies Aug. 22. The holy see is vacant six months.

1287. Honorius IV. dies on April 5. The holy see vacant till April of the next year.

1292. Nicholas dies on April 4. The holy see vacant two years three months and two days.

1304. The death of Benedict July 8. The holy see remained vacant till the next year.

1305. Clement V. is chosen pope June 5. He is crowned at Lyons Nov. 11, and resides in France.

1328. Lewis of Bavaria causes Michael Corbario to be chosen anti-pope, who takes the name of Nicholas V. and is enthroned May 12. He was driven out of Rome, Aug. 4.

378. Gregory XI. died March 27th. The cardinals entered the conclave at Rome, April 7th. The Romans required a Roman or an Italian pope. The arch-bishop of Paris is chosen in a tumultuous manner, April 9th, and crowned the 17th. under the name of Urban VI. The cardinals fly into Anagnia in May, and protest against the election of Urban. They came to Rondi August the 27th, enter the conclave, and chose, September 20th, the cardinal of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. which caused a schism in the church.

1379. Clement VIII. flies to Naples, and from thence goes to Avignon, where he arrived June 10. The competitors for the papacy condemn one another.

Touching all that the gentleman has said or may say of the authenticity of Du Pin, I observe that the reporters have recorded my defence of his reputation. They will also have stated the fact that I only quote him as authentic on such matters as all other historians testify. I will not then repeat the same defence again and again.

I know, indeed, that what is authentic with Jansenists may be heterodox with Jesuits, and vice versa. When the Romanists are hard pressed, they have no English authentic historians. And when we quote a Latin one, we are sure to err in the translation. Bellarmine is repudiated by one party; even Barronius is sometimes disallowed. Still being in Latin, he is more authentic than any other. We shall therefore take from him a few words in confirmation of what we read from the Decretals of Du Pin. Barronius, vol. vi. p. 562, A. D. 498, tells us that the emperor's faction sustained the election of Laurentius to the papacy. In this struggle "murders, robberies and numberless evils, were perpetrated at Rome." Nay such were the horrible scenes that, says Barronius, "there was a risk of their destroying the whole city." In the schism between popes Sylverius and Vigilius in the sixth century, the latter, though an atrociously wicked man, "implicated," says Barronius, "in so many crimes" that all virtuous men opposed him, was raised to the papal chair. Yet this man was pronounced a good pope. Barronius says he is not to be despised though a bad man. Let every man recollect, "says he, that even to the shadow of Peter, immense virtue was given of God!" (Bar. vol. vii. p. 420.)

'In the midst of contentions which rent the Roman Catholic church, pope Pelagius I. was chosen. This pope approved the council which pope Vigilius had condemned. This increased the flames of ecclesiastical war to such a degree that the pope could not find a bishop of Rome, who could consecrate him; and he was constrained to beg a bishop of Ostium to do this service; "a thing," says Barronius, "which never had occurred before." (Vol. vii. p. 475.)

The popes Formosus and Stephen lived in the ninth century. The latter, says Barronius, was so wicked, that he would not have dared to enroll him in the list of popes, were it not that antiquity gives his name. In the exercise of papal infallibility, he not only rescinded the *acts* and *decrees* of his infallible predecessor Formosus; but collecting a council of cardinals and bishops as bad as himself, he actually had the old pope taken out of his grave; and he brought him into court, tried, and condemned him; cut off three of his fingers; and plunged his remains into the Tiber. See Platina's life of Stephen VI. and Barronius do.'

'Barronius under the year 1004, names three rival popes, who perpetrated the most shameful crimes, and bartered the papacy, and sold it for gold. He, though a Roman Catholic writer, calls them Cerberus, the three headed beast which had issued from the gates of hell!'

Hear his words in his life of pope Stephen VII. A. D. 900. 'The case is such, that scarcely any one can believe it, unless he sees it with his eyes, and handles it with his hands, viz. what unworthy, vile, unsightly, yea, execrable and hateful things the sacred apostolic see, on whose hinges the universal apostolical church turns, has been compelled to see, &c.'

'Genbrard in his chronicles, under the year 904 says, "for nearly

150 years, about fifty popes deserted wholly the virtue of their predecessors, being APOSTATE rather than APOSTOLICAL!'

'And to crown the climax, Barronius, under the year 912 adds: "What is then the face of the holy Roman church! How exceedingly foul it is! When most potent, sordid and abandoned women, (Meretices,) ruled at Rome: at whose will the sees were changed; bishops were presented; and what is horrid to hear, and unutterable, FALSE PONTIFFS, the paramours of these women, were intruded into the chair of St. Peter, &c." He adds,—"For who can affirm that men illegally intruded by bad women, (scortis) were Roman pontiffs!" Again: "The canons were closed in silence; the decrees of pontiffs were suppressed: the ancient traditions were proscribed; and the sacred ceremonies and usages of former days were WHOLLY EXTINCT. See his Annals A. D. 912.'*

Again: he relates that pope Alexander was elected by cardinals, some of whom were bribed, some allured by promises of promotion, and some enticed by fellowship in his vices and impurities to give him their suffrages. He refers to various authors who complained that he was famous for his debauchery; he tells us of his vile example in keeping a Roman strumpet Vanozia, by whom he had many children; that he conferred wealth and honors on them, and even created one of them, Cæsar Borgia (an inordinately wicked man) archbishop of the church. Vid. Bar. Annals, vol. xix. p. 413 et seq.

'The same writer (vol. ix. p. 145) records the election of Benedict IX. at the age of twelve years, which he says was accomplished by *gold*, and he calls it ("horrendum ac detestabile visu") "horrible and detestable to behold;" and yet he adds that the whole christian world acknowledged Benedict, without controversy, to be a true pope!

STEPHEN VII. The unparalleled wickedness of this pope is conveyed in a single line: [*Ita quidem passus facinorus homo quique ut fur et latro ingressus est in ovile ovium, laqueo vitam adeo infami exitu vindice Deo clausit.*] "Thus perished this villanous man, who entered the sheepfold as a thief and a robber; and who in the retribution of God, ended his days by the infamous death of the halter." (Bar. vol. x. p. 742.)

Again, Barronius says of the 10th century:

"What then was the face of the Roman church? How very filthy, when the most powerful and sordid harlots then ruled at Rome, at whose pleasure sees were changed and bishoprics were given, and—which is horrible to hear, and most abominable—their *gallants* were obtruded into the see of Peter, and made *false popes;* for who can say they could be lawful popes, who were intruded by such harlots without law? There was no mention of the election or consent of clergy; the canons were silent, the decrees of popes suppressed, the ancient traditions proscribed,—lust armed with the secular power, challenged all things to itself.

* * * * * * *

What kind of Cardinals, do you imagine must then be chosen by those monsters, when nothing is so natural as for like to beget like? who can doubt, but they in all things did consent to those that chose them? Who will not easily believe that they animated them and followed their footsteps? Who understands not, that such men must wish that our Lord would have slept continually, and never have awoke to judgment to take cognizance of, and punish their iniquities." Ann. Vol. x. 912.

Now if the gentleman objects to any of these quotations which I have hastily, but I believe most correctly made: the originals are

* Brownlee's Letters on Rom. Cath. controversy, pp. 36, 37, 38.

here and let them be examined: For, these being admitted it is useless to object to Du Pin, who never uses so severe language against the popes as Baronius and Genebrand, Platina and others.

Finally on this subject. For seventy years, there was no pope in Rome, besides all the other interregnums. The pope resided at Avignon in France and left St. Peter's chair empty. For almost half a century there were two popes, and two lines of popes existing at one time—one reigning in Italy, and one in France. And at last there were three popes—Benedict XIII. the Spanish pope, Gregory XII. the French pope, and John XXIII. the Italian pope. Then the council of Constance met—A. D. 1414, and made a fourth, or true pope, and deposed the three anti-popes. Such was the 29th schism in the papacy! Is there,—may I not ask with all these facts before us,—Is there any man on earth that can have the least confidence in any pope as the successor of Peter? A thousand questions the most learned and intricate, which no living bishop has time or means to examine, must be decided before he could rationally or religiously believe that the succession from Peter has any existence at all: or, in truth, it cannot be believed but upon *mere authority!*

We now proceed to show that there has been no fixed and uniform method of electing the popes. Indeed history and tradition furnish us with no less than seven different methods.

1. Irenæus says, 'that tradition said, that Peter appointed his successor.' And if he did, why do not all the popes follow his example? for Irenæus is as good authority for this, as for that concerning the founding of the church of Rome.

2. The priests and people are said to have often elected the first popes; or, rather the bishops nominated and the people elected.—I ought to have observed distinctly, that there is as much sophistry in the word *pope* as ever was played off on earth. The word pope, in the east was first applied to all bishops, and is so used in Russia to this day. It was in the 5th century applied to the senior bishops and metropolitans of the west. But it was not until the time of Gregory VII. that it was *exclusively appropriated by his own innovation, to the bishops of Rome.*

Hence, in this variety of acceptation, popes many were always in the church, and were elected by the people. But the persons first called popes and those now wearing the title, have no other resemblance than the common name.

3. The emperors nominated and bishops elected, and the emperors appointed on their own responsibility.

4. Leo VIII. transferred the whole power of choosing the pope to the emperor, being tired with the inconstancy of the Romans.

5. Barronius in his Annals, 112, 8, and sect. 141, 1, says, 'They (the popes) were introduced by powerful men and women. *It was frequently the price of prostitution!*'

6. By the decree of pope Nicholas II. in his Læteran Synod: 'The whole business was given over to the cardinals, an order of men, not heard of for 1000 years after Christ. The popes now make the cardinals, and the cardinals make the pope. What a glorious republic! My friend, a staunch republican, agrees that a few men in Rome should elect a head for the universal church! But sometimes—

7. General councils (as that of Constance, Pisa and Basil) took upon themselves the making of popes, and, as we have seen, made a

fourth pope, when there were already three acknowledged by different parts of the church. Can these facts be denied? They CANNOT *and I presume*, WILL NOT.

It is now affirmed that the intrigues of papal elections incomparably surpass the intrigues of any court on earth. The politics of France, of Italy, of Austria, are so incorporated with the schemes of the cardinals, or so bias or bribe them, that on the election of a pope, it is usually said, "Austria has succeeded" or "Spain," or "France has prevailed this time!" In one word, the papal chair is the most corrupt and corrupting institution, that ever stood on earth. The Roman Cesars, or the Egyptian dynasties, were pure and incorrupt, compared with this mammoth scheme of iniquity. On the whole premises, I ask, would the head of the church so jeopardize all the interests of his kingdom as to make the popes of Rome, or faith in them essential elements of his system of redemption, or necessary to the salvation of any human being?!—

To recapitulate.—This being a fundamental and primary essential element of the Roman church, I have labored it more than any other and yet I have not said a tithe of what may be said, or even what I have to say on the subject. But I have aimed at establishing four points in demonstrating this proposition. And to adopt the positive and dogmatic style of my learned opponent, may I not say that *I have fully proved*—

1. That the office of pope, or supreme head on earth, has no scripture warrant or authority whatever. Indeed, that the whole *beau ideal* of a church of nations, with a monarchical head, (which, in the estimation of the bishop, is equivalent to the word *church* of Christ,) is as gratuitous an assumption as ever graced a *romance*, ancient or modern.—

2. That it cannot be ascertained that Peter was ever bishop of Rome —nay, indeed, it has been shown, that it is wholly contrary to the New Testament history, and incompatible with his office.—

3. That Christ gave no law of succession.—

4. That if he had, that succession has been destroyed by a long continuance of the greatest monsters of crime that ever lived; and by cabals, intrigues, violence, envy, lust, and schisms, so that no man can believe that one drop of apostolic grace is either in the person or office of Gregory XVI. the present nominal incumbent of Peter's chair! It would be now as easy to prove that Solomon's mosque built by the Turks, is Solomon's temple, in which Jesus Christ stood; as that the popes or church of Rome is a christian institution.

On what, now, rests ROMAN CATHOLICISM?! If the foundation be destroyed, how can the building stand? I need not tell my opponent that this is a blow at the root of his apostolic tree. He feels it, and I am glad to think that if any American bishop can sustain these pretensions, my learned opponent is that man. He has asked, and he may again ask, where was the Protestant church before Luther's time? In reply, I ask, where was the pope before Constantine's time? He brought Mosheim to offset Waddington and Jones on the subject of the Novatians. And what did Mosheim prove contrary to these historians? You have heard with what success my opponent seeks to tarnish the reputation of Novatians, Waldenses and Protestants. As a general offset to all his declamation on this subject, I will give you the testimony of a *good* Roman Catholic: for he was an *Inquisitor* —I mean *Rienerius Saccho*, one of the most inveterate enemies of

these old fashioned Protestants. I have the original before me, but shall not read it unless it be required: The translation reads:

"Among all the sects" (there were sects, you perceive, before the Reformation) "which still are, or have been, there is not one more pernicious to the church than that of the Leonites;" (a name by which the Waldenses were sometimes called,) "and that for three reasons. The 1st is, because it is the oldest, for some say it hath existed from the time of pope Sylvester; *others from the time of the Apostles.* The 2nd, because it is more general, for there is *scarce any country where this sect is not.* The 3rd, because when all others sects beget horror by their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonites hath a *great show of piety* because they live *justly before men,* and believe all *things rightly concerning God* and *all the articles contained in the creed.* Only they blasphemed the church of Rome." *Rein. Sanho. edit. Gritzer, O. S. J. cap.* 4. *page* 54.

I could give much more Roman Catholic testimony in proof that the doctrines of Protestantism continued from the days of the first Roman schism till now: but this at present would seem superfluous. Nor will I speak now of the old English and Irish churches which the Roman bishops sought in vain for many centuries to bring into their fold. There is nothing betrays a less discriminating regard to the facts of ecclesiastical history, than to ask where was the church before the days of Luther?—But I hasten to the point yet before me, which, like some others, I may not remember, was reserved for a more convenient season. It was an objection drawn in part from Eph. iv. 11, and from the alleged difficulty of obtaining a ministry but through the popes of Rome.

This passage, viewed in common with Matth. xxviii. 18, 19, seems to me, rather to remove all difficulty on the subject. Matth. xxviii. gives all authority to the apostles to set up the christian church, and promises them miraculous aid, till the work was done. "I am with you continually *till the conclusion of this state*—εως της συντελειας του αιωνος. Of which I must here speak more particularly. At present it suffices to repeat the fact of such a commission, and such a promise to the apostles.

Now let us hear Paul. When Christ ascended, "he *gave gifts* to men."—What, let me ask, were they? "He gave apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers"—all miraculously endowed. They were not raised up, out of the church; but given directly from heaven to the church, or for building a church! What, again, let me ask Paul, were they given for? "For the perfecting of the saints:" or, according to the Douay bible, "for the consummation of the saints unto the work of the ministry, unto the edifying of the body of Christ." And for how long, let me ask, still more empnatically? "Until" (it is Μεχρι in Greek, *donec* in Latin, adverbs expressive of the time how long) "*Until* we all come into the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect *man*" (not men—that is, to a perfect body) "into the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ."—The Roman church being judge, then, these officers were given to the church after the ascension, for a special work, and for a limited time.—Till, out of Jews and Gentiles, they had made one PERFECT MAN, or CHURCH.

Now, these apostles acted in exact accordance with the nature of the case. They preached, baptized, and congregated disciples, in particular places. These disciples had, from the nature of the case, to receive from them the whole christian institution. They knew neither what to believe or do, but as they were taught by these inspired men.—Hence, the apostles preached, baptized, taught, served

tables, and dispensed all ordinances, and performed all offices among them, till the body of the church had learned its duty. Then they taught them to select from among themselves certain officers—gave them the qualifications, and showed them in their own persons how they were to be set apart and ordained to these offices.—For example the *deacons*, or public servants of the church of Jerusalem, the *mother church*. Again, they taught them to send out missionaries or evangelists, as in the church of Antioch; and finally, to ordain elders or bishops over the flock, as soon as they had persons qualified for that office.—They taught the church, then, to have *bishops* and *deacons*, and *evangelists* (or general missionaries, as the case may be). They gave the law, the qualifications, and the mode of inducting them into office. They never taught any one church to depend always upon Jerusalem, or Antioch, or Rome, or Corinth; but they taught the necessity of all these offices—gave the qualifications of the officers, and assisted in ordaining them in many particular congregations, of which congregations with the same laws, authority, and order, there never have been wanting thousands from that day till now.

Order has its foundation in nature. The highest officers were called *seniors* or *elders*; because of their age; and *bishops* or overseers, because of their office. Deacons, not having so much authority and glory, and not having a salary, like bishops, there never has been among them any controversy about succession! But had there been any great honor or reward in that office, we should doubtless have had as much ado about an unbroken line; and could as easily find one in this case as in that of the bishops of Rome, or Constantinople. The same order obtained in the christian church—I mean, substantially, that obtained in the synagogues of the Jews. The same word πρεσβυτερων or presbytery, is found in the New Testament in reference to both the synagogue and the church. "Stir up the gift," *office* "that is in thee, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." Indeed, the synagogue, much more than the tabernacle or temple, was the archetype of the order, which the apostles set up. In every case the question was put to the people, "Look out, choose out, select from among yourselves," &c.

My friend is almost a Protestant on some points. He occasionally recommends the bible to his flock, and he says that the ordinances of religion do not receive their virtue from an unholy or holy pope—that he has his authority to administer from Christ rather than from the pope.

Indeed, I know not why the spirit of God should be promised through such a wretched and polluted channel as the popes of Rome, rather than to operate from heaven in all its holy influences upon those, who by its appointment, are chosen and ordained by prayer, fasting, and imposition of hands, as deacons or bishops of the christian congregations. We lose nothing then, in abandoning the leaky and sinking ship of pontifical authority in the Roman Catholic church.—[Time expired.]

Half-past 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

My friend has set me the example of recapitulating. I shall not fail to do so in due time. He has talked around one of the invincible texts of Scripture which I had adduced for Peter's headship: "Simon

Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, (the plural) that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for THEE, that THY FAITH fail not: and thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren." St. Luke xxii. 32. And he gratuitously asserts that "Confirm" here means only "Comfort." But will any man say that such an interpretation has weakened the force of my argument from the text, or destroyed the avowed effect and object of the Savior's prayer, namely that the faith of Peter should never fail, and that, in it, he should confirm his brethren? Let him shew that Christ addressed a special prayer, for any similar purpose, in favor of all, or of any of the other apostles, and then he may summon Christ's appointed chief of the apostolic band, to surrender his preeminence. If he cannot do this, Peter must for ever retain his supremacy—not of age, nor of talents, nor of priority of call, nor of conversion, but of OFFICE.

He again asserts, for Mr. C. seems to think we must grant every thing to his assertions, that I cannot find a solitary proof in Irenæus, or in any other author of christian antiquity, that Peter was ever bishop of Rome. Now in p. 169 of this Protestant edition of Irenæus we find that warrant. It is in chap. I. book 3, "against heresies." He speaks as follows:

"For we have not learned the disposition, or economy, of our salvation from any others than those through whom the gospel came unto us, which, indeed they first preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in writing, to be the pillar and ground of our faith. Nor is it lawful to say, as some do, who pretend to correct the apostles, that they preached before they had had perfect knowledge. For after the Lord had arisen from the dead, they were clothed with virtue from on high by the Holy Spirit who came down upon them, and they were filled with all knowledge and attained to perfect understanding; they went to the ends of the earth announcing to us the good things which are from God, and proclaiming heavenly peace to men, having both all and each of them the gospel of God. Thus Matthew, in their own language, wrote the gospel scripture in Hebrew, while Peter and Paul were evangelizing and founding the church of Rome. After their departure, Mark, a disciple, and *Peter's interpreter*, likewise announced to us the prescribed doctrines; next John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reposed on his breast, published likewise a gospel residing at Ephesus, in Asia. And all these delivered to us the doctrine of One God, the Creator of heaven and earth, announced by the Lord and the prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God; to whom, he who assenteth not, despiseth the partakers of the Lord, despiseth Christ the Lord, despiseth the Father, and is condemned by himself, for he resisteth and opposeth his own salvation, which all heretics do."

Tracing the succession of bishops in the same chair, he always make Peter the first bishop, as I have already shewn from the very next page—170, of this volume.

There is Irenæus, a writer of the 2d century—year 150. I shall ollow the devious track of the gentleman as well as I can.

My friend denied that I could adduce a solitary testimony to prove that the legate of the pope presided over the first great general council of the church, after the council at Jerusalem. Now I am going to adduce Baronius, p. 295, year of Christ 325, year of Sylvester 12, Constantine 20: (how faithful and exact our Catholic histories are!)

"Before we proceed to narrate the history of the acts of the Nicene council, I pray you, friendly reader, to pause with me, to notice the most eminent prelates of that illustrious company of saints, that most flowery crown of fathers, and most distinguished assemblage of holy bishops, whose names shine forth from amidst the obscurity of so ancient a period. He who first attracts our attention, conspicuous for having been twice legate, is Osius, bishop of Cordova, in Spain, representing the bishops of Spain, and, as we have already said, holding the place (the Latin is still stronger—personam gerens—personating) Sylvester, bishop of

Rome, and chief of the legates, his colleagues. Now, continues Baronius, what good ground could there have been for Osius' signing before his colleagues, the legates, before the bishops of the second and third sees of the christian world, viz. Alexandria and Antioch, and before Cœcilian, the primate of all Africa, not to speak of others, unless he held the place and represented the person of the highest power of all? He then quotes the commencement of the letter which the legates, immediately after the council, addressed to the pope: "To Sylvester, most blessed pope of the city of Rome, and entitled to all reverence, Osius, bishop of the province of Spain and city of Cordova, Victor and Vincentius, priests of the city of Rome, appointed by your direction," &c. &c. So far Baronius.

Nat. Alex. says, vol. vii. p. 68, "The synod of Nice, first of the œcumenicals, was convoked by the emperor Constantine, with consent of the Roman pontiff, Sylvester—the president of the council, in the name of St. Sylvester, and his legates were Osius, bishop of Cordova, Vitus or Vito, and Vincentius, priests," &c.&c.

It was the custom of the bishop of Rome to send a bishop and two inferior ecclesiastics to represent him in the councils. Osius was legate and Victor and Vincentius were his two assistants.

Natalis Alexander says the same, p. 68, 7 vol. Fleury, another most authentic historian, a man of prodigious learning, a contemporary of Bossuet, and one who has been very severe against the popes, so that we have quarreled with him for it, says the same, p. 107 and 108. He adds:

"St. Athanasius says that Osius presided at all the councils, and it is certain that he presided at the council of Sardica, twenty two years later."

Now we cannot see why a simple bishop of Cordova should have presided, by any right of his, over all the bishops of the world, even those of Alexandria and Antioch, who were present in person—Gelasius of Cyzicum says expressly that Osius held the place of Sylvester, bishop of imperial Rome, with the priests Victor (or Vito, as he was also called) and Vincentius: and his testimony should not be suspected, as he was a Greek and writing the acts and records of Greeks. Subsequent usage is conformable to what is here observed.—In the œcumenical councils whose acts have come down to us, we see the papal legates at the head, and they are commonly, a bishop and two priests."

Here are Baronius, Noel Alexander, Fleury.—The gentleman says that I deal in rhetoric, but he may say what he pleases; I deal in nothing but stubborn facts. These are the irresistible arguments by which Catholic truth is upheld.

As for Peter's executing the decrees of the council of Jerusalem, I said no such thing. He acted with the rest—but he did, I maintain, lead, and his authority was wanting to give sanction to every decree. When he spoke, the "*much disputing*" ceased. He spoke humbly, but authoritatively. James and Paul and Barnabas acquiesced. The opposition to his *gentilising* was wrong and much in the spirit of more modern opposition, but Peter's authority then as it has ever done prevailed; for if any thing is certain in historical testimony, it is proved that his authority was acknowledged to reside, in ancient days, in his successors. So is it now acknowledged. We were referred to 10. John, where Christ speaks of the fold and the sheep; and objections were made to my interpretation of the words "lambs" and "sheep," as contradictory and absurd. But now mark, my friends. the signal difference between the two passages. In 10. John, the Savior speaks of *sheep alone*. He says the sheep are scattered, and never mentions *lambs*. When therefore Christ says in the other passage, feed my lambs, do we not remark that he afterwards changes the passage and says, feed my sheep! and as I observed yesterday Christ means pastors, by the sheep whom the lambs, follow. Wide as the world, is Christ's fold—and there are over its various provinces, or pastures, many shepherds, but one above the

rest, whose duty it is to watch over them all, to see they do their duty. —This is Peter, this is reasonable, it is as it ought to be. Thus, the rock, the keys, the charge to confirm his brethren, the acknowledgement of Paul that he went to see Peter, lest he might have run in vain, the acknowledgment of the authority of Peter's successors, the very necessity of such an office to keep order, &c. All this is proof positive from scripture and history and reason, of the supremacy of the chair of Peter, and not rhetoric—or if so, it is logical rhetoric. Let not scripture, history and reason be thus dismissed in the nineteenth century, with a wave of the hand.

That eternal Du Pin, my friends, you have had my reasons against his authenticity as a Catholic historian: certainly he is no testimony against the Catholics. All my friend can adduce to prove that the authenticity of Du Pin was ever recognized in this country, is that some Catholic paper in Kentucky, *as he says*, allows his authenticity—Who the editor of this paper is, I know not. He may be a respectable Catholic. The bishop of Bardstown has nothing to do with it, the editor is liable to be deceived. His opinion ought to have no weight whatsoever in this controversy.

What led my friend into such an error respecting the book itself, was, probably his seeing prefixed to it the censor's license for its impression; but he should have known that the king of France appoints such persons as he thinks fit, to examine whether publications contain any thing dangerous to the state. And Louis Philip is more strict in this respect than ever Charles X. was, who was exiled from France for the same thing.

The Doctors of Sorbonne, to whom the work was submitted, may have said the book contained nothing against *faith* and *morals*. They do not say that he is an *authentic Catholic* historian. We apply criticism to every work, and our maxim is *nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*. The opinions of two or three Doctors of Sorbonne form no rule of faith for Catholics, although, in this instance, they say nothing, I presume, to which we may not very safely assent, while we describe Du Pin in his proper colors. After all Du Pin says nothing that does not go to prove my views, if considered fairly, although he was expelled the Sorbonne for heterodox opinions!

Now there were vacancies, breaks, in the chain; but the lapse of a few years, before binding together the links of the apostolic succession, does not affect the great principle for which I am contending. We are no believers in *metempsychosis:* or that, like the supposed divinity of the Lama of Thibet, the soul of a deceased pope goes by a hop, skip and jump, right off, into his successor. We will wait six months, or six years, to find a good pope. Time is taken for this, since so much depends on the result. Now in this chain were some bad popes; we weep over the fact, my friends, and lament it. Mr. C. ought to have thrown the mantle over his shoulders and walked backwards with me and covered these frailties, for the sake of our common christianity. The mass of the succession is sound. But there were some bad points.

It is not the *name*, but the *religion* they represented, that we regard. Whether the stream of testimony came to us through conduits of gold, of silver, or of brass, it is not the channel of communication we regard, but the pure chrystal and transparent waters of celestial doctrine, of divine truth. Men are liable to err—Jesus Christ said there must needs be scandals. We look for them; we expect them to occur

while there is yet remaining one single human being on this earth. None but God is perfect and man is good only by divine assistance. I have no special apology to offer for a pope who is a bad man. He should be the pattern of the flock from the heart. He should be the salt of the earth—the light of the world. He should remember that the "mighty shall be mightily tormented;" and that "a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule if they walk not according to the law." I should not be surprised if these bad popes were at this moment expiating their crimes in the penal fires of hell. But what is the proper inference to be deduced from their melancholy aberrations? If they like Lucifer have fallen, bright lights from the firmament of religion, do the heavens no longer proclaim the glory of God? Do the praises of God resound there no more? Why it is truly wonderful, that, bad men as they were, they should not only have never severed themselves from the faith but should have been the instruments of perpetuating sound doctrine at home and abroad. Nothing, my friends, gives me more faith in the genuineness and truth of our holy religion, than when in reviewing the history of these disgraceful enormities, I find the church, in the very midst of scandal, enough to blacken and overthrow any earthly institution, still supported and upheld by the almighty hand of God. A church that has stood through all that the gentleman has laid to the charge of the merely mortal men who have presided for a season over its destinies. A FEW OF THEM ERRED IN MORALS, BUT NONE OF THEM IN FAITH; sound doctrine and sound morals were seen and admired, during these sad eclipses, and infidel nations were, during that passing obscurity in Rome, rejoicing in the beams of the orient sun of justice, heralded by Catholic missionaries. Let this be borne in mind when my learned opponent undertakes to prove that the pope is the sea-serpent! And let my Protestant friends understand that the Roman Catholics detest immorality as much as *they* can, wherever it may be found: and most of all, where superior virtue was required by exalted station. We too had labored for a reformation, not of God's truth, for it needed none, but of men's morals which are always liable to corruption. We may cry out like the apostles, when we behold such scandals, O Lord, save us ere we perish—but we hear the divine answer, "why fear ye, O you of little faith." NO CLOUD HAS EVER YET IMPENDED OVER THE CHURCH, THAT THE RAINBOW OF PROMISE D'D NOT SHINE THROUGH THE GLOOM.

The object of the institution of the church being no other than to establish the true worship of God, by the overthrow of idolatry, and to sanctify a chosen people for everlasting life, by the purest virtues of religion, we are not to wonder that Satan, the jealous enemy of human happiness, should exert his utmost powers to obstruct the benevolent design. In fulfilment of the Savior's prediction, and from the very nature of man, it was necessary that persecutions, heresies, schisms and domestic scandals should happen; but Jesus Christ had likewise foretold that they should not prevail. The Pagan tyrants of the earth may rage; the courage and patience of our martyrs will triumph and multiply. Heresies may start up in various forms, and for a while seduce thousands into error; they will, at length, sink back again into the dark abyss from which they first emerged. Guided by the spirit of truth, and confirmed in the unity of her belief, the church will ever successfully oppose to their impotent attempts,

the promises of her divine Founder, the antiquity of her faith, the consent of nations, the order of her hierarchy, the holy severity of her discipline, the bright example of thousands of her faithful children the sacred history of her doctrines, and the decisions of her councils Schisms may at times perplex and divide the faithful, but the church by her authority will either close the breach, or separate the refractory members from her communion. The vicious lives of some of her children may contradict and disgrace their christian profession, they may violate her laws, they may insult her authority, and invade her sacred rights; they never will be able to overturn her ministry, to shake her hierarchy or to alter her doctrine. She will never cease to warn sinners of their duty, to correct, to instruct, to direct mankind in the way of salvation.

By her persevering zeal for God's honor, by the force of her exhortations, by the solemnity of her public service, by the morality of her precepts, and by her practice of the evangelical counsels, she will continue to prepare souls for heaven, while she exhibits to the world a rich assemblage of the most heroic virtues. It is thus, that our history attests the care which God has taken of his church.

The whole number of popes has been nearly two hundred and sixty. Of these, the first forty were saints, or martyrs, a small number only, not more than twenty, can be called bad men; the rest were remarkable for eminent virtue, charity, zeal, learning and patronage of letters. Peter was twenty-five years bishop of Rome; and *non videbis annos Petri*, you will not be pope as long as Peter—is a proverb which every new pope hears. Pius VI. and Pius VII, came nearest to the years of Peter, but they did not attain them. But says the gentleman, the pope transferred his see for some time from Rome, to Avignon. I grant it; but have I not said, were he a wanderer in Abyssinia, he would still retain his title and authority.

We were told of a council which cashiered three popes, and made a fourth! My friends, what sophistry is this? Does my friend think he is addressing people but one remove from barbarism, instead of the enlightened and liberal citizens of the queen of the west? I wish him to understand that we, at least, are equal to the people of Bethany in intelligence. Among these citizens, I thank God, my lot is cast. Does Mr. C.— suppose that they cannot answer his sophistry by the true statement of the fact? The council cashiered three doubtful popes, or rather no popes at all, and elected one true pope. What has become of his logic?

Stephen VI. had the body of Formosus dug up and cut off his fingers. My friend has taken this from Pope and McGuire's discussion, and has seen the answer there. In this unpardonable act of Stephen, we at least discern zeal for the rules of discipline, which forbade the transferring of a bishop from one see to another. For this offence the needless act of severity was done. It shews the popes expose what they think wrong in popes; just as my friend would know nothing of their misdeeds, if Catholic historians had not had sincerity, piety and zeal to denounce them. Genebrard said that the popes were more often apostates than apostles. I am sure that, in this case, truth was sacrificed to wit, and faithful testimony to virtue as well as faithful exposition of vice, for the jingle between the words apostates and apostles. But Genebrard says not, absolutely, they were apos-

tates, but that they had fallen short of the virtues of their predecessors.

My friend quarrels with the name, cardinals. The name is Latin and as old as that language. But I will not contend for the name. He says the cardinals, were not so called for 1000 years, but did not show his authority. This was, however, the title given to priests charged with the care of large churches, as far back as the year 150, or at least in 300. But call them what you may, they were a portion, and an eminent portion, of the Roman clergy in all ages. Now, as formerly, there are cardinal priests, cardinal deacons, and even cardinal laymen. They are a superior order of men, the patrons of the arts and sciences, as well as the ornaments and supports of the church, and the benefactors of the poor. They liberally entertain and treat our travelling fellow-citizens with great civility—for instance, Mr. Dewey, an Unitarian minister, lately in Rome, and cardinal Weld, a distinguished English nobleman, in whose father's castle, at Lulworth, if I am not mistaken, our first archbishop, the cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was consecrated bishop.—Read Mr. Dewey's elegant and thrilling pages. They will almost make you a Catholic. Certainly they will liberalize your minds already raised far above vulgar prejudices. The cardinals elect the pope—but if the pope creates the cardinals, surely he does not create his own electors!

Mr. C.— has not told us yet, from what true and holy apostolic church, the Roman church apostatized. He has told you of the Albigenses, Vaudois, Novatians, Donatists, &c., but they furnish no continuous church. They are, I say again, ignoble ancestry. My friends, read history for yourselves if you wish to see what a miserable set of wretches these sectarians were.

My friend says, that Peter was married—but I defy him to prove that he retained his wife after he became a bishop. I will meet Mr. Campbell on this doctrine of the celibacy of the clergy, and shew him in the words of St. Paul, 1st Cor. i. 26, and in those of Jesus Christ, Matthew xix. 12, whose expressions, although he was purity itself, I dare not repeat in Mr. C—'s fastidious ears, "*that there are not many wise according to the flesh.*" St. Paul, who was a bachelor, says, 1st Cor. vii. "I would that all were as myself. I say to the unmarried and the widows; it is good for them if they so continue even as I. v. 8. He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife, is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife: and he is divided. And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit. But she that is married thinketh on the things of the world, how she may please her husband." Read the entire chapter. Marriage was ordained by Almighty God for the propagation of the human race. The Catholic church not only approves the institution, but teaches that Christ hath exalted it to the dignity of a sacrament. St. Paul, while he wishes all to be like himself, unmarried, still acknowledges that all are not called to that state; and they who cannot practise continence, he wishes to marry; so does the Catholic church. Her ministers are not allowed to take a vow of chastity until they have attained an age when they can, aided by divine grace, decide on their capability for its pure observance. And now, young ladies and gen-

tlemen, take care you never become what Mr. C. would make you, the successors of Paulicians. They condemned all connubial ties, saying that marriage came from the evil principle. But, married or single, let us not forget that our days in this life are numbered; the gayest are frequently death's earliest victims. "For the *fashion* of this world, says the apostle, passeth away." Let priests then do good, even as Catholic religious have done, to the whole human family, renouncing the ties that would bind them to a few only, that they may be like God, the fathers and benefactors of many.

Mr. C. spoke of ministering to the sick. I thank him for the hint. In deeds of charity, the Catholic priesthood, the Catholic religious of all orders, are unsurpassed. Their 'labor of love' is seen in the hospital, the pest-house, the dungeon, the orphan asylum; where the cholera makes its dreadful ravages, where the pestilence stalketh at noonday, or midnight! Hear Waddington—

"The Ursulines. Of the more modern orders, there is also one which may seem to require our notice—that of the Ursulines. Its origin is ascribed to Angela di Brescia, about the year 1537, though the saint from whom it received its name, Ursula Benincasa, a native of Naples, was born ten years afterwards. Its character was peculiar, and recalls our attention to the primitive form of ascetic devotion. The duties of those holy sisters were the purest within the circle of human benevolence—to minister to the sick, to relieve the poor, to console the miserable, to pray with the penitent. These charitable offices they undertook to execute without the bond of any community, without the obligation of any monastic vow, without any separation from society, any renouncement of their domestic duties and virtues. And so admirably were those offices, in millions of instances, performed, that had all other female orders been really as useless and vicious, as they are sometimes falsely described to be, the virtues of the Ursulines had alone been sufficient to redeem the monastic name.

But it is very far from true, that these other orders were either commonly dissolute or generally useless. Occasional scandals have engendered universal calumnies." Waddington's Church Hist. page 325, New York edit. 1835.

Mr. C. spoke of bad popes, Nicholas III. &c. &c. and of monks.—Hear again—what this Protestant historian says of them and of this very Nicholas.

"It is not without reason that Roman Catholic writers vaunt the disinterested devotion of the early Mendicants—how assiduous they were in supplying the spiritual wants of the poor, how frequent in prisons and in hospitals, how forward to encounter the fire or the pestilence; how instant on all those occasions where the peril was imminent and the reward not in this world. They were equally distinguished in another, and not less righteous, duty, the propagation of christianity among remote and savage nations. We have noticed, in a former chapter, the method by which the gospel was introduced into the north of Europe before the middle of the eleventh century. In the twelfth, we observe Boleslaus, duke of Poland, opening the path for its reception in Pomerania by the sword; and in like manner, both the Sclavonians and Finlanders, were prepared for conversion by conquest. Again, Urban VIII. consecrated Mainhard, an unsuccessful missionary, bishop of the Livonians, and proclaimed a holy war against them; the bishop conquered his see, and promulgated at the head of an army the tidings of evangelical concord. The same methods were pursued by Innocent III. But from that time forward we find much more frequent mention of pious missionaries, whose labours were directed to accomplish their great work by legitimate, or, at least, by peaceful means. It may be true, that some of them were satisfied with mere nominal conversions, and that others had chiefly in view either their own advancement, or the extension of the papal sovereignty. But there were likewise many who were animated by the most admirable motives, and whose exertions, if they failed of complete success, failed not through any want of disinterested devotion. The missions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were principally directed to the north of Asia. In 1245, Innocent IV. sent an embassy, composed of Dominicans and Franciscans, to the Tartars; and a friendly communication was so maintained, that the envoys of Abaca, their

king, were present, in 1271, at the second council of Lyons. Nicholas III. (in 1278) and Nicholas IV. (in 1289,) renewed those exertions. John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan, was distinguished during the conclusion of the century by the success of his labors; and in 1307, Clement V. erected an archiepiscopal see at Cambalu, (Pekin,) which he conferred upon that missionary. Seven other bishops, also Franciscans, were sent to his support by the same pope; and this distant branch of the hierarchy was carefully nourished by succeeding pontiffs, especially John XXII. and Benedict XII. It is certain that the number of Christians was not inconsiderable, both among the Chinese and Moguls, as late as the year 1370,—and they were still increasing, when they were suddenly swept away and almost wholly exterminated by the Mahometan arms. Howbeit, the disastrous overthrow of their establishment detracts nothing from the merit of those who constructed it; and it must not be forgotten, that the instruments in this work were Mendicants, and, for the most part, Franciscans." *Ib. p.* 547.

The Methodists have done themselves honor by the praises they have bestowed on Francis Xavier, a Jesuit. They have published his life, and to day, if I have time, I will quote from it some beautiful extracts.

They and other Protestants have also published Thomas a Kempis, or the christian pattern. Where, except in the Gospel, can purer morality be found? And Thomas a Kempis was a monk. We are told that Sacchi said that the Albigenses and Vaudois made a *show of piety*. That is a fact, and a pretty show it was. I will not read the indicated, but forbidden page of narrative sincere—better blot it with a tear!

If the pope is charged with severity to kings, it is because kings were tyrants and the pope was the advocate of the weak, and the enemy of arbitrary power. The people were crushed, and had no resource but in the influence which God gave to the head of the church.

"With all its errors, (the papacy's,) its corruptions, and its crimes, it was, morally and intellectually, the conservative power of christendom. Politically, too, it was the savior of Europe; for, in all human probability, the west, like the east, must have been overrun by Mahommedanism, and sunk in irremediable degradation, through the pernicious institutions which have everywhere accompanied it; if, in that great crisis of the world, the Roman church had not roused the nations to an united and prodigious effort commensurate with the danger.

In the frightful state of society which prevailed during the dark ages, the church everywhere exerted a controlling and remedial influence. Every place of worship was an asylum, which was always respected by the law, and generally even by lawless violence. It is recorded, as one of the peculiar miseries of Stephen's miserable reign, that during those long troubles, the soldiers learned to disregard the right of sanctuary. Like many other parts of the Romish system, this right had prevailed in the heathen world, though it was not ascribed to every temple. It led, as it had done under the Romish empire, to abuses which became intolerable; but it originated in a humane and pious purpose, not only screening offenders from laws, the severity of which amounted to injustice, but, in cases of private wrong, affording time for passion to abate, and for the desire of vengeance to be appeased. The cities of refuge were not more needed, under the Mosaic dispensation, than such asylums in ages when the administration of justice was either detestably inhuman, or so lax, that it allowed free scope to individual resentment. They have, therefore, generally been found wherever there are the first rudiments of civil and religious order. The churchyards also were privileged places, whither the poor people conveyed their goods for security. The protection which the ecclesiastical power extended in such cases, kept up in the people, who so often stood in need of it, a feeling of reverence and attachment to the church. They felt that religion had a power on earth, and that it was always exercised for their benefit.

The civil power was in those ages so inefficient for the preservation of public tranquility, that when a country was at peace with all its neighbors, it was liable to be disturbed by private wars, individuals taking upon themselves the right of deciding their own quarrels, and avenging their own wrongs. Where there existed no deadly feud, pretexts were easily made by turbulent and rapacious men,

for engaging in such contests, and they were not scrupulous whom they seized and imprisoned, for the purpose of extorting a ransom. No law, therefore, was ever more thankfully received, than when the council of Clermot enacted, that, from sun-set on Wednesday to sun-rise on Monday, in every week, the truce of God should be observed, on pain of excommunication. Well might the inoffensive and peaceable part of the community (always the great, but in evil times the inert, and therefore the suffering part,) regard, with grateful devotion, a power, under whose protection they slept four nights of the week in peace, when otherwise they would have been in peril every hour. The same power by which individuals were thus benefited, was not unfrequently exercised in great national concerns; if the monarch were endangered or oppressed either by a foreign enemy or by a combination of his barons, here was an authority to which he could resort for an effectual interposition in his behalf; and the same shield was extended over the vassals, when they called upon the pope to defend them against a wrongful exertion of the sovereign power." *Southey's Book of the Church, page* 293. *Boston, 1st. edit.* 1825.

Now I must follow Mr. C. wheeling right about from rear to van. We are told that Peter exercised the grand commission of Apostle—and that therefore he could not have been bishop of Rome, and again that Paul was sent to the Gentiles and Peter to the Jews. But Peter was the first apostle sent to the Gentiles—*by the angel of God.* He received Cornelius the centurion into the church. He founded the see of Antioch—a Gentile city. If Peter was an apostle of the whole world, where should he place his head quarters? Where, but at Rome, the mistress of the world, worthy field for a chief apostle's zeal; where he could at once be heard by Gentiles and by Jews, by Greeks, Barbarians and Romans.

We are told there are no vices to be discovered in the Pagan emperors more flagrant and gloomy than those of the Roman pontiffs—that they became proverbial for their iniquity. But I have shown that these sweeping denunciations are glaringly untrue. There were 39 martyrs out of 260 or 270 popes. If there were a few bad men among them, shall we for that reason fling away our faith? Does Christ say so? Did he not say that it must needs be that scandals come? And were not the vast majority of the popes entitled to veneration? Suppose there were about a dozen that were infamous, and that there were even fifty of various shades of guilt, or imperfection, there were still upwards of 200 worthy. Christ has said that "many are called, but few chosen." Show me 200 of the Roman emperors or a like proportion of any other rulers, to the popes, who were as good men, and who have deserved to go to heaven. Shall we point to Nero holding up the dagger which he had plunged into the breast of his own mother? to Diocletian, the man of sin,—the antichris of the apostles, who mowed down hundreds of meek and peaceful disciples at once?—to Caligula, the murderer of the saints?—to Maxentius?—or the monster Maximin? Where is there a parallel to their atrocities? My friend has talked of the inquisition, and on that point also I will meet him. The inquisition was the vice *of the age* and *not of the* church. It was unknown for many centuries. In many Catholic countries it was never received. Other churches and times have, likewise, their sins of blood to answer for. [Time expired.]

Half-past 11 *o'clock, A. M.*

Mr. Campbell rises—

My friends if we proceed in this course we never shall dismiss the propositions we have before us. If we are to sit here and listen to

such a variety of matter wholly irrelevant to the question we shall never prove any thing, or know what is proved. Must we have ques tions introduced reaching back to the beginning of the discussion and forward to its close, and touching upon the whole system of theology in every speech? I have said already I will not lose sight of my duty so as to respond to every thing in one speech.

I almost trembled when my opponent arose with so much pomp and appearance of having found a triumphant proof of his assertions in some hidden, and by me, unexplored corner of Irenæus. What! said I to myself, have I not thoroughly examined this matter? Is it possible that there yet remains one passage unknown to me against my assertion, and have I committed myself? But it was even a little less alarming than his blustering about the consecration of Phocas. Judge of my surprise and great relief, when I found he was only reading one of his elegant extracts, which he styles his proof! that indeed, it was the same old story new vamped and varnished, without any reference at all, to the present debate. Irenæus said, "while Peter and Paul were founding the congregation at Rome." I would ask, is there in this audience, any stripling in knowledge, who understands that founding a congregation makes a man bishop of that church all his life? Missionaries go abroad, they plant congregations in particular places; and they go from country to country, from city to city, to found other churches. Are they bishops of all the congregations that they establish? It is essential to a missionary not to be stationary. But why expose a matter, already evident to all? It is the gentleman's last effort. He has explored all antiquity, and all he can find, after three or four days' search, is this single fragment of a saint, stating on hearsay, that Paul and Peter *planted* the church at Rome! So ends the controversy on that point, the main pillar of the Roman church. There is another little matter (there are too many little matters) which I wish to dispose of.

The gentleman affects a great accuracy in his knowledge, and great precision on the part of his authorities. He seems to glory in that sort of reputation, else I would not select this trifle. How often has he asserted that Sylvester summoned the council of Nice, and that the pope's legates presided over it! And how often has he tried to prove it! Like some other matters already disposed of, after sleeping two nights upon the subject, as one that had a pleasant dream, he awakens and affirms again, that Osius, a Spanish bishop, was legate of Sylvester, and as such presided at Nice. But did he prove it? I shall read you some testimony on this subject. I do this, not to add to the weight of my arguments one grain of sand; but to prove that when I assert any thing as a fact, I do it advisedly, and will stand to it. Permit me now to correct a mistake into which the gentleman has fallen, that I relied upon the testimony of an ephemeral paper in Kentucky. I did not say, that it was upon such authority I read any author here. My allusion to that paper, was a pure *argumentum ad hominem;* and was made for bishop Purcell and no one else. [The bishop of Bardstown or some of his clergy admitted that Eusebius and Du Pin, though not good Catholics, "were authentic historians." But that admission gives them no new weight, or indeed, no weight at all with me. I have already given my reasons for the authority of Du Pin. But where, may I ask, is his authority for Sylvester's calling the council of Nice! The emperor did it at the general suggestion

of the eastern bishops. And if Osius presided, we have no reason to think that he did it as the pope's legate. For this we have ancient authority. The gentleman spoke in warm admiration of Osius: but did he not apostatize, or some way lose his orthodoxy?] He was, indeed, a learned and talented man—a sort of standing president in the early councils; and in that age of the world as among ecclesiastics there were few men of general learning, we therefore find him conspicuous in all assemblies; and his name stands first in the subscriptions of the decrees and creeds of the early part of the 4th century, but that he presided as the pope's legate in any council, especially that of Nice, is insusceptible of proof.

We shall however hear antiquity on the subject.

"Constantine seeing that he had labored in vain to allay the disputes which divided the church, thought it would be the most ready and effectual means to restore peace, to call a numerous synod composed of eastern and western bishops. This council was called œcumenical, i. e. a council of the whole world, or the whole earth, because it was called together from all parts of the Roman empire, to which the title of the world, or earth, was given, and which did almost include the Catholic church. This council was assembled by order of the emperor at Nice, a city of Bithynia, about the month of July, in the year 325, in the second year of Constantine's reign. St. Sylvester was then bishop of Rome, who sent thither Victor and Vincentius, his legates. It is commonly held that this council consisted of 318 bishops; but those who were present at it do not precisely determine this number, but say only that there were about 300 bishops. 'Tis not certainly known who presided in this council, but it is very probable that it was Hosius who held the chief place there in his own name, because he had already taken cognizance of this affair, and was much esteemed by the emperor, who was then present.

Athanasius, in his second apology, calls Hosius the father and president of all the councils. The name of this bishop is the first in all the subscriptions. Alexander was much esteemed, as appears by the letter of the council. Eustathius, of Antioch, was called the chief bishop of the council by Proclus and by Facundus; but it is more probable that Hosius presided there in his own name, and not in the pope's, for he no where assumes the title of legate of the holy see; and none of the ancients say that he presided in this council in the pope's name. Gelasius Cizicenus, who first affirmed it, says it without any proof or authority."

Du Pin, vol. 1, pp. 598, 599.

Now where is the gentleman's authority for the nature of the bishop of Rome or his legates, either calling or presiding in this council! Upon such disregard of ancient history rest many such assertions now in common circulation and in common belief. But as I said before on this point, I should not have dwelt a moment upon it, had not my opponent affected peculiar accuracy in his details.

The bishop admits Barronius to be an authentic historian. Now, neither Barronius nor Du Pin even admitted so much in reference to the demerits of the popes, as bishop *Purcell* has admitted in the presence of this great congregation: For he says "I have no doubt but these bad popes are now expiating their crimes in the penal fires of hell." While these words were sounding in my ears, the question simultaneously arose, with the sensation produced, What! Has the Lord Jesus his vicars—his representatives on earth, now roasting in the flames of hell? I put it to intelligent men, whether such an idea is not repugnant to every principle of the christian religion?

When Simon proposed to purchase the gift of the Holy Spirit, what did Peter say to him? "Thy money perish with thee!" Does this look like winking at such enormities? Were not the apostles all persons of unblemished reputation? and if such holy men, the

models of every virtue, were first appointed by the Lord to conduct the affairs of his kingdom, how comes it to pass that he has changed his administration and trusted it to such a succession of pretended representatives? Has Christ changed his purpose with respect to his church, that he will allow its supreme head on earth to act every species of crime, and yet be his acceptable vicegerents! May I not say, that the darkest hour of midnight is not more opposed to the light of noon, than is the general character of the popes of Rome to that of the apostles!

The gentleman exclaims, "How precise these Catholics always in their dates!" There is however, an over precision, that creates suspicion. When a man begins to swear very circumstantially before his word is called in question, I begin to suspect his evidence: and when I see authors testifying that Peter reigned twenty four years five months and ten days, bishop of Rome (as I have it on some tables of the popes;) I think he ought also to come down to hours, minutes and seconds! and then we would know how to appreciate him

This resembles Peter's putting away his wife after he became bishop of Rome. "What accuracy!" Let the gentleman prove first that he was bishop of Rome, and then we shall show that he still retained his wife.

The gentleman's compliments to the citizens of Cincinnati, however well deserved on their part, will not so blind the eyes of this audience as not to understand the argument; and the design of their panegyrist. Nor will his gratuitous denunciation of the Albigenses, Donatists, Novatians, Paulicians, and others, pass for historic truth. They were such "vile heretics" in the estimation of "holy mother," as are we "schismatical Protestants." Their reputation we have fully sustained from unexceptionable authority.

The gentleman will have Du Pin in every speech. Can he prove, or has he proved him unfaithful in stating a single historic fact? Not one. Nor can he disprove those Roman Catholic vouchers for him on whose testimony I rely.

But as the reiteration of assertion is no proof, and as I am not obliged to repeat arguments as often as he makes assertions, I shall notice one or two new matters to which he would give emphasis.

But it is time to examine the philosophy of the plea for wicked popes. The Messiah descended through a long line of ancestors, some of whom were wicked men. That is, the human nature of the Messiah descended through some wicked progenitors. Indeed! To the honor of Jesus Christ, be it said, he humbled himself for our exaltation he condescended to be made of a woman, to be descended from Adam, Noah, and others. In such a long line, he must necessarily, have had all the varieties of human nature in his ancestors. He chose to make himself of no reputation—to be born in a stable, of the humblest and poorest parentage. But who would argue from thence, that because his flesh and blood were so descended; therefore, the Holy Spirit must descend to the church, in all its official gifts of authority and governmental influence, through a lineage of persons, whose hearts were full of murder, adultery, and all uncleanness? and that through the hands of such persons all the graces of the ordinances must flow to all the partakers of the christian institution? Does not, let me ask, the defence make the matter worse? Is there any analogy between the descent of flesh, and the Spirit of God? Is the formation of the

human body, and the creation of the mystical body of Christ, matters of equal value and importance?

God has generally, employed the best of our race in all the affairs of our salvation. His agents have often been angels or the *best men.* He did not often impart such sacred trusts to men of bad character. A wicked Balaam or a treacherous Judas may have been amongst those employed, for special reasons in some great crisis. In the case of Balaam, he caused even an ass to open its mouth and reprove the madness of the prophet: but that he ever set such persons over his church, and gave the affairs of his kingdom into such hands—that he went so far as to select these wicked popes to speak his word, is repugnant to all history, and our experience of his dealings with men.

The gentleman says there were *two hundred good popes.* I do not admit this: but I am willing to help him so far as to say I can count *forty nine* saints out of the first *fifty* popes according to my calendar. But they lived long ago. Not one of the last fifty has been a saint.—

Bishop Purcell—Yes there is one.

Mr. Campbell—I beg the gentleman's pardon. There is one saint. then, out of the last fifty popes! It is a happy thing for human nature, that the vices and faults of those who have redeeming qualities, die with them, while their virtues live and magnify, long after their death. Hence, our remote ancestors and those of ancient times, if at all distinguished, are canonized in the admiration of the living, and are supposed greatly to excel our contemporaries.

The bishop says, that if the pope were a poor wanderer in the mountains of the moon, it would not destroy his authority.—Though the see of St. Peter should be vacant for seventy years! If so, the whole argument for Roman episcopacy falls to the ground. If the gentleman admits that the pope has as much authority in the mountains of the moon as in Rome, why all this controversy about Rome?

The gentleman made himself very merry with the council's deposing three popes and creating a fourth. But I repeat, there were in all four popes created and destroyed at that one time. I feel no misgivings of conscience for making this assertion. I ask now, how are we to decide which of these four had the best title to St. Peter's chair? Where is the authority for a council's creating one and destroying three popes? No council before ever took so much on them. But if we say with the bishop, that not one of the three popes was a true pope; then what a long link is wanting in the succession; and how could the council of Constance furnish it?

My friend the bishop spoke of marriage quite in jocular style—: but he told one great truth which I hope he will stick to, to the end. It was this: He said that *the church had made marriage* one of the seven sacraments—mark it. *The church* has made it a sacrament; and she has made other things sacraments: which the great universal Father of heaven and earth has not so made and designated.

Peter was sent to convert the Gentiles.—He opened the kingdom of heaven to Cornelius and his family: but this does not interfere with his being specially the apostle of the Jews.

There were various vacancies in the Roman see of shorter and longer duration—several of two or three years' continuance. The church was often without a head for years at a time.

Was it the intention of the great Author of the christian institution

to hazard such a contingency? Would he have set on foot such an order of things?—The chair often vacant and often filled with wicked popes. Now, if the church could get along for years without a pope, could it not dispense with one altogether? For if faith in the pope be an essential part of *the faith*, would Jesus Christ have suffered the whole administration of the affairs of salvation to be so often and so long suspended? How many persons were born and died during these vacancies! How many souls were detained in purgatory; and otherwise endangered in their spiritual interests by these unavoidable interruptions!—[Time expired.]

Twelve o'clock, M.

Bishop Purcell rises—

The question for to-day is the uniformity of the Catholic faith and practice; and we are still upon the subject of apostolicity. Mr. C. cannot go ahead as fast as he anticipated. He has discovered that Paulicians, Donatists and Novatians have the *bar sinister* on their coat of arms, and he takes up with the Vaudois, for whom Reynier and Waddington have said a good word. Well let us hear the latter, as he is a Protestant. I may not quote, if I can avoid it, Catholic testimony, p. 290. "At the same time we must admit that the direct historical evidence is not sufficient to prove the apostolical descent of the Vaudois." There! the chain of evidence breaks off right short; and the Novatians, Donatists and Paulicians cannot weld it. "Besides," says our historian, "while they (the Vaudois) obliged their clergy to be poor and industrious, they compelled them to be *illiterate* also." This, at least, my friend will condemn.

He says, I have slept and dreamed for two nights on the subject of my testimony, concerning Osius' presiding, in the name of Sylvester, at the council of Nice. But have I not already produced Baronius, and have there not been for the last two days of this debate, other respectable authorities on the table, modestly waiting to be heard? He said I could not get a single proof earlier than the fifth century, and then, that the reason why Osius presided in the councils was the want of learning in that age, in the East. Why, when my friend says this he admits all, himself, and leaves me nothing to say. But the fourth century was the golden age of the whole church. There were many learned men, not only in the West but in the East, and if he will consult Baronius, he will find that there has rarely been presented to the veneration of the Catholic world as bright an array of great and good men, as that, which in 325, assembled in the council at Nice—and Du Pin *encore*. He makes for me. He does say that Victor and Vincentius, were legates of Sylvester.

To give more solemnity, and if possible, more complete effect to their decision, the bishops of the Christian world met to banish Arianism and establish the grand cardinal doctrine of the divinity of Christ, which the Arians impugned. Constantine was there; but he acknowledged the distinctness of the ecclesiastical authority. We hear of no collision between him and Sylvester, or any of the Nicene bishops. The church was in no absolute want of his aid, but as it was freely given, it was gratefully accepted. There were no canals, rail-roads, or hotels in those days. In the emperor's munificence, the fathers of Nice found those resources which their poverty denied them. To

his son Constantius, it was, however, that Osius fearlessly said, "Do not interfere in ecclesiastical matters, for to you God gave the empire; but to us ecclesiastical concerns. Now as he who should deprive you of your kingdom would resist the ordinance of God, so do you beware lest you fall into some grievous sin by taking away the independence of the church.

My learned friend says he will not go further on these matters. It is well—discretion is the better part of valor. The voice of all antiquity has spoken—The authority of Rome has ever stood preeminent.

I did not say, *I did not doubt* these popes were in hell. I beg the gentleman to quote me correctly. Far be it from me, to arrogate a right which belongs to God alone, to decide on man's eternal destiny—but I said, *I should not be surprised*, at it, when I consider their defects and sins on the one hand, their knowledge, responsibility and grace, on the other. The more eminent their station, the more conspicuous to the whole world, like spots on the sun, were their frailties—the brighter the example of their predecessors, the darker, by contrast, did they appear. But the circumstances of the times in which they lived, must be taken into the account to palliate, if truth will not permit us to excuse, their failings. The *lights and shadows* are blended, perhaps necessarily, in the moral as well as in the physical world; and as we do not deny the existence of an infinitely wise and good God, because we discover apparent imperfection in the material world, the volcano, the poison, the venomous reptile, the whirlwind, the pestilential malaria, so neither do we conclude that religion, or the church, is not his work, because we sometimes meet with examples of moral deformity and disorder which mar the beauty of the heavenly design. But Mr. C. thinks that God would never allow men whom he had selected for the high function of Roman Catholic popes, to fall into sins that would merit for them hell-fire. Does he then forget that God created Lucifer, as a bright leader of the angelic throng, and yet Lucifer is now a reprobate spirit in hell? Does he forget that Judas was selected to share in the infallibility, which he allows was granted to the twelve? Did not Jesus train him up in his own school for three years? And did not Judas, after all, betray his God and sell him for the thirty pieces of silver? Did he not afterwards go and hang himself in despair, and his bowels gushed out. Was it not because of the excess of his own favor to Judas, and the inconceivable ingratitude of the apostle, that the Son of God had said by the mouth of his prophet: Ps. liv. 14. "If my enemy had reviled me, I would verily have borne with it, and if he that hated me, had spoken great things against me, I would perhaps have hidden myself from him: *but thou, a man of one mind, my guide and my familiar.*" This is what makes a priest's, or a bishop's sin so great. This, awful as it is, is what sustains us when scandals befall the church, when the lights of the sanctuary are eclipsed and its pillars broken and scattered on the earth, for we say to ourselves Christ has allowed all this beforehand in that miniature band, his own apostles—the exemplar of his church: *and the number of bad popes has not yet equalled the proportion of one to twelve!* God has allowed all this to teach us, that if men fall away, the faith for which his holy promises are pledged, is invincible. "*The gifts of God are without repentance,*" Rom. xi. 29, in other words, Christ established

the primacy of Peter. He wished it to persevere. If any of the successors of Peter are bad men; the answer of Paul comes up, "The gifts of God are without repentance." If man behaves badly, it is for his own ruin, but his evil conduct shall not change the order and design of heaven.

It was attempted to show that there was no analogy between the ancestry of Christ, and the succession of St. Peter. Now I maintain that if the ancestry of Judah's royal line, magnificent as it was and destined to be the forerunner of Him, of whom Paul had many and great things and hard to be understood, to declare, could yet include some of the worst sinners, why might not the apostolical succession, in which was, individually or collectively, nought so holy as He to whom all the prophets bore witness, in whom was seen on earth, all the glory of the Father, full of grace and truth?

I refer to the first chapter of Matthew where the temporal generation of the Savior is traced from David, and my argument is this; that as it has not impaired the sanctity of Jesus to come according to the flesh, from him, though he sinned, and from others who sinned as he had sinned, so neither did it detract from the sanctity of the office of pope, that there were some bad men among the number. The cases are therefore, so far as that argument is concerned, analogous; and we may exclaim with a holy awe—Oh! the depth of the riches, and of the knowledge, of the wisdom of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways! Who hath known the mind of God, or who hath been his counsellor? St. Paul, Rom. xi. 33, 34. My friend says that holy men were always selected by the Holy Ghost for holy purposes! and what will he say of Luther, who proves, as I can show by his own testimony, himself to have beer a bad man! I have his works here in three vols. folio—a Daniel come to judgment! He was "a hard wedge to split knotty blocks!" &c. Yes, he had a hard mouth, and a hard heart. But I will not speak of Luther nor of Calvin, hard, unless compelled.

The gentleman says there were forty-nine saints in the first fifty. I said there were 39 who were *saints and martyrs*. Since that, there have been many pontiffs, saints. Pius the 7th possessed all the virtues which may entitle him to be so considered. So did his predecessor Pius VI. so did Benedict XIV. and Pius VIII. and Leo XII.—So does the present pontiff, a man of the purest morals, profound humility, enlightened zeal and eminent learning. We have heard many silly predictions of the doctrine of his temporal influence in Rome, but I repeat that he would retain his spiritual authority, if he were compelled to leave that city, which I hope after his predecessors have stood their ground for eighteen hundred years he never will. His authority does not reside in the stones, and bricks and pavements of Rome!

The gentleman speaks of the schism of Avignon, for my friend thinks that if the pope should leave Rome, the Catholic faith would be annihilated. He does not know that the title of the see would follow the pope. We never suffer even the name of a see to perish. If christianity forsake a country, where it has, once, been established the names of the sees would survive. Thus the present, learned and pious Coadjutor—bishop of Philadelphia, takes his ecclesiastical designation from Arath *in partibus infidelium*. The titular bishop of Phil-

adelphia is blind from his great age. The bishop of Bardstown is also, nominally, bishop of a foreign see.

Now let me, once for all, say that my friend has several times mistaken my views and words, on the subject of appointment to office. I need not repeat what I have said on that subject. We do nothing without the pope's concurrence and sanction, in spiritual matters. This communion is a peculiar trait in our church. We exult in it. It keeps us together as the sheep of one fold. "He who gathereth not with me scattereth," saith the Lord. By this communion with the see of Peter, we know that the church is orthodox and sound. On this account we yield all due deference to the pope. On this account we ask of him the "canonical investiture," which signifies that a person is authorized by him to be made bishop, and inducted into the sacred office by his authority.

We were told that councils met together and elected popes. There is nothing extraordinary in this. Why, my dear friends, common sense teaches this course. Christ's foreknowledge of all the occurrences that were to take place in the government of the earth, caused him to organize society. If not, disorder would ensue. On such a principle as the gentleman's, there could be no common bond of union. If Christ's society in the world and men will not consent to be held together by social rules, his design is baffled. The church is a society. Hence St. Paul says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for they who resist, purchase for themselves damnation." Rom. xiii. 1. Again, "Remember your prelates who have spoken to you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation." And again "obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls, that they may do this with joy and not with grief. For this is not expedient for you." Heb. xiii. 17. Without subordination there can be no peace, and consequently no happiness, in any society of men, but particularly in a religious society. The church is the pillar and the ground of the truth, 1st Tim. iii. 15. [Time expired.]

Three o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

Before the third proposition is read, I beg leave to offer both an explanation and an apology.

In reference to the proposition which has just been discussed, I have lying before me an index of the popes from the time of Peter to Innocent II. A. D. 1676. Here are two hundred and forty popes. In the first fifty, forty-nine were saints. We notice a diminution in sanctity as we descend to our own times; for in the last ninety popes on the list, there is only one saint. The church made her own saints. She ought, therefore, to know the reason why. It rests in her own judgment: but, in my judgment, she has made in her popes as many as, in any decency, she possibly could; and many more in name than she even had in reality.

The gentleman (and it was one of his most lucky hits) compares the fact that there was one traitor among twelve apostles, to the fact, that there were fifty bad popes among two or three hundred popes. This is a happy salvo. Judas has relieved many a hard case; but the conduct of Judas is no apology for the popes. It has another meaning in scripture, than to justify or excuse such flagitious cases. The Savior

you will remember, in his prayer (John xvii.), says: "Of all thou hast given me I have lost only one, the son of perdition;" because he was spoken of in the Old Testament, and described as a traitor. The use of Judas among the twelve, is not always duly appreciated. But for him, as respects the credibility of the testimony, it might have been said, that the twelve apostles were all the personal friends of Christ; and, although persons of fair reputation, yet their testimony was that of friends. To prevent this reflection, and to make it perfect in every point of view, one enemy is made the confidant of Jesus, as much as any one of them. He is admitted to all the secrets of the schemes of the Messiah, as much as his other companions. He is a covetous wretch, and sells his master for fifteen dollars. Yet, under the conviction of his guilt, after a little reflection, he goes to the high priest, and makes confession of his sin, saying: "I have betrayed innocent blood." This, at this crisis, in all the circumstances, is the best testimony of the twelve. It was essential to the consummation of the testimony against the imputation of collusion amongst his friends; and Judas is as much a martyr to the truth of Christianity, as any one of his companions: a martyr, indeed, not to his own honor, but to the blameless reputation of the author and founder of the christian faith. This, then, explains the reason of such a *permission* in that case. But, hearken to the sequel. To prevent a bad use of such a permission or allowance even, the Lord suggested to his disciples to cast lots—to appeal to heaven in electing a successor to Judas, that they might not be endangered in the reputation of another apostle, and that he might be sent from God. To have permitted persons of this character to stand forward in the front rank of the gospel, would have endangered the cause. The delinquency of the popes is opposed to the plan and government of the christian institution; and had it not been for the reputation of the Roman clergy, we cannot tell how much more the cause of Christ would have triumphed ere now. This is *the explanation.*

Now, for the apology. It is for the difficulties, which our worthy friend had to encounter in finding a succession in the bishops of Rome, that we offer an apology. This apology ought to be a part of this book, for the sake of a particular class, who have not leisure to trace the causes of these things.

The bishop could find no testimony in behalf of Peter's having had the see of Rome; because that was not the ground on which that see first claimed the supremacy: if it had, we should have had plenty of old traditions to sustain it. The ancient and true ground of ascribing to the bishop of Rome superior importance, and of his arrogating any sort of superiority over other bishops, was, that his see was the imperial city: not because Peter or Paul had ever been bishop of Rome. Rome was mistress of the world, the metropolis of the empire, the great city, the emperor's residence. The bishop of Rome, moreover, had the richest church in the world, and most honorable diocese; and being neighbor to the emperor, he became proud: for, said he to himself, "As the emperor governs the whole world, so ought *I* to govern the whole church." From such seeds sprung the apostolic tree!

Constantine became a Christian: Byzantium is changed into Constantinople: the Constantine family take up their residence there: it begins to be called *New Rome;* and with that began the rivalry be-

tween *old* and *new* Rome. Soon there are two empires (for the empire was divided), one of the east, and one of the west. There must be, now, two great imperial bishops; and the east and west churches, or, the Greek and Roman, began to feel the spirit of rival aggrandizement. The controversy began, and the prospects of the new city outrivaled those of the old city. But, just as the sceptre and mitre were about passing from Rome to Constantinople, some ingenious person, whose name no monument records, thought of a happy expedient to save the sinking fortunes of the eternal city. It was, that Peter and Paul had founded the church of Rome: nay, that Peter and Paul were buried there!

Constantina, the empress of the east, at the close of the sixth century, finding that this discovery was unfortunate to the rising majesty of the east, sent an express to Rome to obtain the remains of Paul, and have them conveyed to Constantinople. She was willing that Peter should remain in the Lateran; but she wished to possess Paul. She thought this would equalize the pretensions of new Rome and old Rome, and give her equal claims upon the devotion of the saints and pilgrims of the church. Had it not been for her failure in this stratagem, no one can tell whether Rome had not been, ages since, like Thebes or Babylon. On this subject, thus speaks the elegant Gibbon:

"Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle which again restored her to honor and dominion. A vague tradition was embraced that two Jewish teachers, a tent-maker and a fisherman, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero, and at the end of five hundred years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the palladium of christian Rome." Decl. and Fall Rom. Emp. Vol. viii. p. 161.

"*A vague tradition.*" This is happily expressed. But the superior tact of St. Gregory saved Rome from this misfortune; and he managed the petition of Constantina with great address, as we shall presently show. I beg leave to read from Waddington:

Reverence for Relics. The empress Constantia, who was building a church at Constantinople to St. Paul, made application to Gregory for the head of that Apostle,* or at least for some portion of his body. The pope begins his answer by a very polite expression of his sorrow 'that he neither could nor dared to grant that favor; for the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, are so resplendent with miracles and terrific prodigies in their own churches, that no one can approach them without great awe, even for the purpose of adoring them. When my predecessor, of happy memory, wished to change some silver armament which was placed over the most holy body of St. Peter, though at the distance of almost fifteen feet, a warning of no small terror appeared to him. Even I myself wished to make some alteration near the most holy body of St. Paul, and it was necessary to dig rather deeply near his tomb. The superior of the place found some bones which were not at all connected with that tomb; and having presumed to disturb and remove them to some other place, he was visited by certain fearful apparitions, and died suddenly. My predecessor, of holy memory, also undertook to make some repairs near the tomb of St. Laurence: as they were digging without knowing precisely where the venerable body was placed, they happened to open his sepulchre. The monks and guardians who were at the work, only because they had seen the body of that martyr, though they did not presume so much as to touch it, all died within ten days; to the end that no man might remain in life who had beheld the body of that just man.

* Baronius, who cites the pope's reply with considerable admiration, attributes the empress's exorbitant request to ecclesiastical ambition,—to a desire to exalt the see of Constantinople to a level with that of Rome, by getting into her possession so important a portion of so great an apostle. Fleury quotes the letter chiefly in proof that the *transfer* of relics was forbidden in the Roman church, while that abuse was permitted in the east.

Be it then known to you, that it is the custom of the Romans, when they give any relics, not to venture to touch any portion of the body; only they put into a box a piece of linen (called *brandeum*,) which is placed near the holy bodies; then it is withdrawn and shut up with due veneration in the church which is to be dedicated, and as many prodigies are then wrought by it as if the bodies themselves had been carried thither; whence it happened, that in the times of St. Leo, (as we learn from our ancestors,) when some Greeks doubted the virtue of such relics, that pope called for a pair of scissors, and cut the linen, and blood flowed from the incision. And not at Rome only, but through the whole of the west, it is held sacrilegious to touch the bodies of the saints, nor does such temerity ever remain unpunished. For which reason we are much astonished at the custom of the Greeks to take away the bones of the saints, and we scarcely give credit to it. But what shall I say respecting the bodies of the holy apostles when it is a known fact, that at the time of their martyrdom, a number of the faithful came from the east to claim them? But when they had carried them out of the city, to the second milestone, to a place called the catacombs, the whole multitude was unable to move them farther,—such a tempest of thunder and lightning terrified and dispersed them.

The napkin too, which you wished to be sent at the same time, is with the body and cannot be touched more than the body can be approached. But that your religious desire may not be wholly frustrated, I will hasten to send to you some part of those chains which St. Paul wore on the neck and hands, if indeed I shall succeed in getting off any filings from them. For since many continually solicit as a blessing that they may carry off from those chains some small portion of their filings, *a priest stands by with a file;* and sometimes it happens that some portions fall off from the chains instantly and without delay; while at other times, the file is long drawn over the chains, and yet nothing is at last scraped off from them." Wad. Chh. Hist. pages 140, 141.

By this rhetoric, the bodies of Paul and Peter were saved for Rome. And thus, when she lost the government of the world, and ceased to be the imperial city, she had a better argument for her supremacy than before. But, had this been thought of a few centuries sooner, my opponent would have been able to confound me with a host of traditionary witnesses, assuring us that Peter was made bishop of Rome and universal father of the whole church.

[Mr. C. here called for the reading of the third proposition, which was read by one of the moderators.]

PROP. III. "She is not uniform in her faith, nor united in her members; but mutable and fallible, as any other sect of philosophy or religion—Jewish, Turkish, or Christian—a confederation of sects, under a politico-ecclesiastic head."

I will proceed to define some of these terms. It is truly alleged that most controversies are mere logomachies; and that perspicuous and precise definitions would settle a great number of them can not be doubted.—

To narrow the debate on this proposition, the Roman church claims universal homage on the plea of unity and uniformity, as resulting from infallibility. Every other church is mutable and fallible: but *she* is immutably the same! Why? Because infallible. Infallible in what respect? Infallible in faith and in morals; but not in discipline. But where shall this infallibility be found? In any individual person? No; nor in all individual persons taken singly. But she is infallible in her faith and morals, as written in her creed! The Protestant church is then just as infallible as the Roman church: for her faith and moral code are written in a book which is the fountain of all moral truth. We must then define faith: and let me ask, what does the gentleman mean by *faith?* persuasion of a fact, doctrine, or opinion? It cannot include every thing. If faith mean with him, something in the head or heart; then, where is the pre-eminence of the

Roman church, whose members individually are all fallible? and if it be faith as written in the creed: again, I would ask, where is the preeminence of the Roman church, over the English church? for she is as infallible in her creed as the Bible itself.

The gentleman says, 'that the symbol of his faith is *the apostles' creed*.' If that be the elements of his faith; all Protestants believe it: but if he means doctrine, opinion, speculation; then folios would not contain the differences. What is faith *subjectively* considered, but a belief in testimony, divine or human? and what is religious faith *objectively*, but the Bible? Five words comprehend the order of things in regard to faith: 1st the *fact*, or the thing said or done—2nd the *testimony*, concerning it—3rd the *belief* of that testimony—4th the *feeling*, consentaneous with that faith—and 5th the *action*, corresponding with that feeling.—These are the golden links, in that divine chain, which binds our hearts to God, and explains all the mysteries of the moral power of the remedial scheme. The gospel facts, as Paul sums them up, 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3, which engross the whole, are the death, the burial and the resurrection of Jesus. The whole Protestant world believes these facts. England, Scotland, America—all christendom believe, or acknowledge these great gospel facts. So far all are of one faith. The Romanist and Protestant here, are equally infallible as respects faith! And do we not all acknowledge the same perfect moral code? But while there is, indeed, but *one faith*, there are many doctrines, opinions, and traditions; and these are what make the "*Bible*" and the "*One Faith*" of the Bible of little or no account! Hence, has not the Roman church, like the Jews, made void the law of God by her traditions? It is not because the scriptures do not contain the right faith: but because men have chosen to add to it folios of human opinions, that the divine faith has lost its power.

It is a serious question, why is the Roman church infallible in faith and not in discipline?—in theory, and not in practice? in the head, and not in the heart?—Is it not of more value and importance, that she should be perfect in the order and moral discipline of her members; than in the theory or doctrine of religion? She found that she never could make herself infallible—why then, does she choose to claim infallibility in the theory, and give it up in practice? Because her plea of infallibility on that ground, she well knew, she could not at all sustain; and how well she can sustain it on other grounds will appear in the sequel. She has changed her discipline in every century; and her theories and doctrines of order and government are as various as the Protestant sects. In the 19th century, she is not the same as in the 18th; nor in the 18th as in the 17th, nor in the 17th as in the 16th, &c.

My friend has made concessions here, which I never expected from him. He has avowed principles, which, till within a few years, were unknown in the Roman Catholic church. I look upon this fact as an evidence, that better days are coming. I could wish that the Roman Catholic faith, under the mild genius of our institutions, might become so modified, as to be suited to the character of our republic; especially to abandon the absurd pretension of infallibility, which indeed, she must do, if ever she can become American.

But the Roman church is not united, nor uniform in this notion of infallibility. There are four theories and four parties on the question, *where shall infallibility be found?* The gentleman believes that the

pope is as fallible as himself. This, I conceive, is not the common belief among Roman Catholics. The Jesuits, if I am rightly informed, teach that infallibility must, of right, be in the *head*. Indeed, so I should reason: for what use would be an infallible body under a fallible head? and would not that be most unnatural? Is not the body subject to the head, naturally and necessarily? and ought not every body political and ecclesiastic, like the natural body, to be governed by its head?—[Time expired.]

Half past 3 *o'clock, P. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I would prefer, for the satisfaction of the audience, and to do the subject justice, to enter at once on the proposition of the infallibility of the Church. I should go over the ground, my learned opponent has traveled, and if permitted, should make a regular argument on the subjects to which he has alluded. My good friend is dissatisfied with himself for having made any concessions in favor of the purity of the popes, and he has re-examined, and found for the last ninety years but one saint in the calendar. If there was but one canonized, does it follow that there was but one worthy? There were many worthy. There have been many great and good men among the popes who have not been canonized. Rome is very particular whom she proposes as models for her children's imitation. She is anxious that there should be no blemish in the splendor of holiness, no faded flower in her coronal. She must be so well assured by the evidence of facts and miracles of the eminent virtue with which it has pleased God to endow the subject whose life is examined with reference to this holy distinction, that she has appointed a personage in Rome, called the Devil's Advocate, whose duty it is when a candidate is proposed for beatification, to rake up all he can against him, and thus prevent, not his entrance into heaven exactly, but the admission of his name into the calendar of saints. So that, what an illustrious Protestant has said, "it is a miracle to prove a miracle at Rome," is in fact, a proverb in the Ancient City.

Well, now, my friend says that it was necessary that there should be a Judas,—that he was mentioned in the Old Testament—his is a special case—unique. But my argument is so strong on this point, that I will give up even the strong case of Judas, and yet prevail. Even Peter, with oaths, denied the knowledge of his God and Savior Jesus Christ. The other apostles also abandoned him—a crime, be it noted, which the Novatians would have never pardoned. *All this* was foretold as well as the particular instance of Judas. So that, if he please, I will abandon this particular case, and argue as follows:

Peter fell and was resuscitated; the rest of the apostles fled; they were ashamed, or afraid, of being thought the disciples of Christ. They were not, however, rejected. The gifts of God were without repentance in their regard, who having seen and conversed with the Word made Flesh, witnessed his miracles, and beheld the example of his virtues, were, therefore, to human judgment, less excusable for their desertion of the stricken Shepherd. Why may not, at least, equal mercy be extended, if not to the popes, who were in this respect less highly favored, at least, to the *doctrine* of truth which the apostles, and the popes were appointed to announce and to preserve among men? Must God's holy law be broken to pieces, and truth

perish from the earth, because there have been bad men, like Aaron, who bow to the golden calf—to their passions? It is believed by some to have been specially ordained by the good providence of God, that Rome, once the mistress of the entire Pagan world, should be forever the chief see of the Christian world; thus verifying the almost prophetic words of one of her most gifted minds, "that the sun in his course cannot behold any thing greater." We are told a fine story about Constantia—like some less ancient rivals of the see of Peter, she was three hundred years too late to establish any claim to the headship of the church, and especially by such means, in favor of Constantinople. Now, my friends, why did Constantia want to have the head of Paul at Constantinople? It was because it was known that from the beginning Rome had possessed the prescriptive right to the chief honor and authority, not only in the temporal, but likewise in the spiritual kingdom. The seat of temporal power had been transferred to Constantinople; but the see of ecclesiastical supremacy was still at Rome, and like another Queen of lofty and arrogant pretensions, Constantia aspired to reign supreme, in Religion as well as in Politics. According to the ideas of that time which show in what veneration relics were held, she could set up no good claim for the spiritual independence of Constantinople, unless she had the head of St. Paul brought from Rome, and in this she failed.

Gibbon says, and it is one of the few sterling truths he ever said, (though it is a bull) that Rome would have perished amidst so many revolutions, if she had not had within her A VITAL PRINCIPLE. This reminds me of what my worthy antagonist said in the Presbyterian church, quoting a French physician, during the session of the College of Teachers, "that we might live forever if we could live without eating." Rome lives, and is likely to live forever, whether by porous absorption of vital aliment, or by the "*vis medicatrix Naturæ*" which expels all *peccant humors*, it is unimportant to enquire.

Now I cannot see the applicability of the long passage from Gibbon, containing the answer of the Pope to Constantia. They tell a similar story, and I believe Protestants credit it, about Julian's undertaking to give the lie to the predictions of the prophets and of Christ, regarding the temple of Jerusalem, by rebuilding that structure consigned by God to endless destruction. Globes of fire, as historians say, issued from the foundations, and so terrified the workmen as to compel them to desist. I think it likely that this may have happened, but, like the story of Constantia, it is no article of faith.

Now we come to the important doctrine of infallibility. It is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic church, that, when the whole world was in error, when every thing was adored as God, save God himself, and vice kept pace with error, the Almighty, pitying this darkness, sent his Son, Christ Jesus, the Word made flesh, into this world to teach and to redeem mankind. Jesus Christ was God, equal to the Father in every divine perfection. He possessed infinite wisdom to choose, and infinite power to use the means necessary to the accomplishment of the great TASK imposed on him by his Heavenly Father. He performed miracles. He stood over the grave of a putrified corse, and cried, "Lazarus come forth," and the dead man arose and went home with his extacied sisters. He placed his hand on the bier in which was borne the only son of the widow of Naim, and the mourner's tears were dried in that son's living embrace. He gave hearing

to the deaf, he opened the eyes of the blind, he healed the paralytic. The evidence of these wonders was such that even the skeptical Jew was convinced, and all the people exclaimed that *man* had never done the like.

When he had thus, by *miracles*, proved himself to be God, as it was no part of his divine plan to remain always in a human form, nor to visit any other nation, than Judea, although all the nations of the earth throughout all ages were to have the gospel preached unto them, he chose twelve men, whom he diligently instructed, as friends, and not as servants, in all the mysteries of the kingdom. These he sent, as his apostles, to preach the gospel to every creature. But before he sent them, he assured them that he would abide with them forever. His words were these: "All power is given me in heaven and in earth. Going therefore teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world." Matt. xxviii. 9, 20. And that they might be infallible, he breathed on them, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, who will teach you ALL TRUTH, and bring all things to your mind whatsoever I have said to you." John xiv. 26. "The Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him; but you shall know him, because he shall abide with you and be in you." St. John xiv. 17. This is the reason why the Catholic church believes in infallibility: If every man enjoys the privilege of taking the bible according to his own understanding thereof, the Catholic should not be molested in the exercise of a common right. He does take the bible for his guide, and strong as any in Holy Writ is the proof he finds therein, for the doctrine of an infallible authority established by Christ in his church. The Savior tells the apostles, that he will be with them *all days*—and says, "HE THAT HEARETH YOU HEARETH ME: and he that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me," &c. In the name of God, why did Jesus Christ say these words, and inspire his disciples to record them, if we were not to believe them? I cannot conceive how it is possible that we should take these, his most emphatic declarations, to mean any thing, but what they obviously signify. Why did St. Paul say that the church was the "pillar and ground of truth," if this pillar and that foundation were to give way as soon as the apostles died, that is to say in a few short years? Why did the apostle command all to obey their prelates, if the whole edifice of truth would give way as soon as he had disappeared from the earth? No, my friends, of the kingdom of Jesus Christ there shall be no end, until all nations shall be gathered into the one fold under one shepherd: until we all meet in the UNITY OF FAITH: and not as bishop Horne says, jumbling together an undigested heap of contrarieties and jarring sects into the same mass, and making the old chaos the plan of the new reformation.

I might dissert for hours on this subject, but I am compelled to leave off here; yet I beg my Protestant, I sincerely and from my heart say, most respected fellow-citizens to reflect on these matters, that they may not believe the misrepresentations of our doctrines, which they have too often heard, as if we had no good, scriptural grounds for our faith. Such misrepresentation has done us much injury. It has

been indulged in so long that I do not wonder at the horror of Catholics, it has, in many instances, inspired. To this illiberal feeling multitudes of Protestants are superior, I could almost say they are utterly incapable of it—they abhor it. Some of them are among the best friends I have in this city. And it is not the only one where I am proud to recognize them, and send them this humble tribute of my esteem and grateful reminiscence.

My friend said I had made concessions; he too has been misinformed, and knows more of our doctrine since the commencement of this discussion, than he ever knew before. He will allow me to say that I understand something of my own religion, and that as I can neither add to nor detract from it, I exhibit its own portrait, and not a caricature, and still less a flattering likeness. He says, the Protestants believe in the apostles' creed. Would to God they would even believe in one single article of that creed! "I believe in the Holy Catholic church." But they do not: or one other article, in the same creed, in the true sense of the words; "I believe in Jesus Christ."

Suppose I tell a man that I believe him; but persuade him to his face, in spite of his repeated asseverations, that he did not say what he says he did. Do I believe him? Suppose I say I love him, and yet do all I can to his injury, are my protestations what they ought to be? So it is with Jesus Christ. If you believe in him, you obey his words and hear his church which he commands you to hear. It is vain to say, I believe in Jesus Christ, unless we follow him also, and keep his commandments. If we do not so, we are hypocrites, or, at least, we deceive ourselves; and if we despise his church, he assures us most positively, that we despise himself. "If any man," says he, "will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican." Matt. xviii. 17.

But we are told that the meaning of "*the church*" is the whole congregation of the faithful scattered through the earth. If so, must I traverse the whole earth and appeal to every individual believer for an explanation of the law, or a defence of my innocence? This is clearly impossible. Whereas Christ's injunction supposes the existence of a tribunal, which he commands me to hear, as I would hear him; which he commands me to hear, under the penalty of being reputed a heathen and a publican. If this tribunal could pronounce falsely, would Christ have commanded me thus to hear and obey it, as I should hear and obey himself? I hope the desired answer will be given to this question.

Again, my friend says all Protestants believe the apostles' creed. But suppose a gentleman of the Unitarian denomination should say, I believe in the apostles' creed—would a Protestant of another denomination credit it? A Unitarian believes in Jesus Christ, but how does he believe in him, when he denies his divinity? Here is the vice and error of the Protestant system. They all say, I believe Christ, I believe the bible; when they make Christ and the bible teach the most contrary doctrines; and all think they are going to heaven—all think they believe the same Savior. Alas! how many souls has not this error lured from the only path that conducts to eternal life! "There is a way which *seemeth* to a man to be right," says the holy scripture, "but the end thereof leads down to hell." The sects of Protestants are diametrically opposed to each other. They are at greater anti-

podes than the two Indies. Two men of different sects will meet: says one, "Do you believe in Christ?" "Yes." "But you do not believe in him as God?" "No." "No matter, we are both good believers." Again, two others—"Do you believe in Christ?" "Yes?" "But you do not believe in a hell?" "No." "No matter, we are both sound orthodox christians." Or again, "Do you believe in Christ?" "Yes." "But you don't believe in baptism"—and so it goes.

Now Jesus Christ cannot contradict himself: he cannot say things incompatible with each other, as that two and two make four; and two and two make five. My friends, I come here not to attack other sects. I come only to defend the truth. Of all religions, all teaching, as they do, contrary doctrines, one only can be right. If one only can be true, all others must be untrue. Have you ascertained which is that true one? And if so, how have you ascertained it? To whatever denomination you may belong, your Protestant neighbor, as enlightened, as conscientious and as pious in his own opinion as you are, thinks you have embraced dangerous error, and Jesus Christ sounds in your ears the dreadful words, "He that believeth not"—not what he thinks is right, but what is right—"shall be *damned*." Mark xvi. 16.—[Time expired.]

Four o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

I hope we shall better understand each other. The question between Protestants and Roman Catholics, on the subject of infallibility as respects the faith, is usually propounded in the following form: '*Is there an infallible rule of faith?*' Both parties, answer in the affirmative. Then, '*Where shall it be found?*' Each party then sets about defining and wrestling about this said infallible rule. The Protestant says, the bible alone is his infallible rule; and the Romanist says the church, or the bible explained by the church, is his infallible rule! Thus the Protestant rests upon the bible and the Romanist upon the church—neither of which make men infallible. We apprehend there is a sophism some where in the phraseology: for both parties have exhausted folios on this subject and seem often to have retired from the arena equally perplexed. My antagonist seems to be much in advance of me, and sometimes so far in my rear as to be out of sight. Meanwhile, he will please not to forget that it is my province, at least, to sketch out my own method of discussion, and lead the way. My last speech is certainly yet unanswered.

I do not choose the phraseology which has been popular in some discussions, on the subject of the rule of faith. There is too much ambiguity, too much room for logomachy in some of these definitions. There is, in strict propriety, no infallible rule of faith. Nor is it possible there can be: for men and angels have erred under all rules. I wish to be understood. The terms *fallible* and *infallible* do not at all apply to *things*: they only apply to persons. We may have a perfect and complete—or a sufficient rule: but we cannot have an infallible one. The fallibility, or the infallibility is in the application of the rule—not in the rule itself. The mechanician may have a perfect rule; and yet err in measuring any superficies. It is not possible in mechanics, nor in morals, nor in religion, to have a rule which will prevent error: so long as those who use it are free and fallible agents. As Paul said on an occasion, not exactly similar, we may here say;

there could have been a law given to free agents, which would have precluded error, verily God would have given it. But as he has not given any such law, therefore, there has been error in heaven as on earth. Angels fell and Adam apostatized. I own, it may be said, that in common *parlance*, we figuratively talk of an infallible rule. I admit that we do, and that is the reason, when we come to debate the matter, the parties are confounded: for the bible alone, or the bible on the table; and the church alone, or the church and the bible together, have made no one free from error. Therefore, there is no *infallible* rule in truth: but we have a perfect rule, and if we apply it perfectly, it will make us perfect. So far, then, as infallibility is concerned, if there be truth in these remarks, both parties are again equal. OUR RULE IS THE BIBLE ALONE. The Roman Catholic rule contains ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY FIVE LARGE FOLIO VOLUMES SUPERADDED TO THE BIBLE, *and the* APOCRYPHA! These are composed of the following parts and parcels: 1st Apostolical Fathers 35 folios, 2nd Eight volumes of Decretals, 3rd Ten volumes of Bulls of the Popes; 4th Thirty one volumes of Canons and Decrees of Councils; 5th Fifty one folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*—Acts of the Saints, amounting in all to,—one hundred and thirty five volumes folio. Our rules, then, differ exceedingly in point of length, breadth and thickness. The Roman Catholic rule is exceedingly unwieldy. It requires a whole council to move it, and apply it to a single opinion. Ours is, at least, portable.—But still the phrase *rule of faith* is not Protestant. The bible is the faith; and that testimony is the rule and measure of our belief: for in logical truth testimony is the only proper rule of faith. However, the question is not strictly, what is the rule of faith?

We both agree that the true reason of infallibility is inspiration. I was glad to hear this noble concession from my learned opponent. Jesus Christ was able to give a perfect rule. He therefore inspired twelve apostles to form that rule, and enjoined us to *hear* them. So far, there is no difference between us. We both have a perfect rule, and that perfect rule is the bible; and the reason of its perfection is its *inspiration*. But where is the inspiration of *the one hundred and thirty five folios?* Does it require this immense library to make us understand the bible? However, if my friend can establish their inspiration, and show that Jesus Christ has spoken in these volumes; we will adopt them without controversy. But there is a want of uniformity in the Catholic faith (even with the help of these volumes:) and hence the four sects mentioned just before I sat down, on the question, where shall this infallibility be found: for after all the one hundred and thirty five volumes lying on the table, are no better than the bible lying on the table, the Roman Catholics being judges.—They must have an infallible interpreter of these volumes. Where shall he be found? "Some say that infallibility resides in the head of the church: 2nd, Others, that it resides in a general council, in which the church is represented: although such a general council never sat. 3rd, Others argue, that it lies neither in the pope, nor in the council separately: but in the two combined—a 4th party says that it lies neither in the pope, nor in the council, nor in both: but in the whole church, responding to any question. Now might we not call these four *parties?* Do our controversies about atonement, or election &c. make us more truly *sects*, than do these different interpretations make parties in the Roman church? But where shall infallibility be found? If this can-

not be shown, it is of no more use to us in time of need, than a mountain of gold in the bottom of the ocean; or a field of diamonds in the moon. I hope the gentleman will clearly ascertain this point, and make us all understand where we shall find this infallibility. We would like to know, how the combination of a given number of fallibles will make one infallible being; or, by what laws of neutralization the fallibility of every member of the church is destroyed, and the whole mass becomes infallible. But if the infallibility of a dogma depends on inspiration, what is the use of councils, unless the promise of infallibility be made exclusively to councils?

But I have no necessity for the argument which I had framed on this point. The bishop attributes infallibility to inspiration—not to combination: So do Protestants. Therefore on this cardinal point we seem more likely to agree, than I expected. Protestants have then an inspired creed, and this gives to them all the infallibility, which Roman Catholics claim to themselves: but should any one say that the majority of a council constitutes infallibitity, then we should have to enquire into the reasons of the infallibility of said majority; and for the sake of some of that class, I would here state that these majorities often are very lean minorities of the church. The council of Trent debated eighteen years, during which time she held twenty five sessions. In one session there were but forty eight bishops, and they not the most learned. A majority of these determined that the apocrypha was inspired, and that it with the Vulgate Old and New Testament; was of paramount authority in the church. Twenty five bishops, a majority of forty eight, represent the whole christian community! The question now is, were these men inspired while they were voting this dogma? I wish the bishop to state his views on this point clearly, if indeed he thinks that inspiration is at all an attribute or a gift promised to majorities however lean.

But, my friends, when you have got this ponderous creed from the decisions of general councils, must it not be interpreted? Must not the dogma of a majority be also interpreted? And who is to interpret them? Every man for himself? Then are you Protestants; or, Romanists working by the Protestant rules. After all, I see nothing gained by all this expensive and ponderous machinery. Is not every Roman Catholic obliged to judge for himself on the meaning of every dogma, and whether he ought to receive or reject it? Then, I ask, are not the inspired verses of the Old and New Testament as easily interpreted, as the inspired decrees of these councils? Did not the Spirit that inspired the apostles, teach as clearly, as the fathers in their councils? I wish to understand the bishop more accurately on these points.

The gentleman (I regret to state it) spoke of Protestants as hating the Roman Catholics, from a supposed ignorance of their creed. For myself, and for Protestants generally, I disavow the idea, and the language of hatred towards Romanists, as such. We feel the same humanity and benevolence towards Roman Catholics, as men, as to Protestants. We always discriminate between tenets and men, a system or theory, and those who hold it. With open arms, I would welcome to our shores the oppressed of all nations, Romanists and Protestants. I would extend to the Roman Catholic every facility to improve his condition by immigration into this favored land, provided only I were free from all suspicion, that his faith in the pope and

mother-church, would not induce him or his children to wrest from me or mine, that freedom and liberty which I would gladly participate with him. I oppose his religion; because, I sincerely think it enslaves him, and would enslave me, if it had the power. But, in all this there is no *hatred* to Roman Catholics as men. We are devoted to American institutions, because they are humane. For the sake of Romanists, as well as Protestants, we desire to see them permanent. We fear the exclusive, proscriptive, and despotic system of Romanism; but we feel nothing but benevolence to Roman Catholics.

My worthy opponent has done us great honor in saying, that he knows many excellent Protestants, whom he esteems highly as good men. Of course, then, they may be saved out of the Roman Catholic church. If so, what is the difference between his infallible and our fallible faith? I cannot find time to reply to any remarks of my opponent, not made in reference to my arguments.—[Minus 5 minutes.]

Half-past 4 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I shall reply to what has been said, and then pursue my own line of argument. The Catholic church claims to have an infallible rule of faith and an infallible code of morals. The former would be of little use without the latter. So intimate is the connection between sound faith and sound morals, that we hold that if the Catholic code of morals is vicious, she is not infallible in doctrine. If the working of her code of morals is proved to lead, or to have led, into vice, she is not infallible. This never has been proved, nor ever can it be. But the contrary to this has been proved, and its proof is cumulative. The darkest ages furnish some of its brightest illustrations. She does not pretend to be infallible in discipline, in the sense of its immutability. The gentleman confounds discipline with morals, and this want of clearness of ideas is the source of the entire difficulty. Discipline, I think, I have explained. It regulates the dress of the clergy, the liturgical language, the time of singing hallelujah, the mode of shaving the head, or making the tonsure, the giving of the cup to the laity, the use of leavened, or unleavened bread for the sacrament, selection of days for feasts and fasts, &c. &c. The church must have the power of changing in these respects—in other words of adapting her discipline to times, and countries. And all this, so far from being an imperfection is a proof of her perfection, of her having been established by Jesus Christ to teach, and guide, and sanctify *all* nations *for ever*. I did not state the crude proposition, which the gentleman has attributed to me, viz. that the pope is as fallible as I am. I would not compare myself thus to him. I occupy an humble station compared to his, and I am conscious of the want of those eminently distinguished qualities of head and heart which compose his character. He has grace and lights which I have not. The gentleman tells Protestants a flattering tale, that they have as infallible a rule, as Catholics. This is keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart. Does he not in the same speech, acknowledge that their fallible opinions, doctrines, traditions make their own rule, the bible, vain and nothing worth? The bible is a dead letter—all pretend to find their conflicting tenets in it. Where is then, the infallible rule? Does he not charge Protestants as well as Cath-

olics with error. And why? The gentleman said, where is the use of the head, without the body? I ask where is the use of a body without a head? And he said, if the body regulates the head it is anomalous. But what is it that sends vitality to the head? Is it not the heart with its healthful pulses and its quickening current? The pope is the head—the council is the heart—and I have no objection to his calling the laity the members, to continue the figure. While there is no schism in the members, no separation of the head or of the heart, all is soundness and life—so in the church—pope, pastors, and laity. United *we* stand, divided *you* fall. The true theory of the church, like that of the human body, is union. Ask not, does the heart, alone, or the head alone, or the members alone contain the vital principle—they sympathize; they live and move and have their being *together*. God seems to address himself to the head and to the heart in the revealed definitions of his essence. "I AM WHO AM," and "GOD IS LOVE," one of these definitions is for the reason, the other for the affections; one for the Old Testament, the other for the New. Both, however, come from the same source and tend to define Him—LIFE, WISDOM and LOVE.

The division of truth into objective and subjective is correct—but objective revealed truth is the *whole* truth revealed by God, wherever found and in whatever manner conveyed. What is the use of this, without subjective truth, or our own knowledge and conviction that we possess objective truth, and that we are *sure* of possessing it? Of this, the Protestant, who rejects authority in religion, and pretends to find out religion for himself, from a book, which he acknowledges, fallible men handed to him, can never be sure. The fact, the testimony, the belief of the testimony, the feeling consentaneous with the belief, and the correspondent action, are all human faith and natural feeling, struggling, and striving for some *higher and better gifts*, which it cannot attain without infallible assurance, without the Catholic rule. What is the testimony that might be deceived itself and might deceive me?

He says we Catholics have a very broad rule—135 folios. No such thing. We have a quite convenient pocket-rule. It is the pearl of great value—a diamond, with which we cut the brittle glass of mere human creeds in pieces, and with which we solve every difficulty. It is this: "I believe in the Holy Catholic church." They were the apostles—he was Christ who gave it to us. It does not suppose ignorance, or servile acquiescence. It lifts us above error, giving us a divine warrant for every tenet of our faith, and directing our understandings and hearts to GOD, who speaks to us by his church. I hope I did not understand my friend correctly this morning, but if I have he has uttered horrid blasphemy. I understood him to say that God could not have given a perfect rule (to make man infallible, and prevent him from error.)

MR. CAMPBELL explained. He had said that God could not create a hill without a valley—could not make man a free agent and bind him.

BISHOP PURCELL. Could not God have created the angels so that they could not fall into sin?

MR. CAMPBELL. There can be no virtue nor vice, without liberty of choice: neither in man nor in angel.

BISHOP PURCELL. My friend has said that God could not have created angels or men virtuous without making them free to sin. The angels of heaven are not free to do wrong, are they not virtuous?

Mr. Campbell. If such is the nature of angels, they are virtuous by nature. Perfect liberty consists in acting in unison with our nature.

Bishop Purcell. Then the angels are virtuous without being free. If the rebel angels were virtuous *by nature*, how did they happen to fall? And could not God have made the angels who are now good, by nature, or by grace, such from creation? I will now continue my argument. It does not exceed the power of God to make man infallible. Christ was infallible; for he was God. Now if he could make twelve men infallible, as Mr. C. admits the apostles were, why could he not perpetuate the same power in favor of his entire church, since such infallible authority to teach his true doctrine is as necessary now, as it was at any former time?

Now I have another strong argument here—it is old with us, but suggested anew by reading one of the Protestant papers, from New York. It is the Palladium, and my friend seems to know the editor, for he himself has given occasion for the very article in question. The argument is this: If tradition be fallible, and it was not known for 300 years, what books of the bible were genuine, and what spurious, how shall we ascertain that we have the bible? How shall we ever know that the book is the book of God? The making of the canon or list of books composing the inspired volume, was a difficulty yielding to but few others in magnitude, during the first four hundred years of Christianity, when, if we must believe my friend, infallibility had departed, with the last of the apostles, to heaven. How then can we be sure that our present canon is correct? Catholics can be sure on this vital point, for they have the voucher of an infallible guardian of the holy deposit, for its correctness; but Protestants, who have no such tribunal to enlighten them, how can they be sure? Catholics hold that infallibility was promised to the church by Jesus Christ. Its testimony is heard in a general council, or in the pope's decision in which all assent. The church can subsist without a general council. General councils are not essential—though frequently of use, because, though we all believe *without exception*, that the pope's decision, in which, after it has been duly made known, all the bishops of the Catholic world acquiesce, is infallible, still the decision of a general council declares in a more impressive and solemn, though not more authentic, manner, the belief of the Catholic world on the contested doctrine, and thus more effectually proscribes the contrary error. The celebrated Protestant, Leibnitz, remarked that there could be no certainty of a correct decision on religious matters, equal to that afforded by the decision of a general council. The four sects Mr. C. speaks of *all agree* in the belief of the infallibility of the church representative and of the church responsive; if I must employ these technical terms—and as he asks "could not the Holy Ghost, who inspired the apostles, teach as clearly as the Fathers in their councils?" I answer, 'Yes,' and he has so taught us to "HEAR THE CHURCH," for, *no prophecy of scripture is of any private interpretation.*

Let me now vindicate the humblest Roman Catholic of my flock, or of the world, from the charge of pinning his faith to the sleeve of any man, or of surrendering his conscience to the keeping of his priest. Catholics do not believe because the priest tells them to believe, but because they consider him to be the faithful interpreter of Christ and the

organ of the church, but should he dissent from the oracles of God and his ecclesiastical superiors, that moment they would quit him. They see his teaching accords with that which they have heard from others, which they have read, as the Catholic doctrine. If they doubt, they ask other priests, or the bishop. Thus while they know the priest to be orthodox, they hear him, or rather the church, they hear God and they believe God. And in this there is no servility. The faith he teaches and the moral law he expounds, have both come from God, and to God they owe and pay their vows. My friend misapprehends me. I did not say that Protestants hated Catholics. I say that some Protestants are often prejudiced against them, and I wondered they are not more so. If he could prove the odious proposition so long before you, the Catholic church would be a monster. I am sorry my friend has misunderstood the doctrines of the Catholics, and I am glad of the opportunity which is thus afforded me, of coming before the public and showing what are our real sentiments.

I come to the doctrine of infallibility again. I will begin my argument this evening, and conclude perhaps to-morrow morning. I beg leave to read what I have myself written on this subject:

Whoever reflects upon the countless varieties of human character, the ignorance of some men, the prejudices of others, the passions of all, will scarcely require that we should expend much time or labor to prove, that as long as men are commanded to form their religion for themselves, even though the book they receive for their guide should be the plainest in its language that divine wisdom could bestow, the sources of error will be never drained. No matter how pure the doctrine of that book, how holy its precepts, how luminous its evidences, occasions will occur, when these doctrines will be contested, these precepts denied, these beaming evidences obscure to the pride, the voluptuousness, and the love of independence, inherent in a perverted nature. Man, under the influence of such feelings, will read, will write; he will communicate his doubts and impart his prejudices to others; he will originate new creeds, and form new sects; he will raise altar against altar, and desk against desk; nor will any one, consistently with Protestant principles, have a right to ask him why he does so. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the right of forming religion, every man for himself, and the bible for us all, was first promulgated, the fierce self-constituted apostle sounded a deafening peal of defiance, and denounced all authority in religious concerns as spiritual tyranny. "Read the scriptures!" he vociferated to the astonished crowd of wise or foolish, learned or unlearned, that thronged to hear him. "Read the scriptures, and judge for yourselves: your reason and the spirit will enable you to understand them, as easily as you can discern hot from cold, or sweet from bitter. Read the scriptures: they that run may read. Judge for yourselves!" They did read, they did judge for themselves; and they decided against their apostles, and against one another!

"When hell," says an illustrious writer, "prepares some terrible calamity for mankind, it flings upon the earth a pregnant evil, consigning its development to time." The time for the development of this mischief was brief. The word was uttered, and it could not be recalled: the principle was established, which it was too late to rescind. The disciples of the new apostles, reading, judging, deciding, became

apostles themselves. They claimed the right their teachers exercised. They claimed it to change, as they had changed. The Lutherans, multitudes of them, became Calvinists; Calvinists, Independents; Independents, Anabaptists; each sect the prolific parent of twenty others, all differing from one another, as much as each one differed from its parent—innovation. Mark now the inconsistency to which the evil working of this scheme reduced the first claimants of a right unheard of for fifteen centuries. "Obey!" they now cry aloud, with terror, "obey your superiors; submit to the pastors whom God has appointed to rule the faithful. It is their duty to instruct you, yours to follow the guidance of their wisdom." "What," they exclaimed, "becomes of the subordination which the scriptures so frequently enjoin, if each one can be the arbiter of his own belief? What becomes of humility, which religion so forcibly inculcates, if every individual presumes to be an oracle and a judge? What would become of civil law and social harmony and order, if the acts of our legislatures were left to the interpretation of every interested litigant? Forbear! forbear!" Such was the restraint, as every one knows, which Luther was under the inevitable necessity of imposing on the first followers of his revolt, in order to counteract the effects of the disastrous principle of mental emancipation, so highly eulogized when it was first proclaimed, and received with so much enthusiasm, until it was found to be a very Babel of the confusion of all creeds—another name, or else a cloak, for deism and positive infidelity. When we reason on principles rightly understood, whose immediate bearings and remotest consequences have been exposed to the examination of the reflecting world, for the last three hundred years, these arguments are as conclusive to-day, as they were when first urged; and when the right of any individual to believe whatever errors he honestly conceives to be truths revealed in scripture, is contested, he may say to his accusers, in the eloquent language of the Protestant remonstrants to the synod of Dort (itself Protestant), which had infringed their privileges in this respect: "Why exact that our inspiration, or our judgment, should yield to your opinion? The opinion of any society, our apostles, the first reformers, declared to be fallible; and, consequently, to exact submission to its dictates, they, with great consistency, defined to be tyranny. Thus they decided with regard to the church of Rome; and you, yourselves, have sanctioned their decision. Why, therefore, exercise a domination over us, which you stigmatized as tyranny in a church, compared to whose greatness you dwindle into insignificance. If resistance to the decisions of our pastors be a crime, then let us wipe out the stain of our origin, and run back together to the fold of Catholicity, which you and we have abandoned. If such resistance be no crime, why require of us a submission which we do not owe you. Allow us to differ from you, as you do from the parent church."

From the unanswerable logic of this remonstrance, the conclusion follows irresistibly: 1. That every society formed on Protestant principles, being essentially fallible, none should assert the inconsistent pretension of controlling faith by authority, or of regulating creeds, under pretence of superior wisdom. 2. That no such society, and, therefore, no individual, in such society, can be sure of being in the right, as long as his Protestant neighbor, with as many resources of information, and as piously inclined as himself, has embraced the very

contrary of his opinion. 3. That as the entire system is based on the possibility of each one's being mistaken, where the most learned and pious have adopted such opposite conclusions, no one can ever make an act of divine faith, which is incompatible with uncertainty, and much more so with error. 4. That, as long as such a principle is upheld, there is no hope of union, no security; consequently, that either the whole system is false, or some expedient of union and unity must be discovered, to induce any conscientious and rational inquirer after truth, to believe that the Protestant society exemplifies the efficacy of the prayer of Christ for his disciples, the night before he suffered, that "*they may be made perfect in one.*" We entreat our readers seriously to look into the different religions professing to have been founded by Jesus Christ, and seriously ask themselves the question, in which of all these, that "PERFECT ONENESS" (which, better than all other proofs, establishes the divinity of the Son of God, and convinces the entire world how much his heavenly Father loved him, and those whom he had given to him) may be found. Let not this inquiry be neglected, nor yet performed lightly: eternal life or death may be the consequence of its good or bad prosecution.

Error in religion, when it results from the neglect of sincere and prayerful enquiry, is criminal. This no intelligent Christian will deny. God is as essentially the God of truth, as he is the God of virtue. He can no more sanction error, than he can tolerate vice. His right is as absolute to the submission of the understanding, as to the obedience of the will; and as he, who violates one commandment will not be saved for the observance of the rest, so he that rejects one truth, which Almighty God has revealed—not that we may examine, contest, adopt or reject—but that we may *believe* it, has lost the merit of saving faith. It is to fix the otherwise perpetual variations of the human mind, and secure the anchor of our faith, not in the moving sands of man's vacillating judgments and uncertain opinions, but by lodging it deeply and indissolubly in the *rock* which the Divine Architect has made the foundation of his church, and against which the winds of error and the rain of dissolving scandal will rage and beat in vain, that *the Word made Flesh* vouchsafed to become the Light of the world.

The misfortune of the great majority of mankind at the present day, is not so much a blind fanatical attachment, (bad as this is) to the sect in which they chanced to be born, or were first instructed, as a certain latitude of principle, which has obtained the specious name of liberality, and which resolves itself into a fatal and unreasonable indifference to all religions, true or false. The infidel who has had but too frequent occasion to exult at the success of a wily system of hostility to revealed truth, affects to be unable to restrain his delight at beholding *variety* pervading the religious, as well as the physical world. Diversity of creeds is as pleasing to his eye, as the discrepancy of features in the human countenance. Incapable of reasoning, out of the sphere of matter, of which it is his inverted ambition to be a part, he holds the different religions professed by men to be so many institutions, prescribing for each country a uniform manner of honoring God in public; all founded and having their peculiar reasons in the climate. the mode of government, the genius

of the people, or in some other local cause, which renders one form of religion preferable, for them, to another.

The conclusion to be drawn from this doctrine, in as much as it levels all distinctions between truth and falsehood, good and evil, is humiliating to reason—but the infidel, for once consistent, recoils not before it: the following is his language—"Sincerely profess, piously practise the religion of the country in which you live. In other words, born in a pagan country, adore its gods—sacrifice to Jupiter, to Mars, to Priapus, or to Apollo. In Egypt, you will render divine honors to the sacred ox, and the crocodile; in Phenicia, you will pass your children through the fires of Moloch; in one country, you will immolate human victims to your idol; in another, you will humbly bow before a block of marble, or of wood—before an animal, fossil, or a plant. Be not afraid; God will not send one man to heaven for having been born in Rome, nor another to hell for having been born in Constantinople. Therefore, in the latter place you will cry, 'God is God and Mahomet is his prophet;' and in the former, you will anathematise the impostor. A Christian in Europe, a Mussulman in Persia, an Idolater in Congo, on the banks of the Ganges an adorer of Vishnou, let not truth dictate the choice of your religion, but chance—let not reason decide, but the measurement of a degree of latitude, or longitude. Your credulous parent paid divine honors to an onion; preserve this domestic worship—a son can never do wrong in following the religion of his father." But all this, it will be said, is unworthy of God and degrading to man. Not at all, he replies, all religions are equal—you were born in this, to practise another would be presumption. Such is the reasoning of the instructor of Emile, the theology of Hobbes, the profession of faith of the author of Zaire.

"Chretienne dans Paris, Mussulmane en ces lieux,
J'aurois avec la Grece adoré les faux Dieux."

That the unbeliever should thus eat promiscuously of the fruit of the tree of good and evil, life and death, should not create surprise. His joy consists in his being able to doubt of the validity of the proofs of religion—his only peace in life, his only security in death being made to depend on the delusive conviction of the improbability of ever arriving with certainty at the knowledge of revealed truth—the only truth, after all, it must be admitted, which it is necessary for man to know—and consequently the only truth which God is bound by all his essential and unchangeable attributes to enable us to attain.

The basis of Protestant belief is, that the Scripture, this book of divine revelation, is the only rule of faith; and that Jesus Christ having left on earth no living infallible authority to interpret it, every man is obliged to expound it, for himself, or in other words, to seek in it the religion, in which he is to live and by which he must be saved. His duty is to believe, what, *it seems to him*, this book clearly teaches and what as far as he has ascertained by subjecting it to the test of private examination, contradicts not *his* reason: and as no man has a right to say to another, "my reason is more vigorous, my judgment more sound than yours," it follows that every man should abstain from condemning the interpretation of another and should consider all religions, at least, as good and as safe as his own. This is the infidel principle in disguise. The Deist takes the book of nature, the Protestant takes the Bible. The former reads in *his* book, that the Supreme Being mus-

be pleased with the diversity of worship rendered him by his creatures, that no one is to be more accountable for errors which, however discordant in themselves, when softened and mellowed by being mingled with the errors of others, ascend to the deity in the grateful harmony of universal praise. The latter, with this only difference that he contracts the range of the Infidel's misapprehension of religion, and for the book of the universe takes the bible, contends for the same erroneous principle.

I need not shew its workings to this enlightened audience. The are ruinous in the extreme.—[Time expired.]

WEDNESDAY, January 18th., *Half-past 9 o'clock, A. M.*

Mr. Campbell rises—

I appear before you this morning, fellow-citizens, in prosecution of my third proposition: and as this is the fifth day of the discussion, we must proceed with more despatch. We shall then advance directly to that part of our proposition which speaks of Roman Catholic unity and uniformity—only intimating to my hearers, that the bishop's remarks in his last speech upon the infallibility of tradition; and his effort to make the succession of the popes to rest upon the same authority with our faith in the bible, will be disposed of under proposition the 6th.

There are two bonds of union in all societies, general and special,—the first connects with the whole; the second with a part, one or more individuals. We explain by examples: 1st. Take the Turkish empire. It is united on the divine authority of the Koran, and the divine mission of Mahomet. Acquiescence in these is the general bond of union. But 2nd. There are special bonds, such as unite the respective orders of Mahometans, as the orders of Ali and Omar. These orders are distinct: they are united by a special construction of the Koran. Belief in the Koran is like general attraction: agreement in a particular view of it is like attraction of cohesion. So among christians. Roman Catholics are united in one great generic idea which characterizes the whole sect. That is, the belief in a supreme head of the church on earth—a vicar of Christ: and add to that, the exclusive power and authority of the bishops. "Bishops are the bond of union amongst Catholics." The clergy, indeed, are the general bond of union amongst Romanists. But there are also special bonds and parties in that society, of which we shall take some notice. Protestants have a general bond of union in a generic consideration, as distinguishing as that of Mahometans and Roman Catholics. Acknowledging the bible alone, as the only perfect and sufficient rule of faith and manners, and the duty of all mankind to examine it for themselves, according to their respective abilities and opportunities, is the generic characteristic of Protestants. It is one of the general ideas, in which are united, and which unites all Protestants. But in the second place they are united in a most perfect and unanimous renunciation of that hierarchical authority which is the very essence of Roman Catholicism. I affirm that all Protestants are as perfectly united in these two grand principles, as the Roman Catholics are in that of a supreme head in

Rome, and in the belief of tradition. Different saints and their peculiarities in the Roman Catholic church are specific bonds of union, and as much heads of orders, as are the leaders and views of Protestant sects. But the Protestants are as much united in acts of worship, as Roman Catholics. There are one or two Protestant sects, who differ in some important matters, and are as repugnant to each other as are Jansenists and Jesuits in the Roman church: but all Protestant sects unite in several essential acts of religious worship—in the acknowledgment of the same code of morals, and in the positive institution of Christianity, such as the Lord's day, the Lord's supper, baptism, prayer, praise, &c. Sects and differences exist which ought not: but still they harmonize as much in their general and special bonds of union, as do the Romanists themselves. What are the Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jansenists, Jesuits, &c. but orders (or sects) called after different saints, and united under special bonds and peculiarities? These parties in the Roman church are as pugnacious as Protestant parties: communing with each other not more frequently, nor more cordially than do Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, &c. They contend warmly against each other. Their quarrels are as rank and fierce as those of Protestants. But this is not all, my friends. Their society is divided on all the great orthodox points of Catholicism. Some say the pope of Rome is supreme in all things on earth, temporal and spiritual, that he is a perfect representative of all the power of Christ, religious and political. A second class disavow these large claims—they say he is supreme only in ecclesiastical power: but that he is absolute lord of the church. A third class differ again on the extent of that ecclesiastical supremacy. Some say the pope is above and beyond the councils and clergy; and that he can annul them at pleasure. A fourth party say he is subject to a general council, and is only a general superintendent, a mere president, or executive officer—that the decrees of councils are the supreme law, and that the pope merely executes them. Here are four distinct sects, on the generic idea of the supreme head. Again there are four parties on the essential doctrine of infallibility. Some say it resides in the pope alone. Bellarmine says, (and he is the organ of a principal party,) "that the pope *cannot possibly err*." Gelasius says, "The church represented by a general council is above the pope." A third party say, that infallibility resides in both the pope and a general council united. A fourth say, that all this does not constitute infallibility, but that when the whole church shall have acquiesced in a decree, and signified it by a concurrent response, then, and not till then, are dogmas and decrees infallibly correct. The first of these parties believes in the church *virtual*; the second in the church *representative*; the third in the church *diffusive*;—the fourth in the church *responsive*,—as some of their canonists have taught.

Yesterday, in discussing infallibility, I said it should be in the head, if any where. My friend the bishop, says, it should be in the body: and, to carry out the figure, if infallibility be in the body, the head must be under the control of the body: for the fallible must yield to the infallible. Now, the body is the animal part of every individual, the seat of the passions and affections; and therefore ought to be under the dominion of the intellectual and moral head: yet this theory makes this body, the sensual and animal body govern. No wonder, then,

that the Roman Catholic church is always corrupt. But from nature and reason and revelation, I would incline to that party that places the government in the head. There are the powers of government, and there ought to be the sceptre. It is abhorrent to reason—nay it is rather monstrous, to have the head under the dominion of the body.

But I hasten to show, that be the government where it may, in the pope, the council, or the whole body, it is always fallible. I shall begin with the head; and here we have pope against pope. Adrian VI. *did, unequivocally, disown the pope's infallibility.* Now, from this single fact, I prove the fallibility of the pope; for Adrian was either right, or he was wrong. If right, the pope is fallible; for he avows that he is. If wrong, the pope is fallible; for he was a pope and yet did err. This is a dilemma never to be annihilated nor disposed of. Pope Stephen VI. rescinded the decrees of pope Formosus. Pope John annulled those of pope Stephen, and restored those of pope Stephen. Sergius III. so hated Formosus and all that he did, as pope, that he obliged all the priests he ordained to be re-ordained.

Sometimes popes have at one time condemned what themselves passed at another time; for instance, Martin V. confirmed the decree of the council of Constance, which set a general council above the pope, and yet he afterwards published a decree, forbidding all appeals from the pope to a general council. He was certainly fallible, or, rather, he certainly erred in one case or in the other. What then is true of one pope officially, is true of all popes officially, and in proving a few regular and canonical popes to be fallible, we prove them all to be fallible.

Is the second opinion better—is a general council infallible? I will state a fact or two: the council of Constance says the church in old times allowed the laity to partake of both kinds—the bread and the wine, in celebrating the eucharist. The council of Trent says, the laity and unofficiating priests may commune in one kind only. Here, then, we have council against council. In the time of pope Gelasius it was pronounced to be sacrilege to deny the cup to the laity: but now it is uncanonical to allow it. The fourth council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, says, with the concurrence and approbation of pope Innocent III., that the bread and wine in the act of consecration suffer a physical change. Then we begin to read of transubstantiation. Coun. Lat. iv. canon 1. "Did the church always maintain this doctrine?" Nay, verily, for a host of fathers; nay the whole church for the first four centuries say "the change is only *moral*,"—a sanctification, or separation to a special use. Here we might read a host of fathers, if we thought their testimony necessary. The third council of Lateran, or the eleventh œcumenical council, has decreed that

"*Non enim dicenda sunt juramenta sed potius perjuria quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta.*" Con. Lat. iii. cum 16 Labbe. Council Sacrosanct. vol. x. p. 1517.

Literally, *they are not to be called oaths, but perjuries, which are taken against the interests of the church and the holy fathers.*

Now does not this contradict Numb. xxx. 2, Lev. xix. 12, Deut. xxiii. 23, Zech. viii. 17, Psal. xv. 4, and Matthew v. "Thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths."

Again, the second council of Lateran, the *tenth* œcumenical council, forbade the marriage of clergy. *For* 800 *years the clergy were allowed to marry!* For the first 600 years one-half the canons of council

were regulating the clergy as to the affairs of matrimony and celibacy The ancient church had not yet learned to forbid marriage to the clergy for with Paul the clergy yet believed, that "marriage was honorable in all."

I have thus shown that the church of Rome is not uniform; and need we farther proof that she is mutable and fallible;—without that real unity and uniformity of which she boasts? Have we not found pope against pope, council against council, the church of one age against the church of another age, and, by the acknowledgment of a pope, as much strife and party as amongst Protestants.

Instead of reading that long essay yesterday, (I do not know what it was about, nor who wrote it; I paid no regard to it, it being obviously read to fill up the time)—I say, that instead of such readings, I expected a reply to my remarks on infallibility, or on some of the great matters yet unnoticed; but without any more distinct avowal of his notion of infallibility, I am left to plod my way as before. My opponent admits his faith is not the bible alone, but that immense library of *one hundred and thirty-five folios*, already mentioned. But as he is so silent on this point, I have an author in my hand whom he has already commended in this city as good Roman Catholic authority; and, therefore, I quote him with his approbation. He has these 135 folios in his eye; and on the question, who shall interpret for public use—the Rt. Rev. J. F. M. Trevern, D. D. bishop of Strasburg, late of Aire, thus speaks:

"If each of us was obliged to distinguish, among many articles, those which come from tradition, and those which do not, he would find himself, in a general way, condemned to a labor above his strength. In fact, that part of the preaching of the apostles which they did not commit to writing, was at first confided solely to the memory of the faithful, fixed in particular churches by the oral instructions of the first bishops, and afterwards collected partially and as occasion fell out, in the writings of the fathers, and in the acts of the synods and councils. Whence it follows, that to prove that such an article is truly of apostolic tradition, we must consult the belief of the particular churches, examine carefully the acts of the councils and the voluminous writings of the fathers of the Greek and Latin churches. Who does not see that this labor requires a space of time and extent of erudition, that renders it in general impracticable? There are, indeed, to be found, men of extraordinary capacity and application, whose taste and inclination lead them to this kind of research; with the aid of the rules of criticism, all founded upon good sense, they balance and weigh authorities, they distinguish between what the fathers taught, as individual teachers, and what they depose as testifiers to the belief and practice of their time, and they attach with discrimination the different degrees of credibility that are due, whether to their doctrine or their deposition. The world is well aware that such labor is calculated but for a small number: and again, after all how successful soever it may be, it scarcely ever leads to incontestible conclusions. We therefore are in want of some other means that may enable us altogether with certainty to arrive at the apostolic and divine traditions? The question is, what is this means? * * * * * * * * * *

Our author proceeds:

"The same judge, the same interpreter that unfolds to us the sense of the divine books, manifest to us also, that of tradition. Now, this judge, this interpreter, I must tell you here again, is the teaching body of the church, the bishops united in the same opinion, at least in a great majority. It is to them that in the person of the apostles, were made the magnificent promises: "Go teach, I am with you; he that heareth you, heareth me. The Spirit of truth shall teach you all truth," &c. They alone then, have the right to teach what is revealed, to declare what is the written or unwritten word: they alone also have always been in possession of the exercise of it. No other ecclesiastics have ever pretended to it, whatever have been their rank, their dignity, and learning. They

may be consulted and heard; it is even proper this should be done, and it always has been done; for they form the council of the bishops, and their erudition acquired by long study, throws light upon the discussions. But as they have not the plentitude of the priesthood, they are not members of the eminent body that has succeeded the college of the apostles, and with it received the promises." Vol. I. pp. 168, 169.

So then, to quote his words, as found on p. 108, "The opinions adopted by the majority of the bishops are for all an infallible rule of faith!" That is, "I believe in the holy Catholic church."

But the priesthood are sworn "to interpret the scriptures according to the unanimous consent of the fathers." And if they do not, the people that believe them are innocent!! But how can they unless they examine all these fathers? And what living man has read these 135 folios, with or without much care? In what a predicament is the conscience and faith of this people! Here is a task, which I say, never was, or can be, performed by man. The bishop can only fulfil his oath by teaching what the Catholic church teaches. We have our Old and New Testament without the apocrypha. They have the bible, the apocrypha, and 135 folios. Let us now compare the Roman and Protestant rules and interpretations! Both rules, for the sake of argument, be it observed, need interpretation. But it so happens, that a Protestant bishop, and a Roman Catholic bishop, are equally fallible, my opponent being judge. As the stream, then, cannot rise above the fountain, both interpretations are fallible. Are we not equal?

Where do you find an infallible expositor of the bible? says the Roman Catholic. I answer, Where do you find an infallible expositor of these volumes? You have a more difficult task, and no better help, than we. The Protestants say that God can speak as intelligibly as the pope, and that he is as benevolently disposed as any priesthood. He does not require an infallible expositor; he is his own expositor. His Spirit is the spirit of knowledge and eloquence, and can speak intelligibly to every listener. As well might we say, that he who made the eye cannot see, as that he who gave man mind and speech cannot address clearly and intelligibly that mind of which he is the author. I ask the Romanist, however, on his own principles, where is his infallible expositor of these 135 volumes? I request a categorical answer.

Bishop P. A general council, or the pope, with the acquiescence of the church at large.

Mr. C. How do we approach—where shall we find this council? It has not met for two hundred and seventy-five years. How can they, therefore, settle a point between the bishop and me? Every age has its errors and divisions. Every individual has his doubts. Ought there not to be a general council eternally in session? If, then, there is none—no infallible expositor extant; wherein is the Romanist, with all his proud assumption, superior to the Protestant? It was three hundred and twenty-five years from Christ before the first general council; and it is two hundred and seventy-five years since the last general council of Trent; and the church has been *six hundred years*, at two periods, without an infallible expositor! To show the equality of the two parties, suppose a Jew were converted to Christianity. Suppose he had heard of just two sects of Christians; all the rest being annihilated, but the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. He has read the New Testament. He wishes to join the church. He goes to the Roman Catholic bishop, and says: "I see two churches,

sir: I don't know which to join. I read that there is but one true church." What does the bishop respond? "Sir, you ought to join our church." The Jew asks, "Your reason, sir? for the Protestant also says, I ought to join his church." The bishop shows him *fifteen marks of the true church.* He says, "Read the Bible, and see if these marks are not characteristic of us; and then judge for yourself." He finds these marks involve the principal part of the New Testament. He reads, however, and joins the church. Has he not decided this question by examining the holy scriptures? Has he not interpreted for himself? Is not the bishop so far a true Protestant? or, has he only become Protestant for the purpose of introducing this proselyte? There is no getting out of this difficulty. I trust my good friend will not pass it with a laugh, and a bold assertion, as usual. Has he not in this renounced his own principles, and turned Protestant, for the sake of gaining the Jew?

But, when the Jew has entered the church, and the bishop has told him he must now believe as the church believes, for he cannot understand the Bible: "What!" responds the Jew; "sir, have I not decided the greatest question to me in the universe? I believed in Jesus, and I have found *the true church* by exercising my own judgment on the scriptures; and can I not now judge of minor questions?" May I not again say, that the two systems are perfectly equal? The eternal circle of vicious logic—you must believe the scriptures on the authority of the church, then the church on the authority of the scriptures: or, you must act as did the aforesaid Jew, on the advice of the bishop. There is not a middle course. My learned antagonist cannot show you a middle way. But I have not yet done with this great theme. I wish to display in other attitudes, these two "*rules of faith.*"

And, first, I shall sketch the Protestant rule. Its attributes are seven. 1. *It is inspired.* 2. *It is authoritative.* 3. *It is intelligible.* 4. *It is moral.* 5. *It is perpetual.* 6. *It is catholic.* 7. *It is perfect.* We will now prove this.

1. It is inspired: for, "*Holy men of God,*" says Peter, "*spoke as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.*"

2. Authoritative. "The word that *I* speak to you, shall judge you in the last day," says the Lord from heaven.

3. Intelligible. To the Ephesian converts he saith, "When you read, you may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ."

4. Moral. "The word of the Lord is pure, rejoicing the heart."

5. Perpetual. "The word of the Lord endureth for ever; and this is the word which has been announced to you as glad tidings."

6. Catholic. "He that is of God, heareth God's word." "Preach the word." "Preach the gospel to every creature."

7. Perfect. "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, *which are able to make thee wise to salvation.*" "All scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, *thoroughly furnished to every good work.*"

All christendom assents to this. My opponent admits the bible to be inspired. His rule makes his church a sect; for only a part believe in his traditions. All christians admit our rule of the bible.

It is *perfect.* Such is the Protestant rule. Now for the Romanist rule! The bible being a part of the Roman Catholic rule, is such

only as explained by the apocrypha, the traditions of the fathers, the decrees and canons of councils, or in the hands of bishops; so completely humanized, as to lose all its peculiar attributes, and is made to partake of all the characters of the mediums, through which it is given to that people; and, therefore, of the whole Roman Catholic rule, the attributes are just the opposite of those seven of the Protestant's.

1. It is uninspired: consequently, being human, it can have no authority over the conscience; and this makes it

2. Unauthoritative. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and no man can make a law to govern it. Hence a christian never can be subordinate to any institution in religion, that wants the sanction of divine authority.

3. Unintelligible. No man can ever find time to examine all the creed of Roman Catholics. It is constantly accumulating; and if any one had time to read it all, he never could understand it.

4. Immoral. This is that attribute which I wish specially to consider. The other properties are all consequences of those already noticed. But this demands a candid and faithful examination. It gives me no pleasure to dwell upon this theme, to expatiate on the immoral character of the papistic rule of faith. 'Tis here, indeed, we find the root of the manifold corruptions of that institution; and as I came here not to flatter, but to oppose error and defend truth, it is my duty conscientiously and benevolently to expose the immoral tendencies of this system.

We have heard the gentleman say, he was glad of an opportunity to discuss Catholicism, to make Protestants understand better its peculiar doctrines. I wish, myself, to hear his expositions, to see if he can make it more acceptable. Therefore, I shall endeavor to tell my story, candidly and faithfully, and give him the opportunity he desires. This is my first effort against Romanism. It was not of my selection or seeking, that I now appear before you: but as I am providentially, as I regard it, on this arena, I shall reveal to you some of the secrets of that institution, which seeks to be rooted in this Protestant soil. I shall attempt this in the best spirit: for I wish to see my opponent honorably wipe from his escutcheon any stain of the kind, that I may allege. On these points, I shall be happy to be assured that his system is better than we Protestants can now regard it.

I say, then, the Roman Catholic rule of faith *is immoral*. This, my friends, is a serious and weighty charge, and deserves to be clearly and fully sustained. Before displaying my proof, I will only premise, that auricular confession, penance, the mass, absolution, and other parts of the system will pass before us in this allegation, sustaining which, will anticipate some of our labors on the other propositions.

I shall first read from the Catechism of the council of Trent on the power of the priesthood to forgive sin, according to their rule of faith. Auricular confession, is by this infallible council declared "necessary for the remission of sins."

"The voice of the priest," says the council of Trent, who is legitimately constituted a minister for the remission of sins, is to be heard as that of Christ himself, who said to the lame man, "*Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.*" Cat. Council of Trent, p. 180.

Penance by the same council is thus defined:

FORM OF PENANCE.—"Penance is the channel through which the blood of

Christ flows into the soul, and washes away the stains contracted after baptism." Id. ib. "The form of the absolution or pardon, granted by the priest, is this; "I ABSOLVE THEE." Id. p. 181.

The priest says positively, "*I absolve thee.*" Unlike the authority of him, who anciently declared the leper clean, he claims really and truly to absolve. The council declares:

"Unlike the authority given to the priests of the old law, to declare the leper cleansed from his leprosy, the power with which the priests of the new law are invested, is not simply to declare that sins are forgiven, but *as the ministers of God really to absolve from sin.*" Id. p. 182.

The priests, then, *as the ministers of God, really absolve from sin* And more insolent still, the priest is said not only to represent Christ but to discharge the functions of Jesus Christ:

"The rites used in the administration of this sacrament, also demand the serious attention of the faithful. Humbled in spirit the sincere penitent casts himself down at the feet of the priest, to testify, by this his humble demeanor, that he acknowledges the necessity of eradicating pride, the root of all those enormities which he now deplores. *In the minister of God*, who sits in the tribunal *of penance* as his legitimate judge, he venerates the *power and person of our Lord Jesus Christ;* for in the administration of this, as in that of the other sacraments, *the priest* represents *the character*, and discharges the functions of *Jesus Christ.*" Coun. Trent, p. 182.

Again Roman Catholics teach that penance remits all sin:

"There is no sin, however grievous, no crime, however erroneous, or however frequently repeated, which penance does not remit." Id. p. 183.

This is the proper ground on which to claim the most servile obedience to the priests:

"If therefore, we read in the pages of inspiration, of some who earnestly implored the mercy of God, but implored it in vain, it is because they did not repent sincerely, and from their hearts. When we also meet in the sacred scriptures, and in the writings of the fathers, passages which *seem* to say that some sins are irremissible, we are to understand such passages to mean, that it is very difficult to obtain the pardon of them. A disease may be said to be incurable, when the patient loathes the medicine that would accomplish his cure; and, in some sense, some sins may be said to be irremissible, when the sinner rejects the grace of God, the proper medicine of salvation." Id. ib. "The penitent *must submit himself to the judgment of the priest* who is the vicegerent of God." Ib. p. 183.

Therefore, all must confess once a year.

"According to the canon of the council of Lateran, which begins: *Omnes, utriusque sexus*, it commands all the faithful to confess their sins at least once a year." Id. p. 193.

But this immoral law presumes farther yet. It changes the laws of God, and divides sins into venial and mortal, and fixes the price. As every thing depends upon the authority of these *allegata* I have hitherto quoted from the catechism of the council of Trent,* I now introduce one of the most popular of the saints of the modern church. This saint Ligori was sainted by saint Pius VII. that best of modern popes, who restored the order of the Jesuits, and the "Holy Inquisition." Saint Ligori writes the moral theology of the church of Rome in some eight or nine volumes: and so orthodox, that his works are owned almost by every priest. I quote from a synopsis of that system of which we shall hereafter speak more particularly. We shall hereafter hear the saint in his definitions of sins.

"This is a mortal sin," says Ligori, "which, on account of its enormity, destroys the grace and friendship of God, and deserves eternal punishment. It is called mortal, because it destroys the principle of spiritual life, which is habitual grace, and kills the soul.

* See Catechism, council of Trent, as revised by John Hughes of Philadelphia, priest of St. John's church, pp. 192, 193.

Venial sin is that which, on account of its levity, does not destroy the grace and friendship of God although it diminishes the fervor of charity, and deserves a temporal punishment. It is called venial, because the principle of the spiritual life, grace, being still sound, it affects the soul with languor, that is easily cured, the pardon of which is easily obtained." Ligor. lib. v. n. 51. [Synopsis, p. 20.

The Roman Catholic rule of faith erects a tribunal of confession unknown in scripture, and commands all to come to it at least once a year. It moreover institutes a new office called confessor, unknown in the New Testament, and gives to him the office of a father, a physician, a teacher, and a judge.

"The offices that a good confessor is bound to exercise," "are four: namely, those of Father, Physician, Teacher, and Judge." Ligor. Theol. T. viii. p. 7.

The confessor forgives all sins on confession, even the sin against the Holy Spirit:

"There is no sin, however grievous, no crime however enormous, or however frequently repeated, which penance does not remit." Cat. Conn. Trent, p. 183.

PENANCE here means the "Tribunal of confession:" for this tribunal is sometimes called simply "*confession*," "The sacrament of confession:" at other times it is called the "tribunal of penance." Sometimes simply "Penance," and he who confesses is called "the penitent." But satisfactions and penances are to be apportioned according to the discretion of the priest.

"According to the council of Trent, (Sess. xiv. c. 8.) the satisfactions" (by which they mean penances,) "ought to be in proportion to the crime, since those confessors *who enjoin light penances for grievous sins*, participate of those sins; nevertheless the confessor, for just reasons, can diminish the penances, provided the penitent is affected with violent compunction, or if it be during the time of a jubilee, or a plenary indulgence, and especially, if he labor under any infirmity of body or mind. And lastly, (to be brief,) always whenever a prudent fear is entertained, lest the penitent would not perform penance due to his sins. Such is the common doctrine taught by the doctors, with St. Thomas." Ligor. Prax. Con. N. ii.

But still worse: this immoral law or rule of faith repeals and annuls certain positive divine laws. I have here two catechisms, published by the authority of the church. They have both expunged wholly the second commandment; so that it should not stand in the way of paying reverence to images. [Time expired.]

Half past 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

If my friend, Mr. CAMPBELL, has failed to establish against the Catholic church, a single one of those propositions, which have been so conspicuously before the public for the last two or three months, and if I have established two or three of them against his own vague theory, it is not for want of splendid abilities on his part, or the possession of them on mine. The reason of his failure, is the inherent weakness of the cause he advocates, as the true secret of my success, is to be found in the impenetrable, diamond strength and beauty of the institution, which, in an evil hour for his *past* glory as a controversialist, he volunteered to attack. He has this day (and again I thank him) brought up, for discussion, the most important subject that can occupy or engross the attention of this enlightened audience, viz. the rule of faith. If fairly published, as I have every reason to believe this controversy will be, it will send forth sound and useful information, through the whole length and breadth of the land, upon a topic of the most vital interest; and I will, most joyfully, meet Mr. C. on that

question, for I hail with exultation such an opportunity of dispelling prejudice and misunderstanding with regard to our real principles. *I will give categorical answers to all the questions* he has propounded; and, therefore, do I take up the subject he has been pleased to touch.

1. He says, the methods of electing the pope are various. But let that pass: the method is nothing. It is with his authority we are concerned. He has wasted much time in building up a house of sand, to show how easily he could demolish it, by showing that the pope is not infallible; whereas, I have repeatedly told him, that the Catholic church has never taught that the pope's infallibility was an article of faith. He spoke of some more or less important but unessential points of difference of opinion between Dominicans and Jesuits. But he should have shown, to establish the proposition before this house, that these orders disagree with regard to articles of faith. Their minor differences are nothing, so long as they implicitly believe every article of faith revealed by almighty God and proposed for their belief by the church, which they all hear, and which they regard as the "pillar and ground of the truth." This is the solid and immovable foundation of their union. The case of the cup given to, or withheld from, the laity, as I have already told him, is one merely of discipline. It may now be given, or not, as the pope may see cause. In the time of Gelasius, it was pronounced sacrilege to deny the cup to the laity; and, if all my hearers had read church history, I need not tell them, it was because of the leaven of Manicheism still working in pretended communicants, who forbade the use of wine as coming from the evil principle. No father of the church, however, said, that the consecration of the eucharistic species, is a mere 'separation,' or the change only a 'moral change.' I defy him to the proof. Mr. C. says: "So far Protestants and Catholics are equal;" for, that they have also a grand generic principle. viz: that the Bible is their rule of faith, and the Bible alone. Now, I take up the organ of a numerous body of christians, the Christian Palladium, and I meet him here with a strong argument in my favor, upon this principle. Speaking of Mr. Campbell, (I mean by this no personality, that can be thought invidious: I intend none) the editor observes: "He frequently speaks of '*the Bible alone*;' but this is not a term used generally by the brethren in New England, and is taught by few except Mr. C. We never knew our brethren to boast of walking by the Bible *alone*. THIS WE REGARD AS AN ERROR, LET WHO WILL PROCLAIM IT. We say, give us the *Bible*, but *not* alone. LET US HAVE A GOD, A CHRIST, A SPIRIT, AND A MINISTRY ACCOMPANYING IT. There was a law given to the Jews, and also a testimony, which they were bound to observe. *The testimony of the inspired prophets did not contradict the law*, but taught and enforced the same truths. The ancients were to walk by the *law* and the *testimony*, which was called a *word*. (Is. viii. 20.) What this "redoubtable captain" of *reform* says, of sailing sometimes under this flag and sometimes under that, is perfectly applicable to—" but I will not read further: this is sufficient for my argument. The *Bible alone* is not the rule of faith to *all Protestants*. Quakers, Mormons, &c., think not so, as I have already proved. And, now, Mr. Campbell can do infinitely more with the intellects of his hearers, than the pope has ever done with those of Catholics, if he can persuade them that the differences between Protestants, who all take the Bible for their rule of faith, are *unimportant*. Is the

divinity of Christ an important or an unimportant article? One class of Bible-reading Protestants admit the doctrine; another reject it with horror: pretty unity this! The Episcopalians believe in the necessity of submission to the bishops; and eloquently have I heard the authority of the church advocated by them. They do not say that the church is infallible, and in this they are inconsistent. But will they allow that the difference between them and Presbyterians is unimportant? Is the doctrine of a hell, with endless torments there for the wicked, unimportant? One class of Bible-readers hold this also, and another class reject it! Alas! for the declaration of my friend, that he can prove whatever he states to be a fact. I strongly suspect a man who makes such asseverations.

He is loud in his panegyrics on the unity of Protestants in essential acts of worship: they pray together, &c. If this were even so, of what avail is it, when they differ in essential doctrines. But, is not my friend aware, that this is by no means a fact? And what reliance can we place on his statements of what occurred centuries ago, when here, at home, and refutation nigh at hand, he makes such curious assertions?

Did not a case occur, last summer, within sixty miles of Cincinnati, at Dayton, when the Episcopalian minister, the Rev. Mr. Allen, forbade the Rev. Mr. Peabody, a Unitarian clergyman, of irreproachable morals and great amiableness of disposition, to preach in his church? Did not the bishop reprimand the vestry, and Episcopalian minister, for having previously allowed him to preach there? I think the Episcopalian bishop acted, in this respect, as he should have done. I blame none of the parties concerned, but I state an incontrovertible fact. Again, at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, another case occurred. A Unitarian minister died there, and the Episcopal clergyman refused to say prayers at his funeral, because of his religious belief. What, then, becomes of my friend's vague and general assertion, about unity among Protestants in essential acts of worship? Will he, then, excommunicate the Unitarian? and, if he once begin, how many more sects must be put out of the pale?

Let him shew me that a Jesuit or a Dominican, a Franciscan, or a Benedictine, or an Augustinian ever refused to let a member of either of these orders preach in his church, or to say prayers over a corpse because of the difference of orders? Such a thing has never been heard of; so that we have unity, and Protestants have none, neither in doctrine, nor in worship; neither in essentials nor in non-essentials, themselves being judges.

If my hearers wish for a practical and convincing proof of Catholic uniformity of faith, they have only to enquire of the emigrants from the various countries of Europe, who have fled from the oppression of their rulers at home, to find free and happy homes amongst us here, and I promise them that however awkward their appearance, however broken their language, or uncouth their apparel, they will all answer the same on doctrinal points. America, Asia, Europe, Africa, New Holland, our faith is every where the same, like our God and our church. Who can make void the prayer of Christ for unity? Who can disturb the church's union? As well might he pretend to make the harmony of heaven to sleep. Is this union exemplified among Protestants? The very contrary is true. And why? Because the apple of discord is flung among them. The seeds of disorganization and

death were thickly sown in Protestantism from the birth. Sects multiply without end—their name is Legion. My friend was quite witty, about the 135 ponderous folios which, according to him, a Catholic must read to understand the doctrines of his church. But does he not perceive that a Protestant is infinitely worse off? For he must read languages in which the fathers of the church have not written—Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic; as well as those in which the fathers did write, Greek, Latin, &c. before he can form a prudent judgment that he has acquired the *elementary* knowledge necessary to understand his rule of faith. He must read folios of commentators and learned dissertations on controverted texts. He must decide for himself what books of scripture are genuine and what apocryphal, or spurious. For this purpose he must explore the archives of the ancient churches, all the dusty tomes and ponderous folios of the ecclesiastical writers, to ascertain what books were regarded in their times as canonical, and what as uncanonical. And when he has, if ever, accomplished this herculean task, he will be no better off than when he began, for he can never rely on the testimony of those fathers, whom he considers just as liable to have been mistaken as himself! Thus he can never be sure that he possesses objective truth, or the revealed will of God: he can never be sure that he possesses subjective truth, that is, that he has a perfect knowledge of what that will is. Thus he can never be sure that his rule of faith is inspired, authoritative, perfect. *I call on my learned friend to prove the contrary of this argument, if he can.* And if he cannot, I have clearly established the contrary of his proposition, viz: that Protestants are not uniform in their faith, neither can they be. Now mark the difference on the Catholic side of the argument. We go for the *Bible and tradition*—the whole word of God, written and unwritten. We take the Bible and the church; the Bible and the testimony. This renders for us assurance doubly sure. We believe that Christ established a church on earth which he made the guardian of the divine deposite. From that church, that divinely appointed guardian we receive the heavenly gift. She vouches for its accuracy, and on her testimony we receive the Bible, as an inspired, authoritative, perpetual, Catholic, perfect, and, explained by her, intelligible volume. But as we know on the authority of St. John xviii. 21, 25, that the world itself could not, as he thought, contain all that Christ spoke, and he always spoke to instruct or edify—as we know that Peter "*with many other words*" not recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, convinced the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah—as we know moreover that St. Paul commanded the Thessalonians, 2d. Ep., 2d. ch., 14. v. to hold the *traditions* which they had learned, *whether by the word*, or his epistle; and ordered Timothy to hold the form of sound words which he had heard from him, in faith; we therefore place the word of God, so conveyed to us, by the side of Scripture, and in this, as I have just shewn, the Scripture itself is our guide. Our traditions do not, like those of the Pharisees whom Christ reproached, make the Scripture void. We believe nothing contrary to the Bible—nothing that the Bible does not clearly approve. The same God that revealed the Bible, established the church. They do not contradict, they mutually sustain each other. I did not say that the pope is inspired, that the council is inspired, or that the church is inspired; but I do say that the church, whether assembled in a general council, or diffused throughout the world, is as

certainly assisted by the Holy Ghost to teach all truth, as the evangelists and other writers of the Holy Scriptures were inspired by the same divine Spirit *to* WRITE *the special truths which they were commissioned to reveal* to particular churches, and on particular occasions. A Catholic is under no necessity of knowing every thing that has been ever said or done by the doctors and fathers of the church, before he can understand what are the articles of his faith. He knows that, in regard to doctrine they unanimously agree in receiving the Apostles' creed. Hence he is sure that, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth" is an article of faith which none of these fathers contradict, and he has the same absolute certainty with regard to all the remaining articles, viz: I believe in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins. So far for the doctrine; besides which articles he is in the habitual state of mind to believe implicitly whatever God has revealed and proposed by his church. Then for the natural and moral law he has an equally comprehensive epitome, viz; the Ten commandments of God; with respect to which he knows that there has never been the slightest difference of opinion.

Neither the pope, nor a general council, nor the whole church has now, or ever had, the power to change, or suppress an article of the creed, or a precept of the decalogue. Is there any thing vague in this? any thing indistinct? any thing unscriptural or antiscriptural?

My friend does not hear, or correctly state what I say. I did not say that the body ruled the head. It would be a contradiction in terms; because the body supposes a head and a heart, which every body ought to have. There must be no schism in the body. He has made some very eloquent observations on the impossibility of determining where the infallibility resides, whether in the head or in the body or both &c. in the pope, or in a general council, and argues that we may therefore as well have none at all. Now, let me illustrate this point. Has not my friend a mind and one too highly endowed by nature? Well, does he know where it resides? Is it in his head; or in his heart, or in his stomach? (a laugh) Does he know where to put his hand upon it? There are various theories upon this subject among scientific men. But who denies that he has a mind? I repeat, who denies the existence of mind? Does it affect this belief to say that we cannot tell whether it is here or there—in the body or around it? So it is with the heavenly mind that guides the church. Even if we did not know its exact place of residence, we could easily judge of its influence and guidance by its effects. But we do know where it evinces its presence, as I have more than once explained to the gentleman.

What has Adrian's opinion to do with the question? It was but his personal, private opinion, and no article of faith. Whether this opinion was right, or wrong, all I said stands good. The witty conceit of my friend was a sophistry suggested by the pagan oracles, who could respond in such ambiguous terms, that it might be interpreted in favor of the oracle's foreknowledge according to the event; for instance a king going out to battle would be told, "You will destroy a great city;" but whether it was his own, or his enemies', depended on the issue. The idea is borrowed from Pagan craft.

[I am now admonished to dilate a little longer on the decision of the council of Constance with regard to the 'Cup.' I have frequently,

in my intercourse with persons not Catholic, heard this difficulty proposed; and I am glad of the opportunity, once for all, of explaining it. Why does the Roman Catholic church withhold the cup from the laity? In the early ages, the holy eucharist was communicated to the faithful under either species; often under both. When the eucharist was carried, as it was the practice of primitive christians to carry it with them in all their sojournings, by sea and land, as wine was exposed to sour in tropical climes, they consequently carried, on their travels, only the species of Bread. Did they believe that the virtue of the eucharist was thus destroyed? No. They knew with St. Paul that Jesus Christ, rising from the dead, dieth no more. Death shall no longer have dominion over him. They knew therefore that his flesh was living flesh, not dead and bloodless; and that, consequently, in the eucharist, under either species the flesh and blood are inseparably united.

What was the reason of the abolition of the practice? When the deacons distributed the consecrated elements to the faithful, there were many infirm, decrepit, and palsied communicants, from whose trembling hands, or lips, it was feared, as it had frequently occurred, the cup might fall, and thus might the holy elements be trodden under foot and profaned. A contrary usage was therefore instituted, and it has since prevailed. The dislike, indeed disgust, which many persons feel for wine, the unwillingness to drink from a chalice which had passed from mouth to mouth, &c. &c. are causes which, in all probability, prevent a change in the present disciplinary regulation, but the church could to morrow reestablish the abolished practice of giving the cup to the laity, if she please. She did so, since the Protestant reformation, in favor of the Bohemians.

The subject of oaths and perjuries was quoted. Any man in his sober senses must discern that my friend has mistaken the meaning of the pope. Examine the circumstances. He supposes the truth that the church neither can nor does require any thing contrary to *justice* and judgment, and truth, which, in all her standards, and in all her catechisms, she teaches as the essential conditions, for every lawful oath. Again, she every where teaches, with St. Paul, that an oath, contrary to conscience, is a sin.

The pope knew that the church could not—that God himself, who founded her as the pillar and ground of the truth, could not be pleased with sin, or served by a lie. Let me illustrate this matter and set it at rest for ever. An infidel, swears that he will write against the utility of the bible, deny its authenticity, undermine its evidences, cast it into the flames. Is his oath an act of religion? Is it not rather a perjury? Again—a man swears to take away the life of another man, justly or unjustly, he boots not. Is not his oath a perjury, rather than an oath, since it is manifestly against the *utility* of society and, consequently, against the order of God? It is remarkable that the pope speaks too of an oath against the *teaching of the fathers*, "*contra* instituta patrum," than whose sermons against all grievous crimes, and in an especial manner, against perjury, nothing can be conceived more denunciatory, more truly terrific. Is it fair—is it logical, to draw from the premises a conclusion so vituperative?

To force a shadow of uniformity, the thirty-nine articles were drawn up by the church of England, and the clergy of that church, by a cruel tyranny over conscience, compelled to swear to them. Many eminent

divines of that church have taught that the articles are not to be sworn to with unqualified assent, but that the mental reservation, "as I understand them," is allowed: while the sovereign lord, or lordess, of church and state, and many no less eminent divines, have insisted that the articles must be sworn to with the most entire and unqualified submission. Is this, in my friend's estimation, the reverence due to the solemnity of an oath? or is it not taking the holy name in vain? Catholic priests in this country take no oath. I took none The first oath I took was one of allegiance to the United States, abjuring all foreign potentates, &c., as the oath is couched. This oath I took in the hands of Judges John and Thomas Buchanan, in Frederick, Maryland. I also took an oath, several years afterwards, when consecrated a bishop, to testify my belief in and faithful adherence to the doctrines of my church. This was a further confirmation of the oath which I had previously taken. This is no immorality.

We are again referred to a change in the '*doctrine*' of the church. "The second council of the Lateran," so says Mr. C. "*forbade the marriage of the clergy, whereas nothing was more common in the first eight centuries than for priests to marry.*" Now, in the first place, celibacy is no part of Catholic doctrine, at all. It is not an article of faith. The pope could, to-morrow, change that law, and allow the Roman Catholic clergy, as the Greek priests do, to marry. It is one of the bright features of our ministry, that the time and means, which the care, and support of a family would engross, are devoted by a priest to the advantage, spiritual and temporal, of his flock. Marriage is a good, wise, and noble institution. "Increase and multiply," is the command of God. But we hold that it is more perfect, or as St. Paul says, "IT IS GOOD" for the "Priests of the Lamb" to abstain. God, for whose sake they make the sacrifice, will sustain them through temptation. Keep thyself chaste, says St. Paul to Timothy, 1st Ep. ch. v. 21. Again, St. John says: "And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of harpers harping on their harps, and they sung as it were a new canticle, before the throne, and before the four living creatures and the ancients; and no man could say the canticle, but those hundred and forty-four thousand, who were purchased from the earth. These are they who were not defiled with women: for they are virgins. These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were purchased from among men, the first-fruits to God and to the Lamb: and in their mouth there was found no lie; for they are without spot before the throne of God." What does all this mean? Is it not evidently the highest eulogy that could be pronounced on the state to which their holy functions, as priests of the spotless Victim of our altars, daily summon the clergy of our church? I glory in this feature of our discipline. Death before dishonor to a virginal priesthood!

In the second place it is a wide mistake, to say that nothing was more common, for the first six hundred years, than for priests to marry. The general council of Nice enforced, by a special enactment, the celibacy of the clergy. This was the first general council of the Catholic church; and the practice, it enforced, was no innovation. The councils of Neo Cæsarea and Ancyra had, several years previously, made laws to this effect for priests and deacons. How was the circumstance introduced into the council of Nice? Several bishops, priests and deacons, had been married before their ordination. It

was proposed to compel those who had not voluntarily returned to singleness of life, to separate from their wives. Paphnucius, an unmarried bishop, in consequence of the abuse of the Manichæans, who considered marriage as coming from the evil principle, dissuaded the council from this course, and so the bishops agreed, for all past marriages. So generally, however, was the celibacy of the Greek clergy then established, that even Protestant historians—Mosheim, 1st vol. p. 65,—complain of the melancholy, morose and unsocial institution, in the second century. "The sensual man," says St. Paul, "perceiveth not the things that are of the Spirit of God, for *it is foolishness to him.*" 1st Cor. ii. 14. But of the many curious things which my friend has said, most unwittingly, in my favor, in the course of this debate, the most curious of all is that he should have, himself, informed us, that for the first six hundred years, one half the canons were occupied with the regulation of the clergy as to this affair of celibacy!! And why, if the clergy were allowed to marry? Is not this, independently of the acts of these councils, which have reached us, irresistible proof of the care taken to obtain an unmarried, a pure clergy? This is not immorality.

Confession is not an immoral doctrine. It is a holy institution. This I shall prove in due course of time. I agree with the venerable bishop Trevern, the learned author of the "Amicable Discussion," and of the "Answer to Faber's Difficulties of Romanism." Let my friend but study these pages with sincerity, and he, too, will become a Catholic. How different the doctrine of the Catholic bishop of Strasburgh, and of the Protestant bishop Onderdonk, of Philadelphia. The former shews clearly how the most humble Catholic can have a divine assurance for the truth of his religion; the latter, as I have myself heard him declare, in St. James' church, Philadelphia, in the year 1832, (and his pastoral charge has been since published, and it will prove what I here say,) teaches that not even the most learned Protestant can ever be positively sure that either himself or his church is right! And yet, St. Paul says, without faith it is *impossible* to please God. By faith, he of course means true faith—and yet the Protestant bishop says we never can be sure that we have that faith! What becomes now of the Protestant infallibility, for which my friend so strenuously argued to-day? The bishop's conclusion, on Protestant grounds, is more *reasonable* than Mr. C.'s. As long as two pious and able men, of different denominations, after all their efforts at truth, come to different and opposite conclusions upon essential matters, how can either say "I am right," and "my neighbor is wrong?" What, I am asked, is the course I would pursue with one who is not yet a christian, but anxious to be instructed in the evidences of christianity? Why, the course I would pursue is this: *I would address his reason alone*, as long as he has no better guide—convince him that the bible is, at least, authentic history—and that he can rely upon the truth of the facts recorded in it, as he would on human testimony. I would introduce him to Jesus Christ, whose character is there portrayed, whose miracles are there recorded. I would tell him why he came on earth; how he founded a church to explain whatever was difficult in the bible, after having collected all its books together, what no man could do for himself; how he established that church as the pillar and ground of the truth, and said of its pastors, "He that heareth you, heareth me;" and when I

had convinced him of the authority of the church, I would not require of him to abjure reason, but I would consign him to a higher and safer guide, that church, herself the immaculate bride of Christ.

Now my friend's allusion to the Jew, brings a story to my mind, and I cannot answer his queries better than by relating it. A Protestant and a Catholic clergyman walking together, met a Jewish Rabbi, "Well, Solomon," says the Protestant minister, "here we three are met, and all of different religions, which of us is right?" "I'll tell thee," says the Israelite, "If the Messiah has not come, I am right; if he has come, the Catholic is right; but whether he has come or not, you are wrong." (A laugh.)—[Time expires.]

Half past 11 *o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

I shall respond to such matters as have a bearing on the question, as soon as I have finished my exposition of the immoral tendency of the Romish rule of faith.

That common cursing or damning, which offends our ears in all the lanes and streets and highways, is authorized in the following words:

"To curse insensible creatures, such as the wind, the rain, the years, the days fire, &c., is no blasphemy, unless the one who curses, expressly connects them in relation to God, by saying, for instance, *cursed be the fire of God, the bread of God,*" &c. Ligor. Prax. Conf. N. 30.

Again: the Roman Catholic rule of faith sanctions a violation of the third commandment.

"To curse the living is a mortal sin, when it is *formal;* that is, (as Cajetan explains it,) when he who curses intends and wishes a grievous evil to befall the one he curses: but it is no mortal sin to curse the living, when the curse pronounced is merely *material;* that is, when it is pronounced without any evil intention. And why is it not a mortal sin?—because he who curses a living man does not always intend to curse the soul, or to despise its substance, in which, in an especial manner, the image of God shines forth, but he curses the man without considering, or reflecting about his soul, and therefore, in cursing him he does not commit a grievous sin." Id. ib. 29.

License is given to violate, in some way or other, every precept of the Decalogue. The Sabbath as a divine institution is thus set aside:

"As to the obligation of hearing the HOLY THING," (which is the popish epithet for attending mass,) "let the penitent be questioned in regard to whether he has omitted that HOLY THING?" (to attend mass.) "As to servile works, let him be asked how long he has worked? and what kind of work he did? for, according to the doctors generally, those who work two hours are excused from grievous sin; nay, other doctors allow more, especially if the labor be light, or if there be some more notable reason. Let him also be asked, why he labored; whether it was the custom of the place, or whether it was from necessity? Because poverty can excuse from sin in working on the Sabbath; as the poor are generally excused, who, if they do not labor on the Sabbath, cannot support themselves or their families; as they also are excused who sew upon the Sabbath, because they cannot do it on other days." Id. ib. N. 32, 33. [Synopsis, pp. 52, 53.

"Merchandising, and the selling of goods at auction on the Sundays, is, on account of its being the general custom, altogether lawful." "Buying and selling goods on the Lord's day and on festival days, are certainly forbidden by the canonical law—but where the contrary custom prevails, it is excusable." Id. ib. N. 293. [Synopsis, p. 192.

"He who performs any servile work on the Lord's day, or on a festival day, let him do penance three days on bread and water. If any one break the fasts prescribed by the church, let him do penance on bread and water twenty days."—[Synopsis, p. 115.

"*The pope has the right and the power to decree, that the sanctification of the* LORD'S DAY, *shall only continue a few hours, and that servile works may be done* on THAT DAY." Id. ib. [Synopsis, p. 188.

Custom, indeed, is fast becoming, as St. Ligori teaches, an excuse for any thing. The traditions of fathers, the canons of councils, the decrees of popes—all wear away by the attrition of custom. Hence, in a Roman Catholic population, pure and unmixed, there is a degree of grossness of immorality, that Romanists themselves could not endure in Protestant countries. Even the morals of New Orleans could not be endured in Cincinnati. There, it is custom to go to mass in the morning, to muster at noon, and to go to the theatre in the evening on the Lord's day. This is indeed, the custom, or something very like it, in all Roman Catholic countries.

On stealing, in general the casuist directs as follows:

——————"In respect to the seventh commandment," says the saint, "let the confessor ask the penitent if he has stolen any thing? and from whom, whether it was from one person, or from different persons? whether he was alone, or with others, and whether it was once or oftener? Because, if at each time he stole a considerable amount, at each time he sinned mortally. But on the contrary, if at each time he stole a small amount, then he did not sin grievously, unless the articles stolen came to a considerable amount; provided, however, that in the beginning, he had not the intention of stealing to a large amount; but when the amount already stolen has become considerable, although he did not sin grievously, yet he is bound under a grievous sin, to restitution; at least, as to the last portions that he stole by which the amount became considerable. It is to be observed, however, that a larger sum is required to constitute a heavy amount in small thefts, and more is required if the things are stolen from different persons, than if they were stolen from the same person; hence, it is said, that in small thefts, which are made at different times, double the sum is required to constitute what is to be considered a large amount. And if a considerable time intervene between the thefts, for instance, two months then the theft probably does not amount to a grievous sin." Id. ib. N. 42.

On stealing to pay masses:

——————"If the person is unknown," continues the saint, "from whom another has stolen, the penitent is obliged to restitution, either by having masses said, or by bestowing alms on the poor, or by making presents for pious places," by which the saint means churches, nunneries, &c.; "and if the person himself is poor, he can retain the amount stolen for the use of his family. But if the person on whom the theft has been committed, is known, to him the restitution is to be made; wherefore, it is wonderful, indeed, that there are to be found so many confessors so ignorant, that, although they know who the creditor is, enjoin upon the penitent, that, of the stolen goods, which they ought to restore, they bestow alms, or have masses said. It is to be observed, that if any one takes the property of another, or retains it, under the presumption, that if he were to ask it of the owner, he would willingly give it to him, he ought not to be obliged to make restitution." Id. ib. N. 44.

Thus we see theft can be made available to the behoof of priests in saying masses—what they ought to say, and by the old canons, are bound to say *gratis*.

On *lying*. There is a way of making lying no lying:

——————"Relatively to the ninth commandment, of popery the eighth, the saint proceeds as follows:—"In regard to the reparation of the character of a person, if the fault of which he has been accused, is false, he who defames him is bound to retract. But if the fault is true, the defamation that is given ought to be looked upon in the most favorable light that it can be *without lying:* let the penitent say, for example, [by way of excuse,] "I was deceived, I erred." Others also admit that he can *equivocate*, by saying, *I lied*, since every sin is a lie, as the scripture says. Again, by an *equivocation*, he may say 'I only made this up in my head,' since all words which proceed from the mind may be said to come from the head; since the head is taken for the mind." Id ib. N. 46. [Synopsis, p. 56.

The difference between insulting or dishonoring one's parents and a spiritual father, bishop or pastor:

"He who curses his parents, let him do penance, on bread and water, forty days. He who insults his parents, three years. If any one rebel against his bishop, pastor, and father, let him do penance in a monastery, during his whole life."—[Synopsis. p. 116.

Rules given to confessors:

———"The saint continues: "The confessor ought to be extremely cautious how he hears the confession of women, and he should particularly bear in mind what is said in the holy congregation of bishops, 21, Jan. 1610. "*Confessors should not, without necessity, hear the confessions of women after dusk, or before twilight.*" In regard to the prudence of a confessor, he ought, in general, rather to be rigid with young women in the confessional than bland; neither ought he to allow them to come to him before confession to converse with him; much less should he allow them to kiss his hands. It is also imprudent for the confessor to let his eyes wander after his female penitents, and to gaze upon them as they are retiring from confession. The confessor should never receive presents from his female penitents; and he should be particularly careful not to visit them at their houses, except in case of severe illness; nor should he visit them then, unless he be sent for. In this case he should be very cautious in what manner he hears their confessions; therefore the door should be left open, and he should sit in a place where he can be seen by others, and he should never fix his eyes upon the face of his penitent; especially if they be spiritual persons, in regard to whom, the danger of attraction is greater. The venerable father Sertorius Capotus says, that the devil, in order to unite spiritual persons together, always makes use of the pretext of virtue, that, being mutually affected by these virtues, the passion may pass from their virtues over to their persons. Hence, says St. Augustin, according to St. Thomas, confessors, in hearing the confessions of spiritual women, ought to be brief and rigid; neither are they the less to be guarded against on account of their being holy; for the more holy they are, the more they attract." And he adds, "that such persons are not aware that the devil does not, at first, lance his poisoned arrows, but those only which touch but lightly and thereby increase the affection. Hence it happens, that such persons do not conduct themselves as they did at first, like angels, but as if they were clothed with flesh. But, on the contrary, they mutually eye one another, and their minds are captivated with the soft and tender expressions which pass between them, and which still seem to them to proceed from the first fervors of their devotion: hence they soon begin to long for each other's company; *and thus*, he concludes, 'the spiritual devotion is converted into carnal. And, indeed, O, *how many priests*, who before were innocent, have, on account of these attractions, which began in the spirit, lost both God and their soul!'" Id. ib. N. 119.

The saint proceeds: "Moreover, the confessor ought not to be so fond of hearing the confessions of women, as to be induced thereby to refuse to hear the confessions of men. O, how wretched it is to see so many confessors, who spend the greater part of the day in hearing the confessions of certain religious women, who are called *Bizocas*," (a kind of secular nuns,) "and when they afterwards see men or married women coming to confession to them, overwhelmed in the cares and troubles of life, and who can hardly spare time to leave their homes, or business, how wretched it is to see these confessors dismiss them, saying, '*I have something else to attend to: go to some other confessor*" hence it happens, that, not finding any other confessor to whom to confess, they live during months and years without the sacraments, and without God!" Id. ib. N. 120. [Synopsis, p. 78.

The Romanist rule of faith both in word and deed places the Virgin Mary above Christ, in the religious homage of the church.

———"Nuns," says the saint, "ought to have a special devotion towards St. Joseph, towards their guardian angel, and their tutelary saint, and principally towards St. Michael, the universal patron of all the faithful, but above all towards the most holy Virgin Mary, who is called by the church *our life* and *our hope;* for it is morally impossible for a soul to advance much in perfection, without a particular and a certain tender devotion towards the most holy mother of God." Id. ib. N. 171.

"*Our life and our hope!*" These words are in Protestant faith and Bible propriety due to the Lord alone.—We cannot have two *lives*; and two hopes; and if Mary is our life and hope, the Lord Jesus is not I before alluded to this person under the Roman name of a being call ed "the mother of God;" which my opponent, as his manner is, served up rhetorically, as if to produce a sympathy in favor of the superstitious veneration of his party. He had not, however, a Roman Catholic audience. I meant no disrespect to any person. I know that the more intelligent Romanists discard the phrase as too gross and unauthorized. There is no being in the universe, say they, who ought to be called *the mother of God.* I had in my eye at the moment some wretched designs in some Roman churches, a scandal to any christian people: a sort of family group, in which there is the picture of a venerable old man, said to represent the Father of the universe—next an old woman, the image of the Virgin Mary, and between them the picture of the "*holy child*, Jesus." It has disgusted the more intelligent Romanists. This family of divinities is much more in the style of the Pantheon, or the poetry of Hesiod, than in the spirit, or letter, or taste of Christianity.

While on this subject we shall hear the moral theology of the church on the use of images; and, first, of the use of the virgin Mary's image

"Let him, who is in the habit of blaspheming, be advised to make the sign of the cross [†] ten or fifteen times a day, upon the ground with his tongue: and thrice every morning, to say to the most blessed Virgin: 'O, my Lordess! give me patience.'" Id. ib. N. 16. Synopsis, pp. 44, 45.

"Daily to visit the most holy sacrament, and the image of the most holy Mary, to beg of them the *grace of perseverance.*" Id. ib. N. 14.

"O my Lordess, give me patience!" Is not this idolatry? To beg of the *image* of the virgin the grace of perseverance!!! No wonder that these folks find it expedient to expunge the second commandment, which says, "Thou shalt not worship an image"—no, "Thou shalt not bow down to it." But we shall hear the directions given concerning the divine mother:

"The saint now proceeds to give instruction to the parish priest how to lead his flock in the way of "*salvation.*" "Let him be watchful," says he, "to render his flock studious in their devotion towards the Virgin Mary, by declaring to them how merciful this DIVINE MOTHER is in succoring those who are *devout to her.*" Id. c. x. N. 216. "Therefore," continues the saint, "let him intimate to them, that they daily recite, in common with their families, five decades of the Rosary; that they fast upon Saturday, and celebrate Novenas upon the festivals of our Lordess (nostrae Dominæ.) Lastly, and above all, let the parish priest intimate to his flock, that they become accustomed often to commend themselves to God, begging of him holy perseverance through the merits of Jesus Christ *and of Mary.*" Id. ib.

"A certain image of the Redeemer," so says the saint, "once upon a certain occasion, spoke to the venerable brother Bernard of Corlion, who *begged of the image* to let him know whether it wished him to learn to read? and the *crucifix answered*, 'What wil it avail thee to learn to read? What are books to thee? I am thy book,—this is enough for thee." Id. ib. N. 220.

"Now, that this is the very kind of reading that papists, or at least, those who wish to be saints are addicted to, let us turn to the great Bernard, and hear what he says on the subject of such books. This saint, speaking of the Romish churches, exclaims, "There is so great, and such an astonishing variety of different figures (images) presented on all sides, to the view, that the people prefer reading upon the marble stones, than reading in books, and to spend the whole day in wondering at these things, rather than in meditating upon the Law of God." Bernard, Apol. p. 992. The same saint says, "The bishops excite the devotion of *a carnal minded people by corporal ornaments*, because they cannot do it by spiritual." Id. ib. The saint does not mean that their devotion is ex-

cited by such shows, for just before, he said, that these carnal minded people 'preferred spending the whole day in wondering at these things, rather than to be meditating on the law of God." He could have meant nothing else therefore, than that these splendid images were placed in the churches under the PRETENCE of exciting dovotion, while the real object was, that the "foolish people," (as he calls them,) "might BESTOW A GIFT." Id. ib. "O Crux ave, spes unica!" "Hail, O Cross, our only hope!" as exclaims the Romish church in her "BREVIARY."

"Besides the little images of Christ crucified, and of the Blessed Virgin," continues the saint, "which the priest ought to be careful to place near the sick person, if it can be done, let him also place before his eyes large images of the Mother of God, and the Redeemer, that the sick man, turn which way he will, may see them and commend himself to them." Id. ib. N. 235.

So much for this lesson on the morality of the Romanist rule of faith. On these matters we have not time to comment. For those who think they need a comment, my worthy friend knows how to manage the cause admirably! His talents suit this exigency. He is fluent in all the dogmas of Catholicism. To these he has devoted many years and is a good judge of a certain class of human nature. He knows the power of a laugh—an anecdote—a sigh—a compliment—a picture—and, above all, he knows how much it weighs, with one class, to say, with a triumphant air, "There's logic for you!" "what an argument is that!" "I have proved it now!" "this is sound logic!" "my friend Mr. C. feels it—it is the badness of his cause—my cause is so good, so ancient, so venerable, so holy, so catholic!" &c. &c. I say, in this sort of rhetoric, my learned opponent is an adept. It has only one fault, it is too luscious sometimes, and he lays it on rather thick, to stick long upon the audience. He is performing his part nobly! For myself, I regard all this as a grave, serious, scriptural and rational discussion; I expect the good feelings of my audience, of which I am already conscious, only by addressing myself to their understanding, and in the cool argumentative dignity of reason, fact, and argument. But really, no man, in my knowledge, could sustain the Romanist cause better than my learned and ingenious respondent; and if he fails, Roman Catholicism in the West need not look for an abler defendant.

My friend has admitted the seven methods of electing popes, but says it is no matter how they are chosen. Americans! How would you relish such doctrine in respect to your governors, judges, and presidents? If some city or county in this state should elect a governor for the whole state, would it make no difference to you? Should your chief magistrate be elected by a mob, by a party, or by force, or bribery, would you say it matters not—the virtue is in the office, no matter how the incumbent has come into it?!

The "Palladium" and "Baptist Banner" prove as much against Protestantism, and for Catholicism, as they deal in ribaldry and personal abuse. If these are arguments on which the bishop relies, they may be good authority for him; but, for myself, I need no such logic, and my cause disdains such auxiliaries. He has great use for Unitarians also, and sometimes for Universalists, and even Quakers; but in his last argument he has mistaken the point. These all appeal, in their controversies, to the bible alone, just as the Jansenists and Jesuits, the Dominicans, Bernardites, Benedictines, Franciscans, &c. &c. while they have disliked and opposed one another, all acknowledge the pope as supreme head of the church, the judge of controversies.

I am glad that he has at last admitted that the Jansenists in all essentials are Catholics, and that they are repudiated only for a difference of opinion. But where now are his objections against Du Pin? He objected to him that he was a Jansenist, as if a difference in opinion destroys the credibility of a witness—a principle that forever roots up all history; for no one upon this principle is authentic, unless he be a Roman Catholic; nor then, unless a Jesuit, and this is equivalent to saying, that no one is authentic unless he bear witness for him.—[Time expired.]

Twelve o'clock, M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I shall begin where my friend left off. I am charged with appealing to the feeling, and not to the reason of my hearers: "my rhetoric is too luscious; I lay it on too thick; it won't stick," &c. &c. Well! if my rhetoric is too luscious, that of my friend is too insipid; if mine is too thick, his is too thin. The fallacy it *would* cover, grins through the flimsy gossamer: the weakest eyes can see it beneath the veil. But I trust, I need not offer any vindication of my arguments to this assembly. They are able, and, I thank God, willing, too, to judge for themselves. They see that all, or the main force of my friend consists of two renegade priests, Smith and Du Pin. These are the two pillars of his logic. The published volume will shew how superior and how *honest* are mine. In the oral debate, I address the judgment, without neglecting the heart: and if I did present my argument chiefly to the former, it would be because of an observation of the celebrated John Randolph, in the Virginia convention for altering the constitution of the state. Speaking of my learned opponent, who was a delegate to that convention, Randolph said, "He had politics in his heart and religion in his head." I cannot vouch for the authenticity of the anecdote, I have just heard it. I hope it was not founded in fact—[Mr. C. explained—Mr. Randolph had never said so to him.] I proceed to more important matters. I did not pretend to say that an informal election had any force. But that any form on which the entire church agreed, according to the majority principle governing our own elections, was valid. It was Christ who drafted the constitution of our church. I do not much like to see any comparison instituted between it and the works of human legislators. But if closely examined, it will be found to contain the excellencies, while it excludes the defects of the most popular forms of civil government. We have a perfect feature of the Republican Model, in this, that with us, merit is the grand criterion of fitness for office. No favoritism is allowed. No matter how humble the parentage or obscure the kindred of the individual, virtue, talent and common sense are sure, sooner, or later, to elevate him to any situation he may be advised to accept. The church often selects her chief officers, as God did David, "from the flocks of sheep," Ps. 7. viii. 70. from the humblest walks of life. It is to this system, of giving merit *a fair field*, that we are indebted for the brightest ornaments in civil society, a Curran, chosen for his intelligent blue eye, his wit and archness, from among his playmates, when "*they that won, laughed, and they that lost cheated*;" as is very often the case.

To finish the conversion of the Jew, where I discontinued my argument, at half past eleven, on different principles. He knew there

was a synagogue which the people were bound to consult, by the express command of God, and that it was no servility, it was blasphemy against God and often visited with the heaviest penalties, even in this life, to oppose its authority, or to contradict its teaching. He is therefore prepared to hear of authority in religion—in fact, the synagogue was a type of the church, its introduction—as the CHURCH is the fulfilment and the consummation of the teaching and testimony of the LAW. The Jew having had reason to question the truth of his religion, for which, he remembers he had often read, a better was to be substituted, and aware that the time marked so distinctly by the prophets for the coming of the Messiah, has long ago past, he looks for any religious society, that can illustrate the splendid prophecies of Isaiah, respecting the catholicity, or universal diffusion and the duration of the church, from the time of the CRUCIFIED ONE. He has only to open his eyes to see that the Catholic church extends the dominion of Christ, the limits of his spiritual kingdom from sea, to sea. Then he looks at the other denominations. He finds none of the qualities of such a kingdom, in them. They are not Catholic, they are not old, they are not uniform. They are the contrary of all this. This is enough for him. He uses his reason, thus far, alone, because he is not yet baptized. Like the wise men, he follows the light of that star, until he reaches Jerusalem—when its light fails him, there, as the star did them, he asks, as they did, of authority, where the truth may be found, and reason and revelation concur to shew it to him in the church. He consigns himself to its guidance, he becomes a Catholic—and reason tells him, every day, *he has done right.* He lives and he dies without a doubt of the soundness of his decision, for this blessed security is the distinctive character of the Catholic. All other creeds based on the *essential* maxim of their fallibility, leave the human mind, in life and death, a prey to the most torturing anxiety. But I have not done with this very instructive incident in the discussion. If the Jew witnesses an occasional scandal in the church, he calls to mind how Adam fell in Eden, and Aaron fell, at the foot of the smoking Sinai, and Heli and his Sons, the priests, fell in Silo, and that Christ said not, reject a religion, whose ministers have, personally, transgressed, but on the contrary, that he said: "*Upon the chair of Moses have sitten the Scribes and the Pharisees. All things therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe ye and do ye: but according to heir works, do ye not, for they say and do not.* Thus truth is not abandoned; if the bad liver meets his merited doom.

I now come to all that farrago of the *Renegade Smith's translation* of Liguori. My friend says the Catholic rule is immoral. He approached this topic with so much reluctance, and with so many struggles, that, conscious of his having nothing *true* to produce agains Catholic morality, I was going to say to him, "SPEAK OUT." But I didn't, and now he has said all. Well, what does it amount to? Why to this, that the Catholic church is blackened, but beautiful (Nigra sum, sed formosa, as the spouse says in the canticle). She is, though misrepresented, fair, though slandered, pure. If a Catholic were always what his church teaches, and the sacraments she is appointed by Christ to minister, give him grace, to be, he would be an ornament to human nature, as well as to his faith. But "the Catholic rule is immoral and dispenses with the law of God." No; it enforces dreadful penalties here and eternal torments hereafter, for a viola-

tion of the law. If her ministers make any mitigation of her strict code of morals in consequence of the arduous duties, weak health, or other circumstances of her children, she teaches them, that if the alleged motives of such mitigation do not, indeed, exist, it is not "a faithful dispensation, but a cruel dissipation" of the heavenly ordinances; that the priest has no power but what he derives from God, and that God will infallibly inflict all the rigors of his vengeance for its abuse, as well on the priest, as on the people. If all the priests and bishops in the world were to pronounce the words of absolution over a sinner, in whose heart GOD did not see true sorrow for his fault, with a sincere resolution to sin no more, the absolution would be null and void, and the horrid crime of sacrilege superadded to the previous guilt of the transgressor. The hope of the hypocrite shall perish, says the scripture. We have a maxim, which must make the pope and bishops and priests, as well as the laity tremble, when we approach the dread tribunal of penance. It is this: "a good confession is the key of Heaven, a bad one is the key of Hell." How admirable are the lessons read today from Liguori—and they were faithfully rendered for a sinister motive—and how well does the Catholic church describe the perils and the obligations of their sacred office to her ministers! Hence it is that we assume our religious robes and hear confessions in the open church, where are also our confessionals, under the eyes of all. If Liguori were the immoral man that Smith would make him, would he have given such lessons to the clergy and pointed out so impressively the dangerous consequences of a single indiscretion, or the slightest familiarity on the occasions to which he was adverting? "I made a covenant with my eyes, says Job, xxxi. 1. that I would not so much as think of a virgin; for what part should God from above have in me, and what inheritance the Almighty from on high?" Liguori says: "He that does any servile work on the Lord's day, let him do penance, three days, on bread and water." To what does my friend object in this, on the score of immorality? Is it the enforcing of the observance of the sabbath? Surely that is not immoral. Is it to the severity of the penalty? But did not God ordain the pain of death against the man who gathered a few sticks on the sabbath? Liguori allows work on the sabbath, on certain occasions.—So do we.—Doctors work on the sabbath, without sin. So do printers, though I think not always, especially when they publish *pious* lies against the Catholics. "Which of you, says Christ, whose ox, or his ass, falls into a pit, will not quickly draw him out, on the sabbath. If a house is on fire on the sabbath, will not the Presbyterian bell ring and the citizens haul out the hose and engines? Will we not ave the harvest, on a Sunday? New Orleans' profanity on the sabath! Why, they are not all Catholics, many of them are infidels and Protestants, who there break the sabbath—and their sin, though bad enough, is not so bad as theirs, who, as it has been done elsewhere, meet in gangs for forgeries and other such frauds, on the sabbath. "Custom is fast becoming an excuse for every thing."—*No where does Liguori say this.* I call for the original. Let Mr. C. produce his proof, if he can. If he cannot, what will this community think of him?

"The Romanist rule of faith places the Virgin Mary above Christ." It does no such a thing. It says "cursed be every Goddess worshipper," while it renders "*honor to whom honor.*" We know and profess that the mother has no power but what she derives from the Son

To Him, we say: "have mercy on us;" to her "pray for us." Mr. C. says, "No being in the universe should be called *mother of God*." Was not Christ God? And does not the gospel call Mary, his mother? Did not one hundred and fifty eight bishops so call her, in the year 431, in the council of Ephesus? Who is the *intelligent Catholic*, as my opponent states, who is ashamed of what the gospel and the church sanction? I ask who is he? Let us have his name. The streets of Ephesus rung with loud applause when the decision of the council was announced, vindicating the name and dignity of the mother of God, and the words Μαρία Θεοτοκος were echoed from mouth to mouth, mingled with the most joyful and exulting cries of the populace, to the consternation of Nestorianism. 'Son! behold thy mother!' were among the last words spoken by the expiring Savior on the cross. Will my opponent call them ill timed at that hour, when all was consummated!

"The Catholic rule makes a distinction between mortal and venial sins." And why should it not? Does not the bible, which proportions the penalty to the offence, does not the civil law, which punishes not every offence alike, does not common sense point out the distinction? Is it as great a sin for a child to tell a little, *white* lie to excuse itself, as for a son to whet the razor and cut his father's throat? I am sensible that a lie is never innocent. Nor do I excuse it under any circumstances—but it is of various shades of guilt, according to the circumstances when it is uttered. I know of national legislatures which give a bribe of forty pounds per annum to an apostate priest, to tempt him by filthy lucre to act against his conscience—and which not so many years ago, encouraged a son to turn Protestant, by empowering him to take his father's estate and turn both his aged parents and with them his brothers and sisters, if they persisted in being Catholics, out of doors, and it would be easy for me *to prove that this law was passed by many Protestant ministers, and that it was not over scrupulous in point of morality* in papistical distinction between mortal and venial sins; but let us have more of *Smith's translation* of Liguori, he says 'let stolen money be paid for masses? No; he says first, let the rightful owner be hunted out by the penitent thief, and to him let the restitution be made. If he can be no longer found, let the money be given for masses, for his spiritual benefit, or distributed, for his sake, in alms to the poor, and what better use could be made of it—what better counsel given?

Another proof of Catholic immorality is that we are bound to go once a year to confession! Where the immorality of this is, I cannot conceive. Is it not good to be obliged to examine, at least, once a year, if not more frequently, the state of our consciences and to confess ourselves sinners? Is not this an admirable institution for the acquiring of the best kind of knowledge, the knowledge of oneself? Is it not worthy of God? Is it not God himself that instituted it? Did he not leave to his church, the power of binding and loosing from sin, when he said to his apostles, after having mysteriously breathed upon them and given them the Holy Ghost, "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained: Whatever you shall bind on earth, it shall be bound in Heaven, and whatever you shall loose on earth, it shall be loosed in Heaven." John xx. 22, 23. And my friend quoted St. Thomas Aquin, and St. Augustin, as well as Liguori, for the holy rules the priest must observe, in hearing confessions. That establishes the im

portant fact, that in the last century, and in the fourteenth, and as far back as the fifth age, the practice of confession existed, as it does at the present day. In every age from the time of Christ it has been practised, and experience has proved it the most effectual restraint that religion has ever imposed upon vice, on passion, and on human frailty. Who can tell what crimes it has arrested? What virtue it has preserved and purified? What restitutions, of reputation and of fortune it has caused to be made? How many sinners it has stopt in the down-hill path to destruction? Voltaire and Chillingworth and a hundred others, not Catholics, have pronounced the most splendid eulogies on confession. These disinterested witnesses will furnish you ample proof on this point. But my friend before he closed, uttered one word, while he read from the catechism of the council of Trent "*fixing a price, &c.*" for the forgiveness of sin. Now in the name of truth, in the name of this community, I ask him for the proof, for I pronounce it absolutely false.

Mr. C. explained that he did not say it was done by the council of Trent.

He says that we have exalted the confessional to an equality with the throne of grace. Well might it be the footstool of that throne, if its pure principles were carried out. On the throne, or in the confessional, it is the same God that pardons the penitent sinner.—[Time expired.]

Three o'clock, P. M.

Mr. Campbell rises—

The gentleman challenged me this morning upon an important point, viz. that Protestants cannot make an act of faith—that is, be perfectly certain in their belief of the holy scriptures, or of Jesus Christ. I accept the challenge. It now only remains for him to appoint the time when, and the place where, and I will meet him on that point But that is not the question for to-day. Let him not think to take me off, by raising incidental and foreign questions. They may remove the *ennui* of the audience for a while; but his time would have been better spent in answering my allegations on the great question. I have heard not one answer, as yet, to the question, "What gives general councils their infallibility?" and various other points of great moment to his cause: to which he had better attend, than to propose new debates. I will remind him of another question which he had better solve. '*How can a thousand fallibles make one infallible?*' Do they, by meeting together, become infallible? or, by an ecclesiastic combination, give out infallibility? This would have been more instructive than much of what the gentleman has given us. He observed at one time that the Jansenists were a Roman Catholic sect. But again, he says, that they are not Roman Catholics at all! To preserve the union of the church, their plan is a very easy one. When persons dissent, cut them off. While Jansenists agree with the majority of the church, call them good Catholics: when they dissent as they do in some very cardinal matters, call them heretics in the bosom of the church: but not *of* it. But the gentleman's explanation of the council of Trent will never satisfy Protestants. The council of Trent at one session, had forty-eight bishops, forty-five of whom were very ordinary men. They decided that the Apocrypha and the Vulgate were authentic; that the Latin Vulgate is the true and

only authentic copy, more authentic than the Greek original. These matters had often been discussed before amongst Romanists; but were finally adjudicated by the council of Trent. The modern doctrine of Catholics is, that a simple majority is infallible. "That the *opinions* adopted by the majority of the bishops are for an *infallible rule of faith*." So says the worthy bishop of Strasburg; but the proof is another matter. Now the present doctrine is, that twenty-five bishops, being the majority of forty-eight, are infallible. The opinion of a majority of a council, then, is the essence of infallibility. Father Paul, who writes the history of the council of Trent, a good Catholic, truly! says, 'beardless youths were sent to that council by the pope to obtain majorities for his measures—That the pope sent packed juries, who in every question were expected to support his measures.' So provoked was the good Catholic with the aberrations of Trent, that he solemnly asserts that the bishops of Trent were "a pack of incarnate demons." I think I quote his very words. He was complaining that the pope had hired and sent off young men from every part of the empire to vote as he pleased to dictate. So much for the infallibility of œcumenical councils.

My friend has pronounced glowing encomiums upon the pure virginity of the Roman priesthood, and has extolled the purity of celibacy, as essential to perfect holiness. That these priests have not been such immaculate purities, half the decrees of these very councils attest. Half their legislation is about the specks and blemishes of this virgin priesthood, as if they assembled for the purpose of hiding their shame. The bishop quoted Rev. xiv. 4. and was not ashamed before this audience to apply it to marriage. I blushed for our audience, and could not but be shocked with the freedom of attack upon the ordinance of God. Marriage is the oldest and most venerable institution in the history of man. God himself instituted and celebrated it, on the flowery banks of Eden in the state of primeval innocence and bliss. It was then and there said: "*It is not good for man to be alone.*" I believe with Paul that marriage is honorable *in all*. And as for purity; earth knows no purer, no holier state than that of holy wedlock. And could I tell—or dare I tell before this assembly, but half that I have learned of that virgin state of which my friend has spoken with such warmth; he would be slow to learn who could not perceive, that "forbidding to marry," one of Paul's attributes of the grand apostacy, has been the *fons et principium*, the fountain of untold pollutions in the hierarchy of Rome. In times of persecution, and of great distress, it may, indeed, be *prudent*, as Paul advised on such occasions, to refrain from marriage, and for some great and laudable purpose, it may be convenient, to prefer a single state; but that youth, male or female, who for the sake of greater purity prefers celibacy, has yet to learn the very first principles of both religion and morality; and is as far out of the tract of truth and reason, as he that would cut off his own hands to prevent him from plunder.

It is essential, in my opinion, that the bishop be a married man. Indeed, the Holy Spirit by Paul has decreed, that he should be the husband of one wife. As my opponent is a bachelor, I ought, perhaps to ask his pardon. Did he, indeed, possess all the other qualifications, I should withhold my vote to his becoming a bishop so long as he continued a "*virgin*." To preside over a christian congregation, he should have all a christian's feelings and experience. He

should know experimentally the domestic affections and relations. He should study human nature in the bosom of his family. There is a class of feelings, which no gentleman, of single life, can comprehend; or in which he can sympathise: and these are essential to that intimacy with all classes, sexes and duties, which his relations to the church often impose on him. If he does not know how to rule a single family, and to enter into all its customs and feelings with practical skill, how can he take care of the church of God? So argues Paul: and so must I reason and judge.

Next to his remarks against marriage, as necessarily less pure than celibacy; I was sorry to hear the gentleman defending "white lies," and "little sins." When I think of the nature of sin, and the holy and immutable laws of God, against whom it is committed, I see no difference between one sin and another. There may be great and little sins as to their temporal relations and consequences: but when HE against whom every sin is committed, and that divine and holy law, which is violated in the least offence, is considered; we must say with the apostle James, "He that offendeth in one point is guilty of all." It may be the veriest peccadillo on earth: but in Heaven's account, one sin would ruin a world, as it has done, for he that keeps the whole law and yet offends in the least point, is guilty of all. He that said, not a jot or tittle of his law shall fall to the ground—He that magnified his law and made it honorable, will suffer no person to add to—to substract from, to change or to violate a single point with impunity.

I wish the gentleman would come up to the point and defend his Catholic rule, that I might fully deliver myself on this subject; but I have as yet given a very few instances of the impurities and immoralities of his rule of faith. But from the specimen given, I would ask, does it not teach the worship of creatures and the images of creatures—does it not countenance idolatry? Does it not command the invocation of the spirits of dead men and women? Are not multitudes of saints invoked, of whose abode in heaven there is no witness on earth? Does it not pay religious homage to beings, who by nature are not God? Does it not blaspheme the name of God, and his apostles and prophets, who are in heaven? And, may I not add—does it not annul the laws of God, and by a system of unparalleled casuistry set aside every moral obligation?

The gentleman represented confession as a christian duty. So it is; but not auricular confession; not confession to a priest. Leo I. opened the flood-gates of impurity by ordering and substituting private confession to a priest; for public confession before the whole congregation. The last entrenchment against the rapid declensions of public morals in the fifth century, was broken down by their dispensing with public for secret confession. All sensible historians, or, rather, commentators on historic facts, agree that there was no greater check to flagitious offences than bringing the defaulter before the whole congregation; and this being commuted into auricular confession, inundated the church with unparalleled impurities and immoralities. "Confess your faults one to another," is not, whisper your faults into the ears of your priest! Why do not the priests, on this their proof, confess their faults to the people?—*confess to one another!* But this authorizes no man, no woman, to degrade themselves by falling upon their knees before an old or young bachelor, and telling to him all their impure and sinful thoughts, words

and actions. And ought he then to say, as if the sin were committed against him, "I absolve thee?" This is the climax of folly on the part of the penitent, and of impiety on the part of the priest!

There is no ear but God's to which our errors and our faults ought to be confessed. The secrets of all hearts are his; and he has graciously assured us that he will hear the acknowledgment and penitential confessions of all who approach him through *the one Mediator*. Is there more condescension or mercy in a Roman priest than in God? No, my friends, there is no ear more ready to hear than his; and he only can forgive. To suppose the contrary, mistakes wholly the christian institution, and argues consummate ignorance of God. It is wholly incompatible with the genius of the religion, and repugnant to both the law and gospel. And with what propriety, modesty, piety, males and females, old and young, should mutter their sins and secrets into the ears of any bachelor, priest, or confessor, as if his ears were a common sewer—or conduit to carry down to oblivion the impurities of mortals, I cannot even conjecture, unless to give them power over the penitents. I opine that I am yet in the pale of logic, though I am upon a very unpleasant theme.

The gentleman objects to some of my reasonings. He says that the church has fixed no tariff of sins! Does he wish me to tell the whole story? Is not the principle clearly asserted in the penances already read? Why fix a penance of *three* days for violating the sabbath, and *twenty* days for breaking a human fast? For insulting his parents he must do penance for three years; for rebelling against his bishop he must do penance all his life! He who kills a common man does penance three years; but he who kills a priest must do penance twelve years!

The gentleman says there is no possibility of effectual pardon from a priest, unless contrition be sincere. A word from Ligori here:

"In order to receive the sacrament of penance rightly, perfect contrition in the penitent is not required, but it is sufficient if he have attrition."—Id. ib. N. 440. The saint proves this in his exposition of the 4th chapter of the 14th session of the council of Trent:—Id. ib. [Synopsis. p. 105.

Will the gentleman explain what he means by *attrition?* I have, perhaps, said enough on this topic to prepare the way for my speech to-morrow morning on the "sea serpent!" But while on the whole premises of the rule of faith, and the mutability, fallibility, and tariffs of the Romanist sect, I beg to read, in the words of the most illustrious of the champions of Protestantism—The great Chillingworth:

"Know then, sir, that when I say the religion of *Protestants* is in prudence to be preferred before *yours;* as on the one side I do not understand by your religion the doctrine of *Bellarmine* or *Baronius*, or any other private man amongst you, nor the doctrine of the *Sorbonne* or of the *Jesuits*, or of the *Dominicans*, or of any other particular company among you; but that wherein you all agree, or profess to agree, *the doctrine of the council of Trent:* So accordingly on the other side, by the *religion* of Protestants, I do not understand the doctrine of *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Melancthon*, not the confession of *Agusta* or *Geneva*, nor the *catechism* of Heidelberg, nor the articles of the *church* of *England*, no, nor the harmony of Protestant confessions; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is the BIBLE.

"The BIBLE, I say the BIBLE only is the religion of Protestants, whatsoever else they believe besides it: And the plain, irrefragable, and indubitable *consequences* of it well may they hold as matter of opinion; but as matter of faith and religion, neither can they with coherence to their own grounds believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others without most high and schis-

matical presumption. I, for my part, after a long and (as I verily believe and hope) impartial search of the *true way* to *eternal happiness*, do profess plainly that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot but upon this rock only.

"I see plainly, and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age: Traditive interpretations of scripture are pretended, but there are few or none to be found: No tradition but only of scripture can derive itself from the fountain, but may be plainly proved to be brought in, in such an age after Christ, or that such an age it was not in. In a word, there is no sufficient *certainty* but of scripture only, for any considering man to build upon. This, therefore, and this only I have reason to believe: This I will profess, according to this I will live, and for this if there be occasion I will not only willingly, but even gladly, lose my life, though I should be sorry that *christians* should take it from me.

"Propose me any thing out of this book, and require whether I believe or no, and seem it never so incomprehensible to human reason, I will subscribe it with hand and heart, as knowing no demonstration can be stronger than this, "God hath said so, therefore it is true." In other things, I will take no man's liberty of judging from him; neither shall any man take mine from me. I will think no man the worse *man*, nor the worse *christian*, I will love no man the less for differing in opinion from me. And what measure I mete to others, I expect from them again. I am fully assured that God *does* not, and therefore men *ought* not to require any more of any man than this, to believe the scripture to be God's word, to endeavor to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it."—[Time expired.]

Half past 3 *o'clock, P. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I am pursuing my opponent, to-day, though various assertions, and vain endeavors to establish against the Catholic church, the charge of immorality. I said, that the grace of penance was, in our estimation, so powerful, that there is no sin which it may not efface by the mercy of God. This, Mr. C. says, is a proof of our immorality! If it be immoral to lift a heart-broken penitent from the depths of despair, and tell him there is hope in God, my friend is right. Catholics believe that there is no sin which God cannot forgive to sorrowing man. One drop of the infinitely precious blood which was shed for us on Calvary, is more than sufficient to cancel the iniquities of a thousand worlds: "If your sins be as scarlet, saith the Lord, they shall be made as white as snow." (Is. i. 18.) "Come to me, all you that labor and are burdened," says Christ, "and I will refresh you." (Matt. xi. 28.) "But," we are told, "the scripture speaks of an irremissible sin, a sin against the Holy Ghost." That sin, my friends, is indeed a deadly one. That sin is, obstinately resisting the known truth, and final impenitence, the almost inevitable consequence of suffering ourselves to be blinded by religious prejudice. This sin is more common than many (alas! too many) are willing to believe. They are in that way of which the scripture says: "*It seemeth to a man right;* but the ends thereof *lead to death.*" (Prov. xvi. 28.) To such Christ solemnly declares that "*they shall call upon him, and he will not hear; and they shall die in their sin.*" Such persons as these, find it easier to accuse our church of a few riots in Rome, or elsewhere, which all the power of religion could not have prevented, (and the only wonder is that they did not occur more frequently,) than to study her divine evidences, believe the mysterious truths she proposes, and practise the holy lessons she enjoins. But I must hasten to answer the multitude of heterogeneous questions which my friend has proposed.

"What gives general councils their infallibility?" The power and omniscience of God: the Holy Ghost abiding with the church, all days, until the consummation of the world.—"Can a thousand fallibles make one infallible?" Yes; and, according to your own showing, every one of twelve fallibles made an infallible; for you allowed that the twelve apostles were, individually, and of course, collectively, infallible. And, if you need more homely illustrations, does it follow, that because one thread cannot keep a seventy-four to her moorings, that a cable consisting of a thousand strong threads cannot do so? What one cannot do, many can, humanly speaking: how much more so when there is a divine promise: "*Behold I am with you all days; the gates of hell shall not prevail against you.*" (Mark xvi. 18.) I never said the Jansenists were Roman Catholics. I objected to Du Pin from the very commencement of this controversy, on the ground of his being a Jansenist. The Jansenists have been condemned by the popes. Hence, they lose no opportunity of insulting them, exaggerating their faults and suppressing their virtues. My friend, then, followed a notoriously treacherous guide, when he trusted himself, and his cargo of *notions* about the popes, to such a helmsman as Du Pin. But, bad as the Jansenists are, they are too learned in church history and in the scriptures, to become members of any Protestant sect. Their magnificent work, The Perpetuity of the Catholic Faith, is, probably, the most learned production recorded in the annals of religious controversy. I should be happy to lend it to any gentleman of this assembly, and thereby convince him how venerable are the doctrines, which want of knowledge induces some persons to assail. The *opinions* of all the bishops in the world, are no article of faith. Articles of faith are defined, and they are no longer opinions. "Siquis dixerit;" "If any say:" in this manner commence the canons of doctrine to define articles of faith; and they end by the words, "Anathema sit;" in imitation of St. Paul, who said: "Were I, or an angel from heaven, to preach to you any other gospel than what has been preached, let him be anathema." This formula always marks the definitions of Catholic faith, among the acts of general councils. But it will make even the smatterers in theology, the sciolists, I could have almost said, the school-boys of Europe, laugh, to see the gentleman gravely quote Fra Paolo, or Father Paul, the sycophant of the senate of Venice, the excommunicated monk, or, to say all in two words, the "*Calvinistic heretic*," as he is justly called by the Protestant bishop, Burnet, as his authority for the proceedings of the bishops in the council of Trent. "He hid," says Bossuet, "the spirit of Luther under the frock of a monk." Henry IV. of France detected his hypocrisy, and denounced him to the senate of Venice; and Pallavicini convicted him of three hundred and sixty errors in his pretended history of the council of Trent. I have got Paolo Sarpis' book in English, and will prove on him some, at least, of these errors, if he is quoted again, with his worthy compeers, Smith and Du Pin! Now the truth is, that there were upwards of two hundred and fifty bishops, or prelates, of different nations, nearly two hundred of the most learned theologians, and the ambassadors of many Catholic princes, at this council. It was held in Trent, a free city, and the utmost liberty was allowed in the discussion of the different questions, previously to the definitions of faith. The council met to decide anew, what had been *always, every where, and by all believed,*

in the Catholic church; and the canon of scripture which it defined, was no other than what had been settled in all the previous councils for upwards of a thousand years; and this the whole Catholic world perfectly understood. What, now, becomes of the gentleman's 48 by 25? Why does he *exaggerate in figures* when he talks against Catholics, and *figure in miniature* when he speaks for them? Those beardless youths he speaks of, had, I presume from Italian faces generally, as much of that excrescence as other animals distinguished by a late senator. My friend was quite tender to-day, indeed excessively eloquent, on the subject of marriage. Had he confined himself to its just praise, as the primeval institution of God, on the flowery banks of Eden, without outraging the express declarations of Christ, and the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, in the new law, I would have repeated what I have already said, in acknowledgment of the purity and sanctity of the nuptial union. But, I must borrow his own words, to say, with still more truth, that "I blushed for our audience, and was shocked by the freedom of his attack upon the ordinance of God." The gentleman may talk until the end of the year, and I would meet him at every pause with the words of Christ, Matt. xix. 12; or, if these are not plain enough to the "sensual man who thinketh this virtue foolishness," with those of St. Paul, (1 Cor. vii.) "*I would that all men were even as myself.*" "*I say to the unmarried and the widows, it is good for them if they so continue, even as I.*" (ver. 8.) "*He that is with a wife, is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife; and he is divided. He that is without a wife, is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God.* (verses 32, 33.) "*Art thou loosed from a wife, seek not a wife . . . if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned: nevertheless, such shall have tribulation of the flesh. But I spare you.*" (ver. 28.) Can holy writ more unequivocally reprobate all the gentleman's romancing about *wedlock*, to the proscription of that pure devotedness to the holy offices of the ministry, of which Jesus Christ, St. John, and St. Paul, have left us the brightest examples in their own persons? Mr. C. said: "Dared I to tell, before this assembly, but half that I have learned of that virgin priesthood:" and I, my friends, dared I tell, before this assembly, but half that I have learned, from old Protestant residenters of this city, of that married priesthood, in Elyria, on Lake Erie, and in towns in the interior of this state, without casting the net over heads nearer home, I would fill your souls with tenfold horror! I would advise my friend to tread lightly on these ashes. Holy as marriage is, and holy as I confess it to be, St. Paul advises married people to forego, at certain times, the privileges of that state, to give *themselves to prayer.* (ver. 5.) The same is commanded in the prophet Joel, xi. 16. The high-priest was forbidden, in Leviticus, to neglect the foregoing injunctions, when he ministered unto the Lord; as, also, to take a widow to wife, but only a virgin. Now, a widow, according to my friend's notion, would have a better title than a virgin to have a high-priest for her husband, inasmuch as she had shown her reverence for the institution of marriage, by a previous union. And, now, let me ask again, why did my opponent labor so hard to give his Protestant hearers, the Paulicians for their ancestors, when it is well known, that these heretics condemned marriage? This, the Catholic church has not done. But, when a vow is made to God, she says, with St.

Paul, (1 Tim. v. 12.) "it is damnable, in either man or woman, to break it." Has my opponent read all these texts? Does he not remember to have read in history, the honor in which the light of reason taught *all the nations of the earth* to hold virginity, and the privileges to which it was every where entitled? Has he read of scandalous damages recovered in courts, in England, by Reverends, who were mocked to scorn the following Sunday, when they went into the pulpit to preach? Has he read of other reverends, who have had to pay damages for the slanderous reports, put in circulation by their fair companions in weal and woe? Is this the tribulation according to the flesh, of which St. Paul speaks? "The decrees of councils attest that priests have not been such immaculate purities." Well; and what do these records of the civil courts of England, and the domestic annals of broken hearts and blighted honor, attest? As well might the gentleman charge marriage with the shocking excesses, which it did not prevent in David and Solomon, as the law of celibacy with the specks and blemishes of the Catholic priesthood.

In every religion there will be bad men, and by them every virtue will be outraged, but must we on this account blame virtue and expunge it; must we, like Moses descending from Sinai, break the tables of the law, because of a stiff-necked and a revolted people; or, on the contrary, hold up that law before them in terror, remind them of their duty, and reclaim them, by exhibitions of divine justice and mercy, to virtue? "It is essential for a bishop to be a married man." And the gentleman's vote would be withheld from me, because I am a bachelor. Why, sir, St. Paul does not mean that a bishop *should be* a man of one wife, but that *he should have had but one*—otherwise, as he was himself unmarried, he would have acted against his own rules. Now I claim to be as clear-sighted, and as well read in the bible, as my friend, and I maintain it is essential a bishop should not be a married man; for he will not then be afraid to bring home from the bed of death the small-pox, the cholera, or the plague, to his wife and children; he will not be prevented by the engrossing care of a family from visiting the "widow and the orphan;" he will have more money to spare for the wants of the poor. "To preside over a christian congregation," says Mr. Campbell, "a bishop should know experimentally the domestic affections and relations; he should study human nature in the bosom of his family; there is a class of feelings which no gentleman of single life can comprehend, or in which he can sympathise, *and these are essential to that intimacy* (what intimacy!) with all classes, sexes and duties, *which his relations to the church* often impose upon him." What does all this mean? I am sincerely shocked at this freedom. But if it mean any thing that I should answer, it would mean, that a bishop should be a bachelor to sympathise with a numerous class of christians, viz. old maids; he should have a *scolding* wife to be able to *sympathise* with a scolded *husband;* a sickly wife, an ugly wife, a drinking wife, an arbitrary wife, an ignorant, stupid wife, to *know experimentally* what husbands suffer in all these domestic relations; he *should*, and he *should not*, have children. Can there be any thing more superlatively ridiculous! As well might you exact of the physician, that he should have had all the diseases you may call upon him to cure. A bishop can study his own heart, and as Cicero says, "Timeo hominem unius libri;" if he will not learn

human nature *there*, he will not learn it any where. I have much more to say on this subject, which queen Elizabeth, Oxford college, (England,) regulations to the "fellows," and Dr. Miller, of Princeton, furnished me; but whether I resume this unpleasant task or not, depends on my learned opponent. I have a large family to provide for, and I try at least to take care of it. Fifty little orphans, in want of an asylum, look to me for bread! and as Christ and St. Paul have taught me to live, while I have ears to hear, and a heart to commiserate the hard lot of the fatherless and motherless, and claims to present in their name to a generous public, so, must I reason and judge, I should continue to live. These little beneficiaries gather around me when I visit them, and they call me by the endearing name of father! and their appealing looks, their grateful smiles, their wants and artlessness and joy excite in me emotions which a virtuous parent well might share, and an unfeeling one, who neglects or abuses his children, well might envy! I invite my friend to visit these little interesting orphans, and see how an old bachelor gets along among them.

Did I really defend white lies? I think not. "One sin, in the sight of heaven is as great as another." This I deny. This doctrine saps the foundation of sound morals; it leaves us no energy for virtuous effort; it writes the mysterious "Mane, Tecel, Phares," on the wall, for the first and least offence; it has no warrant in scripture. God often speaks of nations filling up the measure of their guilt, and what could this mean, if one sin were as bad in divine estimation, and filled up as much space as a thousand? It is true, He punishes all sins, but not alike; therefore all are not equally heinous in his sight. Mr. C. says, "I wish the gentleman would enable me to deliver myself," &c. You may deliver yourself on any point you please, I have no objection.

His next attempt at proof of immorality, was the allegation that we have destroyed the second commandment, rejecting the law against making graven images, that we may worship creatures, and images of creatures, and introduce idolatry! the invocation of the spirits of dead men and women, &c. &c. My friends, this charge of leaving out the second commandment is very stale, and, no doubt, my Protestant hearers will be astonished to see and hear for themselves that it is utterly unfounded. Here is the Catholic catechism of this diocese: it thus reads. 2. "Which is the first commandment?" Ans. "*I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt not have strange gods before me. Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any thing, that is in the heavens above or the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth: thou shalt not adore them nor serve them.*" The Douay catechism is equally full, (holds it open,) so are *all* our bibles. I will display this little catechism here, or I am willing to pitch it among my audience for inspection. They will see that it contains the commandment in full, and that there is nothing in it, in violation of the law of God, on this, or on any other subject. It is an admirable abridgment of faith and morals. If there have been any catechisms published without the commandments in full, it is because they were published for the use of children, whose memories were not to be encumbered by too long answers, when the sense and substance of the precept could be sufficiently expressed in fewer words. As to the division of the commandments, my friend knows that the bible was

not originally divided into chapters and verses as it is at present. But with this question we are not now concerned.

It is not a crime to make an image, if we do not adore and worship it instead of the Creator, who is blessed for ever; otherwise God would have transgressed his own prohibition, for he commanded Moses to make a graven image, namely, the image of a brazen serpent, and to set it up before a people exceedingly prone to idolatry, that they may look on it and be cured of the bites of the fiery serpents that stung them for their murmurings in the wilderness. The divine lawgiver also directed (Exodus xxv.) two images of Cherubim to be made, with their wings overshadowing the mercy seat of the ark of the covenant, *towards which the people turned in prayer*, and before which Joshua and the ancients of Israel fell flat upon their faces until the evening, at Hai, when they were defeated, for the sin of Achan, by the men of that city; and Joshua said, "Alas, O Lord God," &c. vii. 7. What was the temple of Solomon, built by the special directions of that God who had forbidden the making of graven images *to adore and serve them*, but a temple of images? Never has any house, perhaps, since or before, not excepting the celebrated picture galleries of the Louvre, abounded more in pictures and likenesses of things in heaven and things on earth, than did that venerable pile, and yet God was not offended, but promised that *his ears should be attentive to the prayer of him that prayed in that place*, as we read in the book of Kings. The objection is unphilosophical, as well as unscriptural. What, I ask, are the letters G. O. D. but pictures, representing a certain idea? So written language, when first used, was a series of pictures, as every scholar knows; and the bible abounds, like the temple, with these pictorial signs. Again, where is the immorality of looking on the emblem of our dying Savior? Is it not the gospel narrative of his sorrows and his love, condensed? The council of Trent, Sess. xxv. teaches, what every Catholic knows, "that while we venerate the memorials of Christ and his saints, we are not to believe that any divinity or power resides in them." I would, therefore, express in a few words, the motive of our respect for the crucifix, and our sense of its lifelessness and want of power, in the following apostrophe: "Thou canst not see, thou canst not hear, thou canst not help me, but thou remindest me of my God."

Were the objection of my worthy opponent rigorously urged, it would be impiety for the orphan girl to wear around her neck the likeness of a fond, but alas! prematurely deceased mother: or a soldier boy the miniature of the father of his country. The different trades and professions should be arraigned for the idolatrous practice of suspending before their doors the signs of their various occupations. The United States' mint would be a factory of idols, and every moneyholder, in bank notes, or the hard metal, an idolater! Finally, if the Catholics substitute the words "honor and veneration" for "worship," when speaking of the relative respect paid to the emblems of Christ and his saints, yet even the use of this word could be defended from the Bible, Chron. last ch. where the people, as it reads in the Protestant bible, *worshiped the Lord and the King*, but surely not with the same kind of worship. The exterior act appeared the same, but in the heart, there was distinction of homage. If it be wrong and an outrage to the mediation of Christ to seek inferior intercessors with God, why did Paul ask the prayers of the christians to whom he ad-

dressed h's epistles? Why did God command the importunate friends of Job to ask the just man's prayers for them? Why did he appoint a priest to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin? And why did the apostles teach us to say, "I believe in the communion of saints." *It was strange, said king James, to the Scotch bishops, to allow those honorable places in the churches, to unicorns, lions, and devils, (griffins) which were refused to prophets and apostles!* "*Let them not lead people by the nose,*" *says Dr. Herbert Thorndike, Prebendary of Westminster,* "*to believe they can prove their supposition that the pope is anti-christ, and the papists idolaters, when they can not.*" Just Weights and Measures, . 11. "It is a shame to charge men with what they are not guilty of, in order to make the breach wider, already too wide." Dr. Montague, Prot. bishop of Norwich, Inv. of Saints. p. 60.

Another proof of immorality is the distinction between material and formal sins! This is a just distinction. The civil law recognizes it. An injury done with *malice aforethought, or formally*, is very different, as to the guilt of the agent, from accidental and unintentional injury. A child, a maniac, a man in his sleep, or otherwise unconscious of what he does, and not the culpable cause of that want of consciousness, may inflict an injury, with impunity, for which liberty, and life should, under different circumstances, be very justly forfeited. My friend has brought up casuistry. The tendency of such punishments is salutary: and if a severer penalty is inflicted for the murder of a priest, &c., it is to preserve the inviolability of religion, which watches over the rights of parents, to the fear and love of their children, and of the law, to the obedience and respect of those for whose preservation and wellbeing it was enacted. My learned friend traduced the clergy of the Catholic church and described the dangers of the confessional. As well might he denounce the medical profession. He read numerous extracts from publications of Smith, Slocum & Co's joint-stock concern, for the defamation of innocence. He may sit down, in the lowest places, with these worthy associates, if he will. I shall not molest them in their calculations of the "*pieces of silver.*" "I will leave them alone in their glory."

The gentleman allows that auricular confession was the law of the church in the fifth century. This is generous, and he is contradicted in the concession, by some Protestants, who, for want of better knowledge, give the institution a later date. It remounts, however, farther up the chain of holy usages, viz. to the time of Christ, who gave such power to men as that expressed in the text, St. John, xx. 22, 23. This power was not to be exercised without a knowledge of the dispositions of the sinner, and this knowledge could only be obtained from his own confession. Leo I. did not, therefore, "open the floodgates of impiety by substituting private for public confession." The practice is of divine institution, and how horrid is it not, to speak thus of what all ages and nations of christianity, the Greek and the Latin churches and the sects of the east, have ever held as the work of Christ, taught by himself and every where preached by his apostles! Tertullian and Origen, who lived in the age next to the apostles, hold the following language: "*If you withdraw from confession, think of hellfire, which confession extinguishes.*" "*Look carefully about thee in choosing the person to whom you confess—confess to him your most secret sins.*" "*It is necessary,*" *says St. Basil, in the 4th century,* "*to confess our sins to those to whom the dispensation of the divine mysteries is*

committed." "*Let no one,*" *says St. Augustine,* "*say to himself: 'I do penance to God, in private.' Is it then in vain that Christ has said, whatsoever you loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven? Is it in vain that the keys have been given to the church?*" These texts abundantly prove that auricular confession was practised before the time of Leo I. in the fifth century, and consequently that Christ and his apostles must share the odium in which my opponent presumes to involve the Catholic church. He says the practice of the public confession of sin, before the whole congregation, was the last entrenchment against the rapid declension of morals in the fifth century. And yet with glaring inconsistency, after contending for the practice so vehemently, in almost the same breath, he tells us: "There is no ear but God's, to which our errors or our faults ought to be confessed, for that the secrets of all hearts are his." Can there be contradiction more palpable? And does not the Catholic practice save the sinner's honor, gently withdraw him from the downward path to ruin, admonish him of his ingratitude and restore him to religion and to society a better man, in all probability to sin no more? "Is there more condescension or mercy in a Roman priest," asks my opponent, "than in God?" Why, the blasphemous question might have been put to Christ by the leper, when the Savior ordered him "*to go show himself to the priest.*" Matth. viii. 4. "*Is there more condescension, or mercy, in a Jewish priest than in God?*"

My friend quotes St. James, "confess your sins to one another:" but he takes care to omit the *antecedents and the consequents* of the text. "Is any man sick among you. Let him bring in the *priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him.*" James v. 14. Is not obedience to the directions of the Holy Ghost, the calling in of the *priests and availing himself of their ministry, the indispensable condition prescribed by God himself, in the scripture,* for the cure of the corporal maladies, but, much more, of the SINS of the sick man? Could my friend have been more effectually refuted than he evidently is by a text of his own selection? [Time expired.]

Four o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

From the beginning I have said, and I repeated it yesterday, that I would not state any fact which I could not sustain. I do not care how often I am put to the test. I have here three catechisms, in which the second commandment is omitted, and to keep up the number *ten*, they have made two out of the 10th. Here are two catechisms, published by the authority of the Roman Catholic church. The title of one, from the highest authority since the council of Trent, is as follows:—

"The most Rev. Dr. James Butler's catechism: revised, enlarged, approved, and recommended by four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, as a general catechism for the kingdom. Suffer little children to come to me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God. Mark x. 14. This is eterna life, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. John, xviii. 3. Twelfth edition: carefully corrected and improved, with amendments. Dublin: Printed by Richard Coyne, 4. Capel st. Bookseller and Printer to the R. C. College of St. Patrick and Maynooth, and publisher to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. 1826." [See page 36.

Q. "Say the commandments of God.
A. 1. I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have no strange gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods. Exod. xx."

Are these *the ten commandments of God*, as all Roman Catholic children are taught !!

The single fact that the four archbishops of Ireland, and the Roman Catholic college of Maynooth should have impiously dared to strike one commandment from the ten, which God wrote on two tables with his own finger, and should have changed and divided the tenth into two, speaks volumes in proof of my allegata against the Romanist rule of faith. But we shall hear another witness—Title:

"The General Catechism revised, corrected and enlarged by the Right Reverend James Doyle D. D. Bp. &c. and prescribed by him to be taught throughout the diocese of Kildaire and Lerghlin. [Motto the same as in the other, stereotyped and printed at Dublin by the same printer, A. D. 1827.] See. p. 25.

Q. Say the ten commandments of God.
A. I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt not have any strange gods before me. Thou shalt not make to thyself neither an idol or any figure to adore it.
2. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that shall take the name of the Lord his God in vain.
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods."

This merits the reprobation pronounced on the preceding.

Again: here is an American catechism.—Yes, in this land of bibles has been published a catechism, in which the same liberty is taken. Its title is:

"An abridgement of the Christian doctrine, with proofs of scripture on points controverted, by way of question and answer: composed in 1649 by Rev. Henry Tuberville, D. D. of the English college of Douay: Now approved and recommended for his diocese, by the right Rev. Benedict bishop of Boston. This is the way, walk ye in it." Isa. xxx. 21. New York; published by John Doyle; No. 12. Liberty street, stereotyped by A. Chandler. 1833." See p. 54.

"Q. What is the second commandment?
A. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

Is *this the second commandment?* It is not. That child is taught falsehood, which is taught thus to learn the decalogue. If the Roman bishops and archbishops in Ireland and America, in this our day can thus impose on all the youth in the Roman communion, and thus pervert and annul one of God's commandments, to make way for the worshiping of images, what shall we say of the morality of her rule of faith in this and other matters?

It is a poor apology for this expurgation of the decalogue, that it is not so done in the Douay bible: for when these catechisms were introduced, and even yet in most Catholic countries, not one layman in a thousand ever read that bible: the catechism intended for universal consumption contained all his knowledge of God's law. What myriads, then, through this fraud, must have lived and died in the belief that the second commandment was no part of God's law! It is clearly proved, that the pastors of the church have struck out one of God's ten WORDS; which not only in the Old Testament, but in all revelation, are the most emphatically regarded as the synopsis of all religion and morality. They have also made a ninth commandment out of the tenth, and their ninth, in that independent position, be-

comes identical with the seventh commandment, and makes God use a tautology in the only instrument in the universe that he wrote with his own hand! But why this annulling of the second commandment? Because it is a positive prohibition of the practice of bowing down to images, and doing them homage; a custom dearer to the Romish church than both the second and the seventh commandment! It is, however, gross idolatry. So far at least as the ignorant and uneducated part of the community is concerned; no spiritual, no highly cultivated mind needs such aids of worship—nay, they would, to such persons, be hindrances rather than aids of devotion. But the uneducated and sensual mass, which are in that community,—the vast majority, literally adore the image, and delight in the picture more than in the Creator. And, therefore, the abrogation of the second commandment, by the priests, is the positive introduction of idolatry.

The Hebrew bible says and all versions of it in effect say, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing in heaven above, nor in the earth beneath. Thou shalt not bow down to them nor serve them." The gentleman made as handsome and eloquent a defence of the practice of violating this solemn precept as could be well imagined. He referred us to the tabernacle and temple, of ancient time full of types—patterns of things in heaven, &c: but unfortunately for his logic, none were permitted to worship these patterns of ideas. They were but to portray the things to be revealed in the gospel age—a picture-book, to sketch the outlines of that redemption, which the Messiah wrought, and of the worship of the kingdom of heaven. They never presumed to worship them, they looked through these outward symbols, or signs of ideas, to the spiritual substance as we look through unfigurative language to the sense.

The "*brazen serpent*," introduced by my opponent, had the authority of God, for its being made, and was a splendid type of him that destroyed the serpent, that old serpent the devil, who had bitten the human race. When men bitten, looked at it, they were healed: but when they began to worship it, it was destroyed. I say, it had the authority of God. But where is the same authority for carrying about the bones of a dead saint, or the hair of the Virgin Mary, or the feet of Bàlaam's ass? Where is the first word, in favor of worshiping or making an image of the cross, or of the Savior, or of any saint? or of venerating a grave, a relic, or a picture?

My opponent ingeniously asked, if the name of God were not a picture? Profound reasoning! The name of God a picture of the same class with the image of the cross and of the Virgin! But a mother says to her infant, "my life!" and she may say to Lady Mary in the same style, "my life!" Ingenious! I would ask this Roman Catholic lady when she looks upon her child, and exclaims "my life," if she feels the same religious affections, the same pious emotions, as when she looks up to the Virgin Mary and exclaims, "*my life?*" Is not the gentleman rather playing the sophist, or sporting in jest, than gravely reasoning the subject? Certainly, he would not so teach his congregation in the absence of Protestants! This is as felicitous and as rhetorical as his allusions to the device and images on medals, or on gold and silver coin. There is, indeed, idolatry here! But there is no hypocrisy in the temple of mammon. Moreover, these worshipers adore not the image of money; but the money itself.

Next came the cherubim. What an association of ideas! What confusion in the mind that associates the cherubim in Solomon's temple, with the image on a dollar! Is the gentleman serious? Did the people see the cherubim, in the holiest of all? Aaron, the priest, only stood before those cherubim, as the type of our high priest, who offers his sacrifice in heaven: and Aaron stood there only once in a year. If he understood either the type or the anti-type, he could not adduce it either for the worship of an image or the offering of any sacrifice on earth: for, like Aaron in the holiest of all, Christ offers his sacrifice in heaven. Aaron presented the blood upon the propitiatory: but Christ entered *once for all.* As the bishop's high priest is not in heaven but at Rome; all the sacrifice which he can offer on earth is not worth a farthing: for in the Christian and Jewish sense, no sacrifice on earth can avail any thing. Such were the types, and such, certainly, are the anti-types. Offerings for sin, now, are only made in heaven. The very allusion to Aaron, strikes a blow at the priesthood of the Roman Catholic church, as if God had not accepted in heaven, the sacrifice of his Son, and called for their assistance!!

But it is hinted that I should more fully prove the immorality of the Roman Catholic rule of faith. I have no lack of documents on this subject. The saint Ligori, by the help of saint Pius VII. has richly furnished us with indubitable authority. "The attorney general of the devil lives at Rome," says my opponent, "and prevents the beatification of all saints." How great, then, must have been the virtues of St. Ligori, who, in spite of the devil, was canonized by pope Pius VII!! See how equivocation is taught in this rule of faith and morality:—

"To swear," says St. Ligori, "with equivocation, where there is a *good reason*, and equivocation itself is lawful, is not wrong. And if a person swears without a good reason, it *is not* to be considered a perjury; since, in one sense of the word, and according to mental restriction, he swears what is true." Ligor. Lib. iii. N. 151. [Synopsis, 159.

Dissimulation is variously taught.

——————"It is lawful," continues Ligori, "for a Catholic, when he is passing through a country belonging to heretics, and is in danger of losing his life or property, to pretend that he is not a Catholic, and to eat meat on fast days." Id. Lib. ii. N. 15. [Synopsis, p. 216.

This new old rule of faith has made some new sins, which neither patriarchs nor Jews did ever commit; and here is one of that class which no American can ever commit:

"Is it a mortal sin," asks the saint, to steal a *small* piece of a sacred relic? Ans. "There is no doubt, but that, in the district of Rome, it is a mortal sin. But out of this district, if any one steal a small piece of a relic, it is probable that it is no mortal sin, provided the relic be not thereby disgraced, nor, its value lessened; unless it be some notable or rare relic, such for instance, as the Holy Cross, or the hair of the blessed Virgin Mary," &c. Id. ib. N. 532. [Synopsis p. 167.

There is a secret on the subject of infallibility, which the saint Ligori has begun to divulge. Custom, it would seem, since general councils are gone out of fashion, is from this time forth to be the standard of orthodoxy and infallibility; at least, in morals. Listen to the moral theology of the Romish church on this point:

"Custom," says the saint, "is defined the unwritten law. In order that custom should obtain the force and obligation of law, three things are required. 1st. That it be introduced not by any particular person, but by a community, or at least, by the majority of a community, which is capable of making laws, although, in fact, said community cannot make the laws. 2ndly. It is required

that the custom should be reasonable." Custom has a threefold state. In the beginning all those persons who introduce a custom contrary to law, sin. In process of time, those who follow a custom that has already been introduced by their ancestors, do not commit a sin in following the custom, but they can be punished for it by the prince. In fine, those who follow a custom after it has become a rule, neither sin, nor can they be punished for it." Id. ib. N. 107.

"THE TIME REQUIRED ACCORDING TO THE CANONS OF THE ROMISH CHURCH, FOR A CUSTOM TO BECOME A LAW. In order that custom should obtain the force and obligation of law, it is required,

"3dly," continues the saint, "that it should continue a long time with repeated acts. In regard to the time that is sufficient to render a custom lawful, one opinion is, that it is to be left to the judgment of the prudent, according to the repetition of the acts, and the quality of the matter. The second opinion is, that ten years are required, and are sufficient; for this is the length of time required for the introducing and legalizing of a custom by the canonical law, unless it be in some place where the contrary is sanctioned." Id. ib. Lib. i. N. 107. [Synopsis, p. 183.

"Merchandizing, and the selling of goods at auction on the Sundays, is, on account of its being the general custom, altogether lawful. Buying and selling goods on the Lord's day and on festival days are certainly forbidden by the canonical law, but where the contrary custom prevails, it is excusable." Id. ib. N. 286.

"He who makes use of the knavery and cunning," says the saint, "which is usually practised in gambling, and which has the sanction of custom, is not bound to restore what he wins, since both parties know that such tricks are customary, and consequently they consent to them." Id. ib. N. 882.

Gambling consecrated for priests and people by the law of custom:

"We will now show, however, the *canons* to the contrary, notwithstanding, that all sorts of gambling are allowed. This we prove from Ligori's own concessions. He teaches as follows;—"The canons," says he "which forbid games of hazard do not appear to be received except inasmuch as the gambling is carried on with the danger of scandal. Be it known," continues he, "that the above mentioned canonical law is so much nullified by the contrary custom, that not only laymen, but even the clergy do not sin, if they play cards principally for the sake of recreation, *and for a moderate sum of money*." Id. ib. N. 883. [Synopsis, p. 235.

A new way of sanctifying the sabbath:

"BULL FIGHTS AND PLAYS ALLOWED. "On the entrance of a prince or nobleman into a city, it is lawful on a Sunday to prepare the drapery, arrange the theatre, &c., and to act a comedy, also to exhibit the bull-fights; the reason is, because such marks of joy *are morally necessary* for the public weal." Id. ib. N. 304. [Synopsis, p. 193.

The Roman Catholic rule of manners makes it even lawful to sin:

"It is lawful," says Ligori, "to induce a person to commit a smaller sin, in order to avoid one that is greater." Id. N. 77. [Synopsis, p. 255.

"Let the confessor," says the saint, "enjoin upon those scrupulous, who are afraid of sin in every action, that they act freely, despise their scruples, and do contrary to what they dictate, where sin is not evident. [Synopsis, p. 173.

This law licenses drunkenness:

"It is no sin to get drunk, by the advice of a physician, if one's health cannot otherwise be restored." Id. N. 76. [Synopsis, p. 254.

Hence drunkards may be acceptable communicants!

"It is lawful," says Ligori, "to administer the sacraments to drunkards, if they are in the probable danger of death, and had previously the intention of receiving them." Ligor. vi. N. 81. [Synopsis, p. 260.

Ignorance is the mother of devotion, even yet:

THE SINNER MUST BE LEFT IN IGNORANCE.—The doctrine is as follows: (I take it from the saint *verbatim*.) "If the penitent (says he,) is in *inculpable* ignorance, in regard to those things concerning which, it is possible to be invincibly ignorant, although this ignorance be of the 'law of God,' and the confessor prudently thinks that to admonish the penitent would not correct him, then, and in that case, the confessor must abstain from admonishing the penitent, and must leave him in his ignorance." Id. ib.

Heretics are still to be punished, not only by virtue of the general

council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, which says, "Let the secular powers be compelled, if necessary, to *exterminate*, to their utmost power, all heretics denoted by the church:" but according to the moral theology, as reported by the saint.

HERETICS TO BE PUNISHED.—"A bishop is bound," says Benedict XIV. "even in places where the tribunal of the *holy inquisition* is in force, sedulously and carefully to purge the diocese that is committed to his care, from heretics; and, if he find any of them, he ought to punish them according to the canons; he should however, be cautious, not to hinder the *inquisitors of the faith* from doing their duty." Ligor. Ep. Doc. Mor. p. 378. [Synopsis, p. 294.

From the influence of all these laws, why should it be thought strange that the clergy are exceedingly corrupt? Listen to the saint:

How many relapsing sinners are involved in eternal ruin by following the directions of bad confessors! "The saint has told us, that, AMONG THE PRIESTS, WHO LIVE IN THE WORLD, IT IS RARE, AND VERY RARE, TO FIND ANY THAT ARE GOOD." [Synopsis, p. 180.

Yet according to these assumptions, under the sanction of Christ, all are bound to hear them on peril of damnation: for, "he that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me." So, to despise these priests, is to despise God!

Once more, from Ligori, and I shall have given almost a specimen of the immorality and impiety of the Roman Catholic rule of faith, on general points of religion and morality. There is no one subject on which we could be more copious than this one: but from respect to our audience we shall give but the remotest hint.

"A bishop, however poor he may be, cannot appropriate to himself pecuniary fines without the license of the apostolical see. But he ought to apply them to pious uses, which the *council of Trent* has laid upon non-resident clergymen, or upon those *clergymen who keep nieces*." Ligor. Ep. Doc. Mor. p. 444. [Synopsis, p. 294.

Now, if a priest should keep a *niece*, it is a very expiable and trifling offence; but should he marry a wife, he must be excommunicated forever! Thus the Roman Catholic rule of faith treats the Bible, and annuls, at pleasure, every law and institution of heaven! Have I not, then, my respected auditors, fully proved the fallibility and immoral tendency of the doctrine and rule of faith, of the bishop's church —to say nothing of that system upon the clergy themselves, who expound and inculcate it?

One word, before I sit down, on the unanimous consent of the Greek and Latin fathers. I have said before, and I repeat it, if they agree on any two points, they are, in giving testimony to the scriptures, and that it is the duty of all to read them. So far they are all Protestant, and not Roman Catholic.—[Time expired.]

Half past 4 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

The extract from Chillingworth will be viewed by men of intelligence, as one of the strongest arguments advanced in this debate on the Catholic side of the question. And it may be as well to observe, that my friend has probably first seen it in the Catholic work, the Amicable Discussion, from which he has quoted. Chillingworth was distinguished as a controversialist. He had a public disputation, like the present, with some Jesuits, by whom he was not only defeated but converted to the Catholic faith. But yielding, like Gibbon, to the solicitation of friends, the importunities, the livings presented to him,

or to which he was presented, by Laud, archbishop of London, he recanted, and finally, as it is on good grounds asserted, he died a Jew. The only apology he could offer for his versatility was, that he found every one of these religions in the bible—it was the only resting place for *the soles of his feet*—that is to say, he trampled upon it, to subserve the purposes of base, worldly interest! But I have now, thank God, something more tangible to offer in the way of *proof*, that nothing can be conceived more inexcusably unfair, than the arguments employed against the Catholic religion. I now pledge myself to shew to every man of honor in this city, that the last allegation read by the gentleman, purporting to be from the works of Liguori, is not to be found in the works of that writer. It is all a base fabrication, I will not say of Mr. C.; but of *somebody*. I will meet this charge with a complete and an overwhelming refutation. We have now come to an important crisis in this debate. My worthy opponent reduced to the desperation of defeat, like a drowning man, is induced to grasp at anything and to resort to abuse. But this will not sustain him. He cannot now quote from Du Pin, or send his readers back to the dark ages, and draw a grossly exaggerated picture of the personal frailties of a few popes and then ask if there can be a drop of apostolic grace in the whole world. I have three editions of the complete works of Liguori, in my library, or in this city, to refer to; and in none of them can this vile doctrine be found. Mark, then, the proposition, my friends. It is this. That priests are allowed to *keep* mistresses, upon payment of a fine, but that, if they marry, they are excommunicated! I now call upon Charles Hammond, Esq. Judge Hall, General Harrison, Judge Este, Judge Wright, or any other five equally learned and honorable citizens of Cincinnati—for I only mentioned the first that came to my mind—to decide this issue of fact. I pronounce the whole charge a base, unfounded assertion, and I again thank Heaven, that I am in a city, where justice will be done to the truth, and where falsehood will be triumphantly defeated.

The volume from which the gentleman has been all day reading, is one of those books of abomination and falsehood; put forth, in the city of New York, by Smith, Slocum and Co. and it is a fair specimen of their fashion of circulating truth. Does it not furnish strong presumption to the reflecting mind, that there must be something divine in the religion which such men and women combine to abuse? It was the monster Nero, notorious for parricide and lust, who first drew the sword against the christian religion. Forget not then, I pray you, my friends, the proposition that is before us. I am determined not to slumber or sleep on this matter, but to probe it thoroughly and expose its rottenness to the world. Mr. CAMPBELL'S allegation against the Catholic church, is that Liguori, a standard moralist in that church, teaches, *that priests may keep concubines by paying a fine, but that if they marry, they must be excommunicated.* Whereas I distinctly deny that Liguori has ever taught any thing so abominable, and that all who say so, are guilty of a most flagrant violation of the commandment of our God, which says "THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOR." Exod. xx. 16.

The charge of suppressing the 2nd commandment, while proof to the contrary, from the Catholic catechisms every where in use in the U. S. and from every Catholic bible in the world, was staring him in the face, may be placed along side of the foregoing! Add to these, the hardi-

hood with which the plainest words of the Redeemer, the emphatic declaration of St. Paul, and the highest eulogy of the Apocalypse on the superior sanctity of the unmarried state, have been violently tortured by my opponent, and a fair estimate may be made of the respect he entertains for the bible. Even his jests are but little help to his argument, for error was never genuinely witty. And when he affects to laugh at St. Paul for his having been a bachelor, I shall content myself with replying, yes! St. Paul was a bachelor: but would he not have looked well, with seven little squealing children trotting after him, *visiting the churches* of Asia! The remark of St. Paul, "have I not a right to lead about a sister?" has reference to the practice then early introduced, of entrusting in some cases, the instruction of females, to persons of their own sex, and to the greater facilities afforded in this respect, to the apostles and preachers of christianity, to convey the knowledge of true religion to promiscuous society, whether Jewish or Pagan. I consider marriage a holy, nay, a divine institution. I respect the sanctity of the union, and pay a willing tribute of praise to the eminent virtue of persons engaged in that state; but I must reason and judge with Christ and St. Paul, that if, "he who marries does well, he who does not does better." A priest assumes the obligation of celibacy, at mature age, and voluntarily. God's grace is sufficient for him, as it was for St. Paul, and his virtuous struggles against the evil spirit, that dared to tempt even the Savior, in the desert, and Paul, who had been rapt up even to the third heaven, can make *virtue perfect* in infirmity, without the priest's being as foolish as the thief, who cut off his hands, to keep himself from stealing. I hope however that my opponent, or his auxiliary, Smith, will not be tempted to cut off *his* hands, for stealing from Liguori, what is better to any man than trashy gold, *his good name.* One word more. If marriage were as pleasing in the sight of God, as celibacy, why did God and St. Paul direct abstinence from marriage privileges as a preparation for seasons of greater devotion? According to my friend, should they not have commanded the contrary?

I pass, in the next place, to *relics.* The chair in which the signers of the declaration of Independence sat, the pen with which they wrote the glorious document, a bit of the wood of the tree overshadowing the grave of the illustrious Washington, are all treated with respect, and sought for with avidity: shall religious memorials alone be treated contemptuously? What says the scripture, Acts. xix. 11. *And God wrought by the hand of Paul more than common miracles, so that even then were brought from his body to the sick, handkerchiefs, and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the wicked spirits went out of them.* "The woman, troubled twelve years, with an issue of blood, said within herself, "if I shall touch only his garment, I shall be healed," *and she was healed; and Jesus turning and seeing her said: Be of good heart daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole.*" *Even without faith* or consciousness, there is a miraculous cure recorded in IV Kings xiii. 21. "*And Eliseus died and they buried him. And the Rovers from Moab came into the land, the same year. And some that were burying a man, saw the Rovers and cast the body into the sepulchre of Eliseus. And when he had touched the bones of Eliseus, the man came to life, and stood upon his feet.*" I have no doubt that these texts have never been read, or at least reflected on, by learned Protestants, like my friend, who ridicule Catholics in the pious simplicity of their souls, for venerating

dead men's bones. If the corpse of a prophet who had never seen Jesus Christ, could impart such a miraculous virtue, as to resuscitate the dead, why is it considered absurd to invoke the prayers of the living and beatified spirit that knew and loved, and watched over the Savior on earth, and that now reigns gloriously with him in heaven? If Eliseus was good, was not Mary good? If the prophet of the Savior had so much power, had the mother of the Savior none? Having now disposed of celibacy and relics, I resume the subject of confession.

I shall now proceed to vindicate the scriptural origin, the moral tendency and the immense benefits conferred on society by the theory and practice of the sacrament of penance, as held in the Catholic church, from the weighty charges preferred against it by my opponent. On this subject the council of Trent, ch. vi. teaches: "the penance of a christian after his fall (from the grace of baptism) is very different from that of baptism, and consists, not only in REFRAINING FROM SINS, AND A DETESTATION OF THEM, namely, a *contrite and humble heart*, but also in a sacramental confession of them, at least in desire and at a proper time, and the priestly absolution; and, likewise, in satisfaction, by fasting, alms, prayers, and other pious exercises of a spiritual life; not, indeed, for the eternal punishment, which, together with the crime, is remitted in the sacrament, or by the desire of the sacrament, but for the temporal punishment, which the scripture teaches is not always wholly remitted as in baptism." Such is, and ever has been, the doctrine of the Catholic church, which thus ascribes the whole glory of man's justification TO GOD, through Jesus Christ, our only Savior. She teaches that God alone can forgive sin, and that without sincere sorrow, which induces us to detest sin more than all other evils together, the words of absolution would be a mockery; and this sorrow may be called contrition, or attrition, the name matters little; it must be true, interior, preter-natural, universal, sovereign; that is to say, it must come from the heart, and from a motive suggested by faith; it must extend to all sins without exception, and be accompanied by a sincere resolution to suffer every evil, even death itself, rather than offend God any more. This is the only idea of penance, as a sacrament, inculcated by the Catholic church, and from this, it appears, how horrid is the guilt of our calumniators, who, when they find us otherwise invulnerable, assail us with the poisonous shafts of slander and misrepresentation, pretending, while they know full well how sincerely we reprobate the doctrine they impute to us, that the pope grants licence to commit sin, and that priests forgive it for money!

The power of the priests to absolve the contrite sinner, is based on the texts, John xx. Matthew xvi. where Christ gives the keys of heaven to Peter, and Ch. xviii. 13, when *he declares to all the apostles, after breathing on them, and giving them the Holy Ghost,* "*Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.*" By these words we consider the priest vested with a judicial power by Jesus Christ, to bind or to loose from sin; and as this power cannot be exercised without a knowledge of the sinner's dispositions, especially as to his sorrow for past sins, and his sincere resolution to refrain from them in future, which knowledge none but the sinner himself can give, we conclude on the necessity of sacramental confession to the the priest, who holds the place of Christ in the spiritual tribunal.

There is no immorality in this belief; on the contrary, the most incalculable benefits have accrued from it to religion and to society. If my friend say that it is impious to ascribe to man a power which belongs to God alone, I answer, that if God choose to give such power to man, it would be impious in man to deny such power to God, and a grievous sin of disobedience, to refuse to use it. If he persist in saying, that man cannot be empowered by God to forgive sin in the sacrament of penance, I will ask him, why then is man empowered to forgive sin in the sacrament of baptism? I ask, why does he quarrel with Catholics for employing the words—"I absolve thee from thy sins," when Episcopalians do the same? Here is the church of England book of common prayer; and in it, I read as follows: "When the minister visits any sick person, the latter should be moved to make a *special confession of his sins, if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; after which confession, the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort:* "*Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church, to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy, forgive thee thine offences, and by his authority committed to me,* I ABSOLVE THEE FROM ALL THY SINS, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,*" *Amen.* Soon after king James I. presented to the world, in his own person, the anomaly of head and member of the English church, and lord spiritual and temporal of the realm, he asked his prelates at Hampton court, what authority this church claimed in the article of *absolution from sin?* (Mark—the new Peter did not know his powers!) Archbishop Whitgift began to bamboozle him with an account of the general confession and absolution in the communion service; with which the king being dissatisfied, Bancroft bishop of London, fell on his knees and said, "It becomes us to deal plainly with your majesty; there is, also, in the book, a more particular and personal absolution in the visiting of the sick. Not only the confessions of Augsburgh, Bohemia, and Saxony, retain and allow it, but also Mr. CALVIN doth approve both such a general and such a *private confession and absolution.*" "I exceedingly well approve it, *replied his majesty*, it being an apostolical and godly ordinance." Bancroft was right in quoting the Augsburgh confession, for the Lutherans, the real Simon Pure of the reformation, in the confession of faith, and apology for that confession, expressly teach, "*that absolution is no less a sacrament than baptism and the Lord's supper; that particular absolution is to be retained in confession, that to reject it is the error of the Novatian heretics; and that by the power of the keys, sins are remitted, not only in the sight of the church, but in the sight of God.*" Luther himself, in his catechism, required, *that the penitent in confession should expressly declare that he believes "the forgiveness of the priest to be the forgiveness of God."*

On this topic, before taking up the voluminous evidence before me for the doctrine of the Episcopalians, on this side the great water, I must produce evidence, not to be contradicted by the champion of all Protestantism. It is that of the redoubted Chillingworth. Treating of the text, John xx. 22, 3, he asks: "*Can any man be so unreasonable as to imagine, that when our Savior, in so solemn a manner, having first breathed upon his disciples, thereby conveying and insinuating the Holy Ghost into their hearts, renewed unto them, or rather confirmed that glorious commission, whereby he delegated to them an authority of bind*

ing and loosing sins upon earth, can any one think, I say, so unworthily of our Savior, as to esteem these words of his for no better than compliment? Therefore, in obedience to his gracious will, and as I am warranted and enjoined by my holy mother, the church of England, (you see Protestants use the style 'holy mother church' as well as Catholics) I beseech you that by your practice and use, you will not suffer that commission which Christ hath given to his ministers, to be a vain form of words, without any sense under them. When you find yourselves charged and oppressed, have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignity of your disease. And come not to him only with such a mind as you would go to a learned man, as one that can speak comfortable things to you; but as to one that hath authority, delegated to him from God himself, to absolve and acquit you of your sins. If you shall do this, assure your souls, that the understanding of men, is not able to conceive the transport, and excess of joy and comfort, which shall accrue to that man's heart, who is persuaded he hath been made partaker of this blessing."

An accredited writer in the New York Churchman, of the 7th Jan. one of the ablest periodicals in the United States, quotes the most convincing texts from Origen, Cyprian, Basil and Gregory, under the head of *antiquity*.

Origen (flor. A. D. 220) in Hom. 10 in Numb.

"Laicus si peccet, ipse suum non potest auferre peccatum, sed indiget sacerdote, ut possit remissionem peccatorum accipere." The same father, in his seventh homily on Luke, "Si enim hoc fecerimus et revelaverimus peccata nostra, non solum DEO; sed et his, qui possunt mederi vulneribus nostris atque peccatis; delebuntur peccata nostra ab eo, qui ait, ecce delebo, ut nubem, iniquitates tuas et sicut caliginem peccata tua." (Lat. ver. ex. Taylor.)

St. Cyprian (flor. A. D. 240) in lib. de lapsis.

"Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos, fratres, delictum suum; dum adhuc, qui deliquit, in sæculo est, dum admitti ejus confessio potest, dum satisfactio, et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est."

St. Basil (flor. A. D. 360) in Regul. explic. et Reg. Brev.; 228.

Δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστον μηδὲν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς κίνημα ἀποκρυφον φυλάσσειν ἀλλ' ἀποκυμδοῦν τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας τοῖς πιστευομένοις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων.

Ἀναγκαῖον ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῖς πεπιστευομένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ.

St. Gregory M. (flor. A. D. 590) in hom. 26 in Octav. Pascho.

"Causæ pensandæ sunt, et cum ligandi atque solvendi potestas exercenda, videndum est, quæ culpa ante, quæ sit pœnitentia sequuta, post culpam; ut quos omnipotens Deus per compunctionis gratiam vivificat, illos pastoris sententia absolvat: tunc enim vera est absolutio præsidentis cum eterni arbitrium sequitur judicis."

"When St. James exhorts all christians 'to confess their sins to one another,' certainly it is more agreeable to all spiritual ends, that this be done rather to the curate of souls, than to the ordinary brethren. The church of England is no way engaged against it, but admires it and practises it. The Calvinist churches did not practise it much, because they knew not well how to divest it from its evil appendages, which are put to it by the customs of the world, and to which it is too much exposed by the interests, weaknesses, and partialities of men. But they commending it, shew they would use it willingly, if they could order it unto edification. "Interim quin sistant se pastori oves, quoties sacram cœnam participare volunt, adeo non reclamo, ut maxime velim hoc ubique observari." Calvin. Institut. liber. iii. c. 4. Sec. 12, 13. And for the Lutheran churches, that it is their practice, we may see in Chemintios, 2. part. Gan. Conc. Trid. Cap. 5. de Pœnit. who is noted to this purpose by Bellarmine; only they all consent (how very consistently) that it is not necessary, nor of divine institution." Jeremy Taylor of auricular confession.

"*For they who are spotted with sins, unless they be cured with the priestly authority, cannot be in the bosom of the church,*" *said Fabianus Martyr* (*cited by Taylor.*)

Translation of the above extracts from the Latin fathers.

(1) If a layman sin, he cannot himself take away his sin, but has need of a priest, that he may obtain the remission of his sins.

(2) For if we do this, and reveal ourselves not only to God, but to those who can heal our wounds and sins, our sins will be blotted out by him, who says: "Behold, I will take away your iniquities as a cloud, and your sins as darkness."

(3) I beseech you, brethren, let each one confess his sins, while he who has sinned is yet in life, while his confession may be admitted, while the satisfaction and remission made by the priests is ratified with God.

(4) It behoveth each subject to conceal no passion of his soul, but to reveal the hidden things of his heart to those entrusted with the care of the infirm.

(5) The causes are to be weighed, and when the power of loosing and binding is to be exercised, we must see what cause preceded, and what penance has followed the fault, that the sentence of the pastor may absolve those whom the Omnipotent God, by the grace of compunction, enlivens: for then the absolution of the minister is correct, when he follows the decree of the eternal Judge.

[For English divines, see close of last speech of Saturday, January 21.]

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19TH, *Half-past 9 A. M.*

The 3d Proposition being read—

"She is the Babylon of John, the Man of Sin of Paul, and the Empire of the Youngest Horn of Daniel's Sea Monster,"

MR. CAMPBELL rose and said:

I could have wished, my fellow citizens, that this proposition had been nearer the close of this discussion. But as my nine propositions were first arranged as themes for lectures, rather than as propositions for debate; I could not materially alter either the verbiage or order, after I had been invited to discuss them with my present opponent. Without further ceremony, I proceed to sustain the proposition.

I am not insensible of the difficulties and objections we have to encounter, when we presume to prove any thing from the figurative and symbolic language of prophecy. The difficulties are not, however, so great as at first view may appear. Symbols are exempt from some of the objections lying against literal descriptions—*They need no translation.* Sun, moon, and stars speak the same sublime language to every eye, and suggest the same devout and lofty emotions to every heart. A lion, a leopard, a bear,—an earthquake, a tempest, a swelling sea, are types of the same ideas, and call forth the same thrilling sensations in every spectator. Hence the wisdom in selecting appropriate symbols of the persons and scenes which fill up the great drama of human existence, and diversify the prophetic chart, which the revealing Spirit holds up to the eye of the diligent and faithful student of the word and providence of God.

But, as on a globe of 13 inches diameter, the earth with all its oceans and continents, its mountains and valleys, its lakes and islands, cities and districts, can be displayed in the proper positions and relative sizes of all its parts, and in an instant presented to the eye; so in a symbol, can be grouped together all the grand characteristics of a people or an event, and so accurately and comprehensively, that by a single glance of the eye more can be learned than from the perusal of a volume.

This is, indeed, an advantage which figurative representation has over that which is purely literal and descriptive. By a glance of the eye on a globe, or a map, one can have a better idea of a country, or of the earth, than from the reading of volumes; so by considering a symbolic representation, we may acquire a more vivid and comprehensive view of a subject than by the perusal of many pages.

There is but one eye in the universe that pierces al. nature through; to which the past, the present, and the future are equally plain. God alone knows the future. He has revealed it. In the seventh chapter of Daniel, now lying before me, we have one great meridian line, which runs from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth, and from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the proudest of Assyrian kings, to the ultimate triumph of the Gospel throughout the whole earth.

We shall rapidly sketch the contents of this chapter, which embraces more of human destiny than can be gleaned from all human records. Daniel is in vision translated to the Mediterranean—the great sea—symbol of people in commotion; as the *earth* is of the people at rest. There can be no more appropriate or striking picture of human society than the sea. Sometimes it is tranquil and smooth as oil, like a splendid mirror reflecting the azure vault of heaven: anon it is ruffled by a gentle breeze that ripples softly on its bosom: again, it swells and foams and rages in huge mountain waves that strike with a sublime awe the eye of every beholder. So the people who, to day are all in peace and amity in the smooth current of their daily avocations, by some evil wind or passion are swollen into some mob, or tumult, or tremendous conflict, which for a moment rends the social compact, destroys all confidence, and jeopardizes the best interests of all. Thus in the symbol now before us;—the winds, the passions of men, are in some great tumult. They strive upon the great sea. Four terrific and appalling savage monsters in quick succession rise.

They were all sea monsters, for God's symbol of a tyrannical government has always been a savage wild beast. The first was like a lion with eagle's wings—the fortunes of this eagle-winged lion coming out of a tempestuous sea, fitly symbolized Assyria in its rise, glory, and decline, after the dynasties of more than fourteen hundred years.

The savage beast, like to a bear, raising itself on one side, standing with three ribs in its mouth, viz. Babylon, Lydia and Egypt, represents, because of its *rapacity* and *cruelty*, the empire of the Medes and Persians. This rose from the sea which overwhelmed the Assyrian power: and it continued for two hundred years.

A leopard-like monster, with four heads and four wings upon its back, indicates the rapid conquests of Alexander. His short-lived empire of ten years, reared upon the ruins of the Medo-Persian, and spotted with various nations, finally partitioned among his own four principal generals, is most appositely represented by the symbol of the sixth verse.

But a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, having great iron teeth: which devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, diverse from all the beasts that were before it, having *ten horns*, portrays the Roman empire in those fortunes connected with the principal figure in the group. Interpreters are as much agreed about the import of these symbols as are lexicographers in defining the ordinary words of human speech. For, although they may differ about the time when, or the place where, one of these symbols may rise, or fall, there is scarcely any controversy on the symbols themselves, or subjects to which they refer.

But the principal figure in these four monsters remains yet to be described. "I considered," says the prophet, "and, behold, there came up among them (rather, "behind them" and unobserved) another LITTLE HORN, before which, three of the first horns

were plucked up by the roots." *Horns*, as defined by the Spirit, mean kings or kingdoms. The Roman empire was first partitioned between ten kings or states, after the irruption of the northern barbarians.—Pepin, the king of France, gave to a pope of Rome one horn, viz. the exarchate of Ravenna. Charlemagne gave to Peter's successor the kingdom of the Lombards—the second horn; and Lewis *the Pious* confirmed to the Pope the *State of Rome*, a third horn of the original ten. Thus, before the *little horn* became very conspicuous, three horns made room for it, and it occupied their places.

But the *eleventh horn* is particularly described in the words following, to wit: "In this horn were *eyes* like the eyes of a man, and it had a *mouth* speaking great things." Here we have a horn, a government, full of eyes,—sagacious, politic, cunning: and eloquent, persuasive, boastful, rhetorical, for such are the chief attributes of the *horn* full of eyes, having a *mouth*, &c. The identification of this horn is the grand point before us. We shall, therefore, hastily seek out its distinguishing attributes.

By reading the chapter with, now and then, the interposition of a word, we shall see that the peculiarities of the *little horn* are clearly and definitely marked.

"I beheld," says Daniel, "I contemplated the horns till the thrones were cast down (rather set up: as in the Vulgate, *positi sunt*,) and the ANCIENT OF DAYS did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool, his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him, thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, the judgment was set and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, I beheld till the beast was slain and *his body destroyed*, and given to the burning flame." Mark, the entire and complete destruction of the beast of the *little horn* is assigned to his arrogance and blasphemy,—because of the words which he spake against God and his saints. The other beasts simply lost their dominion, but their lives were spared. "As concerning the other beasts, they had their dominion taken away, but their lives were prolonged." So ends the general statement concerning the whole, and the broken, and the restored, empire of the fourth beast.

But to proceed to the second part of the vision. "I saw," &c. "One like a SON OF MAN—(*bar-enosh*) came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the *Ancient of days*, and they brought him near before him, and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. I asked the meaning of all this, so he told me and made me understand the interpretation of the things."

We have now an interpretation authorized and confirmed. "These great beasts which are four, are four kings which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the MOST HIGH shall take (receive) the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever—even for ever and ever." "Then I would know the truth (meaning) of the fourth beast (empire,) and of the ten horns; and of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows." The interpreting angel then explains this portion of the vision. "The

fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom." (King and kingdom are sometimes used interchangeably.) There never were but four great universal empires on earth, and *there never will be another*, except that of the Messiah.—His universal empire will be the fifth. The fourth beast "shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces."—So did the Roman empire. And the ten horns are ten kings (or kingdoms) which shall arise out of this empire or kingdom; and *another* (THE LITTLE HORN) shall arise AFTER them. And he shall be DIVERSE (not merely political) from the first (ten) and he shall subdue three kings; not only shall three of the kings give place to him,—but he shall destroy the antagonist power of the three empires that preceded his. "He shall speak great words against the MOST HIGH, and shall *wear out* the saints of the Most High, and think to *change times* and *laws*.—(These three never met in any beings save the popes of Rome.) And they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of a time."

A *time* is one annual revolution; a times, two; and half a time, half a year; in all, *forty-two* months; or one thousand two hundred and three score days,—the product of forty-two thirties; or forty-two Jewish months. Of all this, and of one day being given for a year, there is no controversy among Catholics or Protestants. The continuance of the empire of the LITTLE HORN is therefore predestined to twelve hundred and sixty years.

But the judgment shall sit. The long prayed for and expected judgment shall be given *in favor of the saints*. Then shall be taken away his dominion to *consume* and to DESTROY it unto the end or consummation. "Then" with anticipated triumph be it spoken—"the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the *Most High*,—(They were not all worn out by the *Little Horn*) whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, AND ALL DOMINIONS SHALL SERVE AND OBEY HIM." Hitherto is the end of the matter.

Now of all these items the sum is—

1. It is a beast, or empire, or power, that grew out of the Roman beast.
2. It rose after the empire was divided into *ten* kingdoms.
3. It was a *new* and *different* power, sagacious and politic—with human eyes—an eloquent, persuasive, and denunciatory power.
4. It supplanted and displaced *three* of the original states of the Roman empire or of the ten kingdoms into which it was at first divided.
5. It assumed more than any other empire. It uttered great things and its look was more stout (daring) than its fellows.
6. It made war not against sinners, like other empires—it made war *against saints*.
7. It prevailed for a long time against them. It "*wore out the saints*."
8. It presumed to change *times and laws*. How many fasts, and feasts, and saints, and new laws, and institutions has this power set up!
9. It had power to hold in subjection all saints, and to lord it over them for a long time.
10. It was to be *consumed*, gradually wasted as the Protestant Reformation has been wasting its power and substance for three centuries—and is yet finally, suddenly and completely to be destroyed. Can my learned opponent find all these characteristics and circumstances in any other power or empire in the history of all time! I trust he will

give me an opportunity to expatiate on these points and to defend them more fully.

Meantime, to excite attention, I positively affirm that these items never met in any King, Kingdom, State or Empire, save that of Papal Rome. There, and there only, can they all be found as large as life; and as exact as answers the image in the mirror to the face.

But I hasten to identify this prediction with the Babylon of John. And in doing this I can at present but sketch the rudest outline. Let us open the 13th chapter.

John stands in vision on the shore of the great sea, the Mediterranean. He saw a savage beast rising out of the sea. It had *seven heads* and *ten horns*, and on its heads the names of blasphemy.—It resembled the lion, the bear, and the leopard. It was composed of all that is savage. The dragon, the serpent of my opponent, Pagan Rome gave him his power and his throne, and great authority.—How much does this resemble the vision of Daniel! This seven headed Empire with ten horns—It is on this beast the woman sat—subsequently pictured out as BABYLON THE GREAT. This is the *Latin* Empire which sustained the Latin church. This is the beast out of which the LITTLE HORN grew.

The wounded head or the *imperial*, which was the sixth head, was healed by the great Charles, and his new empire controlled by the ecclesiastic beast, spoke blasphemies and daring things against God, his name, and all that dwell in heaven. This new religious and political Empire "made war against the saints and overcame them." "And it continued for *forty-two* months" "a time, and times and a dividing of time.'

His dominion extended over all the western Roman Empire. But next comes the *Little Horn*—the ecclesiastical beast.—In John's vision this beast resembles a lamb, but it speaks like a *dragon!* Christian Rome spoke like Pagan Rome! It obliged *all the earth* to worship the dragon—It was *Catholic!!* It made an *image* of the Pagan beast. It gave life to this image, and compelled all to die or worship the image of the Pagan beast. It was then a bloody persecuting beast. It was idolatrous as Pagan Rome. But instead of worshiping dead heroes it worships dead saints—instead of Goddesses it has Lordesses; angels instead of demi-gods.—

Indeed Papal Rome has borrowed much from Pagan Rome—Old Rome had her *pontifex maximus*, her purgatory, priests and priestesses, her victims and "*hosts*." She had her lustral water as modern Rome has her holy water. She had her vestal virgins as her descendant has her nuns. She had her Pantheon as modern Rome has her Vatican, and in the niches where stood the gods of the *dragon* now stand the saints of the Roman Draconic lamb.

My present argument requires me to identify this beast with the Roman church or with the Little Horn.—And therefore in addition to the resembling attributes already traced I proceed to the most definite of its marks. "Here is wisdom. Let him who has understanding compute the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred and sixty six."—

The ecclesiastic beast, or kingdom is thus definitely the letters of a name which together make 666. The name of a man is the name of this kingdom. Now we begin with a Roman saint—even with the great Irenæus. We shall find in the name of the king and founder of the Latin empire the name of this prophetic personage—It is said by

the *saint* that among the Greeks the king's name was written *Lateinos* the letters of which being numerals in that language exactly make the sum: for

Λ	30
α	1
τ	300
ε	5
ι	10
ν	50
ο	70
ς	200
	666

He made the name of the founder stand for the name of the empire. But Bellarmine, a learned Jesuit, objects to this—that in the language and at the time the Revelation was written the orthography of this name was Λατινος, and not Λατινος. And this being so there is a plausible, nay a relevant objection aginst the interpretation of Irenæus. We pause not to examine this matter; because we find a much more consistent and convincing exposition in the true and proper name of the Institution which in Greek was always written in full.

Η Λατινη βασιλεια. The Latin Kingdom. Η=8, Λ=30, α=1, τ=300, ι=10, ν=50, η=8, β=2, α=1, σ=200, ι=10, λ=30, ε=5, ι=10, α=1: The sum, 666.

The conclusion from these premises is, that as there is no other kingdom on earth whose name is exactly 666—and as the beast, the symbol of this kingdom, has been proved to be the *Latin empire*, and *He Latine Basileia*, being proved to contain 666, this definitely and clearly marks out the Roman Institution as that to which the 13th chapter of the apocalypse and the 7th chapter of Daniel refer.

The only question of apparent difficulty that can be here asked, is: —Whether Rome Pagan or Rome Papal is intended: for that Rome is intended cannot be questioned. That it is Rome Papal is evident from the fact that what is called the second Beast, chap. 13, verse 12, is, chap. 18 and 20, called the false prophet—and this is the beast whose name is given as numerically equivalent to 666.

This moreover explains that love of *Latin* which to this day distinguishes this party. They not only have long gloried in the name *Roman* or *Latin* Catholic or Church of *Rome*, but they still say mass in Latin, and perform their religious services in that dead language; for although Paul "had rather speak five sentences in the vernacular, than ten thousand sentences in an unknown tongue"—that he might edify his hearers,—and although in the age of the "primitive Fathers" the whole church prayed and taught in the language of every country where they worshiped; still for the sake of Latin, to this day and even in this country, Romanists perform their most devout services in that dead and foreign tongue as though God himself preferred that language to every other. Thus they are providentially bearing to all nations and languages the grand mark, and the number of the name which identifies them as the beast and Babylon of John.

To return to the imagery of the Prophet John:—In the 17th chapter this ecclesiastic establishment is compared to a great harlot, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and as having intoxicated all the inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her whoredom. The woman is further identified by being described as sitting upon a *scarlet beast*, full of blasphemous names, having *seven heads* and *ten horns*; and she is adorned with purple and scarlet, with gold, and diamonds, and pearls; having a golden cup in her hand, full of the abomination and pollution of her whoredoms. She had upon her forehead her

name written:—"MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND OF THE ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH." And to make the matter more certain, the Spirit testifies, verse 18: "The woman which you saw is the great city (spiritually called Babylon, literally, Papal Rome) that rules over the kings of the earth."

Having thus connected these symbols, and seen the co-adaptation to the same subject we shall here introduce the Apostle Paul with his plain and unfigurative description of the Man of Sin, 2d chap. 2d Thessalonians, and examine the congruity of his description with the symbols of Daniel and John. He may be regarded as the literal interpreter of them both.

"Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all powers, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." Verses 3—10.

The Apostle foretells an *apostacy* (a falling away) in the Church; which apostacy would issue in the full revelation or manifestation of THE MAN OF SIN, (or of *idolatry*, for this is *the* sin of Jews and Gentiles.) The *Man of Sin* is again designated as the SON OF PERDITION. He was the subject of past prophecy as Judas was; for on that account he too was called the Son of Perdition—foredoomed to ruin. The names of *Man of Sin* and *Son of ruin*, fitly represent this apostacy. The attributes and circumstances peculiar to this passage are the following.

1. He was to come forward stealthily by degrees and unobserved, (like Daniel's Little Horn, to grow up behind the others) "The secret, or mystery of iniquity already inwardly works."

2. He could not be revealed till "He who restrains or lets (the Pagan power) be taken out of the way." Political power as well as ecclesiastic was necessary to his development. So the Little Horn did not appear conspicuous till after the ten horns grew out of the fourth beast. The Man of Sin is, in historic truth, the youngest horn that sprung from the Pagan beast.

3. He was to exalt himself above all that is called a *God*, or an object of worship. My learned opponent will agree with me that *God* here may mean, as sometimes it does in the Bible, a magistrate or king. And certainly not only in the arrogant titles which he assumes, but in the dispensations which he has granted, in respect to laws divine and human, no magistrate, king, or potentate, ever claimed so much on earth as the Man of Sin, as the Popes of Rome He is not only styled "Universal Father," "Holy Father," "His Holiness," "Sovereign Pontiff," "Supreme Head of the Church on Earth," "Pater Familias," "Successor of Peter," "Prince of the

apostles," "Infallible One," "Vicar of Christ," "Lieutenant of Christ," "Prince of the World;" but he is styled, still more blasphemously, "Lord of Lords," a god on earth, "Lord God the Pope."

4. He places himself "in the temple of God." This ascertains the Man of Sin more specifically than any other attribute or circumstance in the passage. He is no Pagan idolater; he is no infidel Jew; he is no author of a new religion; but he sits in the Church of Jesus Christ—God's building—God's temple—holding the fundamental truths of religion, as did this community when the Man of Sin invaded the Church; for, yet, the great *facts* of Christianity are acknowledged by the Church of Rome, though "*made of no effect* by her traditions."

5. He exhibits or "shows himself to be a god." He claims to reign not only for Christ as his vicar, but the homage due to a representative of God he haughtily appropriates to himself. Such is the prediction of the man of sin; and who that is conversant with the history of the popes of Rome, from their coronation, standing on the altar in St. Peter's church, receiving the title of God's vicegerent, assuming the honors of the supreme head of the whole church; power over the angels of heaven, over the inhabitants of Hades, and over the laws and statutes of the bible, can think that Paul exaggerates the picture by saying that this son of perdition, and man of sin, was to pass himself off, was to "*show himself as a God.*"

6. He is called THE LAWLESS ONE; verse 8, "*the wicked one.*" So Daniel's little horn is represented as "changing (or seeking to change) the times and the laws." Instances of such dispensations and indulgences could be multiplied, *ad libitum*, demonstrative that such have always been the professions and assumptions of the "*Princes of the Apostles.*"

7. But another incident in the history of the decline of the man of sin deserves our attention, and singularly identifies him with the empire of the little horn. "Whom the Lord shall *consume* (or slay) by the spirit of his mouth, and *destroy* by the brightness of his coming." And of the dominion of the little horn, says Daniel: "They shall *consume* and *destroy* it to the end." Paul seems to have quoted the very words of Daniel, and thus most unquestionably identified the *man of sin* and *little horn* as designating the same apostacy from Christ and his religion.

8. In describing the coming of this man of sin, he is compared to the deceptions, assumptions, and approaches of Satan, who has often assumed a divine mission or the power of miracles. So the Roman church has ever pretended to the power of working miracles, and has gained and still retains much power by false signs and lying wonders.

Of this apostacy, and of the rise and progress of this man of sin, as described by Paul, we may mark his growth and progress in full agreement with the records of authentic history in the following order and style:—He was an embryo in Paul's time. (The mystery of iniquity doth already inwardly work). He was an infant in the time of Victor I., 195. He was a bold and daring lad in the time of Constantine the Great. A sturdy stripling in the days of Leo I., when auricular confession came in. He was nineteen years old in the days of Justinian's code; and a young man full twenty-one, when Boniface III. received from Phocas the title of Universal Patriarch or Pope, A. D. 606. He was twenty-five when Pepin and Charlemagne gave him political power and glory, A. D. 760: and at full prime, or at thirty-five, when Gregory the Great took the crown from the em-

peror Henry and gave it to Rudolphus. He had reached his grand climacteric in the days of Wickliff, and Luther gave him a mortal thrust, which introduced into his system that chronic consumption under which he has ever since lingered. But it remains for John the apostle, and last prophet of the church, to declare his last agony and final overthrow.

As we have no time more than to sketch the naked outline, we shall hasten to the consummation, as respects the Babylon of John so exactly identified with the subject before us. In his apocalyptic developments, 18th chapter, he declares her final doom. My proposition carries in it the indication of a monster. *She* is the *Man* of Sin! *Babylon the Great*—a *city*, a *beast*, a *woman*, a *state*, a *persecuting power; scariet, purple, drunken with the blood of the saints, with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus!!* MYSTERY! By mystery she rose, she reigns;—her mystery of purgatory, transubstantiation, relics, miracles, signs, sacraments, and unfathomable doctrines, have given her power: for, says Paul, (2d Thess. ii.) describing the advances of this son of ruin, and lawless one, "His coming is according to the operation of Satan, in all power and lying wonders."—Douay Testament.

Babylon, the ancient capital of Chaldea, great as it was, was but the type. Her antitype is the spiritual city. This city sits upon the seven mountains of the "*Holy Roman Empire*," which the heirs of Pepin erected. For thus did they blasphemously designate the new empire erected out of the seven grand electorates of Germany; the seven heads of that empire which sustained the assumptions of the papal see.

But we have now to do with her overthrow. The means of her decay are, first, the spirit of the Lord's mouth. The reading, preaching, and circulating of the Bible. The second is the hatred of the ten horns; "For the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire." *Flesh* is the symbol of riches. And riches she has had beyond comparison. It is said, that in two churches in Spain, some fifty years since, there were more gold and silver, in saints, apostles, and angels, than the richest sovereign in Europe was worth. Her real and personal estate has never yet been valued. But the political powers shall get tired of the cupidity and insatiable appetite of this monster, and shall plunder her resources and confiscate her estate, as in France and England, and thus shall her ruin commence. But at the moment when judgment shall be given in favor of the saints of the Most High,—when the hour of her destruction has come suddenly and in an instant, as when an angel hurls a millstone into the sea, shall Rome with all her glory be swallowed down, and engulphed in immediate and eternal ruin. We do expect in the final catastrophe of Papal Rome a combination and concentration of Almighty wrath. The vials of God's fiercest anger await her. The Plagues of Egypt, Sodom, and Jerusalem are in store for the Son of Perdition. In the battle of Armageddon, blood shall flow for 1600 furlongs, to the bits of the horses' bridles. It is remarkable, that this 1600 furlongs make exactly the whole extent of *the State of Rome*, which the popes have so long held. From the Tiber to the Po is just 200 miles or 1600 furlongs. Still the last act of this appalling drama will be short. The artillery of Heaven's vengeance shall burst upon her in a moment; for Omnipotence has a long controversy against her for her evil deeds. I have only time to add, that

things said by Daniel, Paul, and John perfectly harmonize in the suddenness and completeness of her destruction. However gradual, for a time, the consumption and decay of her strength and glory, she will die a violent death; for all the witnesses attest that a sudden and overwhelming destruction awaits her.

But amid the tremendous darkness of this dread hour, the bright and morning star of Israel appears: for as soon as the flying angel, as it flits across the heavens, announces in words of everlasting joy, that the hour of her judgment has come, the angel in his rear, attendant on his flight, shouts triumphantly from east to west: "It is fallen! It is fallen! Babylon the great is fallen!" Then shall there be "voices and thunders, and lightnings, and the universal earthquake which shall bring the cities of the Gentiles to the dust." Then will be the time when a voice from heaven exultingly shall say: "Rejoice over her, ye holy apostles and prophets; for God has avenged you on her! Then the immense multitude of saints,—the martyred millions in heaven shall say: Hallelujah! Salvation, and glory, and power to the Lord our God: for his judgments are true and righteous: for he has judged the great harlot, who corrupted the earth with her fornication, and he has avenged the blood of his servants shed by her hand! And a second time they said, Hallelujah! and the smoke of her torment ascended forever and ever!"

Then, indeed, shall the kingdoms of the whole earth become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his anointed. Then the cause, so long oppressed, shall universally triumph: for ages of prosperity and joy are yet to crown the labors of Messiah; and untold millions, the trophies of his mediation are yet to gladden heaven and earth by their cheerful submission to his authority, who shall then be acknowledged the rightful *King of kings and Lord of lords.*

Such a catastrophe is even feared at Rome itself. The popes have uttered it abroad; they have proclaimed to the world that they felt St. Peter's chair tremble under them;—that the throne of the prince of the apostles now totters to its fall. In dolorous strains they lament in their encyclical letters the prevalence of liberal (with them infidel) principles. Even in Italy and in Spain the sovereign pontiff observes indications of the spirit of the age. Free discussion, the liberty of the press, or even a whisper about free government, in the environs of Rome, grievously afflicts him. It has been said by the most intelligent in the internal affairs of Roman Catholic countries, that it would not be the most unexpected event if the present incumbent of the Papal chair should be the last of the popes of Rome.

Public opinion is fast changing even in those countries, and there is an under-current which, like a subterraneous fire, is liquifying the foundations of the hills and mountains on which this proud superstructure rears its aspiring head. The pope is looking abroad, perhaps to the "mountains of the moon," or to the great valley, as to a wilderness, in which there may be an asylum reared for him in such a contingency as might drive him from the Eternal city. Who knows but that the ecclesiastic politics of Roman Catholic Europe have aided the tide of emigration prospectively, on the chances that are to decide the fortunes of the hierarchy in the Old World.

But the destinies of western Rome, the theatre of the prophecies before us, exhaust the symbols of these predictions. The fortunes of our country and of the Papacy here, belong to another chapter.

Whether it shall simultaneously fall in the New world, or shall seek here to recruit its shattered interests, and seek to found a great American Roman Catholic hierarchy, is a question of grave import, which it is not my province to examine.

Such, however, are its origin, its history, and its doom in the Old world, as sketched by the finger of God. And the history of Europe, for twelve hundred and thirty years, proves, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Daniel, Paul, and John spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

I cannot sit down without an apology for the rudeness of this great outline. It would require hours to fill up the map which I have laid before you. I have endeavored only to estab ish the grand landmarks, and point out the bearings of prophecy upon this institution. In hopes that my learned opponent will give me an opportunity to fortify the weak points, and to illustrate the obscure, I give place; having, as I judge, redeemed the pledge which I tendered in my fourth proposition: for in the history of all time, no person will ever find any one subject in which so many—nay, all the grand characteristics of this prophetic tyranny, so clearly, literally, and harmoniously meet as in Papal Rome. On this point I challenge special investigation.—[Time expired, *plus* 9 minutes.]

Half past 10 *o'olock, A. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

Before I take review of my friend's last speech, I wish to complete my previous one. I was speaking on the subject of auricular and private confession, when I was last up, and endeavoring to prove that it was a practice not contrary to scripture, nor immoral. I have, in proof of this position, quoted authorities from scripture, from the ancient records of the Catholic church, and from the divines and practice of the English church. I now add to them, a quotation from the discipline of the Methodist church, edition of 1835, New-York. And, to show that every argument addressed to you by my friend, falls with as great force, nay greater, on Protestants, I will read the following extract, (p. 84.) You will observe, my friends, that I do not arraign the Methodists, as immoral, or quote their discipline from insidious motives; but, to show that our practice is *imitated* in a way, by which it is not improved, but liable to great abuse; and that every thing that is said against us, may be said against others.

Section III.—"*Of the Band Societies.* "Two, three or four true believers, who have confided in each other, form a band.—Only it is to be observed, that in one of these bands, all must be men, or all women; and all married or all unmarried." p. 83. '*Rules of the Band Societies.*" "The design of our meeting is to obey that command of God, Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." James, v. 16.

"Some of the questions proposed to one, before he is admitted among us, may be to this effect." p. 84. "1.° Have you the forgiveness of your sins? (a pretty hard question, my friends to answer, when the scripture assures us, Eccles. ix. 1, "Man knoweth not whether he be worthy of love, or hatred;" in other words, whether he hath, or hath not, forgiveness of his sins.) 5.° Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you? (What scrutiny!) 6.° Do you desire to be told of your faults? 7.° Do you desire to be told of *all* your faults, and that *plain* and *home?* 8.° Do you desire that every one of us should tell you from time to time, whatsoever is in our heart, concerning you? 9.° Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear concerning you? 10.° Do you desire that in doing this, we should come as close as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search

your heart to the bottom? 11.° Is it your desire and design to be on this and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to speak without disguise, and without reserve? ☞ Any of the preceding questions may be asked as often as occasion requires: the four following at every meeting. 85. 1.° What known sins have you committed since our last meeting? 2.° What particular temptations have you met with? 3.° How were you delivered? 4.° What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin, or not?"

They must reveal the whole soul and body, inward and outward sins; and I defy my friend to quote any thing, even from Smith's Liguori, to surpass that. In the Catholic practice, the confession is to the priest alone; who is bound by holy vows, before God and man, not to abuse his trust; and it is unheard of, that a priest has ever violated his oath, by divulging the secrets confided to his ear, as the minister of the sacrament. But tell such secrets to one woman, and, as the witty Frenchman said, when asked why he began a deed with the words, "Know one woman," &c.: "Why, if one woman knows it, it is equivalent to "all men," for they will all know it soon enough from her." (a laugh.) I suspect, that my opponent also suspects by this time, that he has got into a pretty bad *fix*. I shall be amused to see how he will *eel* out of the noose.

Now, my friends, I have advanced Protestant testimony, to show, either that the champion of Protestantism has trodden most awfully upon Protestants' toes, or to prove that the Catholic practice of confession is not immoral. Did time permit, I might cite the most convincing testimony, from the fathers of the reformation, and from the German princes, to show, that when the restraints of the confessional were removed, the barriers of virtue seemed to be broken down. I do not choose to use their testimony before this audience. It is sufficiently well known, and it follows from it, that my opponent ought not to speak ill of confession; for it has every where proved itself to be a useful practice, and one beneficial to society. It has been one of the most remarkable aids to justice, in cases which legal process could not reach. To show this, I will relate an anecdote. Some one, in New-York, stole a quantity of silver spoons, and, having confessed the crime to the priest, was told, that neither confession nor absolution could be of any avail, without restitution of the ill-gotten goods. Restitution was accordingly made. Here is a fine practical comment on the subject. The police, having heard of the affair, insisted that the priest should disclose the name of the thief, and wished to compel him to do so, to promote thereby, as they supposed they should do, the cause of justice. The priest, of course, refused to commit a flagrant breach of trust, and modestly contended, that the cause of justice was much more effectually promoted, by the course which a priest in such case pursued. Restitution had been made: was not this enough? The police subpœnaed him to appear before the mayor of New-York, the celebrated De Witt Clinton, who decided that the priest could not be compelled to give up the name. The lawyer employed by the priest, was Mr. Sampson, a Protestant, and an ornament to the bar. He reported the trial. Before reading his speech, touching on this very topic of the morality or immorality of auricular confession, hear the admirable, but too brief preface, he has prefixed to the volume. I am sure, every high-minded and honorable man here, whether Protestant or Catholic, will subscribe cheerfully to his sentiments. "The general satisfaction given to every religious denomination, by the de-

cision of this interesting question, is well calculated to dissipate antiquated prejudices and religious jealousies; and the reporter feels no common satisfaction in making it public. When that adjudication shall be compared with the baneful statutes and judgments in Europe, upon similar subjects, the superior equity and wisdom of American jurisprudence, and civil probity, will be felt; and it cannot fail to be well received by the enlightened and virtuous of every community, and will constitute a document of history, precious and instructive to the present and future generations." Having produced before the court a book called, "The Papist misrepresented, and truly represented," and read the misrepresentation first, he continued:

"The papist *truly represented*, believes it damnable in any religion to make gods of men. However he firmly holds, that when Christ speaking to his apostles said, John xx. 22, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained;*" he gave them, and their successors, the bishops and priests of the Catholic church, authority to absolve any truly penitent sinner from his sins. And God having thus given them *the ministry of reconciliation*, and made them *Christ's legates*, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, 20, *Christ's ministers and the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ*, 1 Cor. iv. and given them power that *whatsoever they loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven*, Matt. xviii. 18, he undoubtedly believes, that whosoever comes to them, making a sincere and humble confession of his sins, with a true repentance and a firm purpose of amendment, and a hearty resolution of turning from his evil ways, may from them receive absolution, by the authority given them from heaven, and no doubt but God ratifies above the sentence pronounced in that tribunal; *loosing in heaven whatsoever is thus loosed by them on earth*. And that, whosoever comes without the due preparation, without a repentance from the bottom of his heart, and real intention of forsaking his sins, receives no benefit by the absolution; but adds sin to sin, by a high contempt of God's mercy, and abuse of his sacraments."

No wonder then, this latter being the true character of confession, if the bitterest enemies of the Catholic faith have still respected it; and that discerning minds have acknowledged the many benefits society might practically reap from it; abstracted from its religious character. It has, I dare say, been oftener attacked by sarcasm than by good sense. The gentleman who argued against us, has respected himself too much to employ that weapon, and I believe he has said all that good sense could urge against it, which we take in very good part.

But while this ordinance has been openly exposed to scoff and ridicule, its excellence has been concealed by the very secrecy it enjoins. If it led to licentiousness or danger, that licentiousness, or that danger, would have come to light, and there would be tongues enough to tell it. Whilst on the other hand its utility can never be proved by instances, because it cannot be shown how many have been saved by it: how many of the young of both sexes, have been in the most critical juncture of their lives, admonished from the commission of some fatal crime, that would have brought the parents' hoary hairs with sorrow to the grave. These are secrets that cannot be revealed.

Since however, the avenues that lead to vice are many and alluring, is it not well that some one should be open to the repenting sinner, where the fear of punishment and of the world's scorn, may not deter the yet wavering convert? If the road to destruction, is easy and smooth, *si facilis descensus averni*, may it not consist with wisdom and policy, that there be one silent, secret path, where the doubting penitent may be invited to turn aside, and escape the throng that hurries him along? Some retreat, where, as in the bosom of a holy hermit, within the shade of innocence and peace, the pilgrim of this checquered life, may draw new inspirations of virtue and repose.

If the thousand ways of error, are tricked with flowers, is it so wrong, that somewhere there should be a sure and gentle friend, who has no interest to betray, no care, but that of ministering to the incipient cure? The syren songs and blandishments of pleasure, may lead the young and tender heart astray, and the repulsive frown of stern authority, forbid return. One step then gained or lost, is victory or death. Let me then ask you that are parents, which would you prefer, that the child of your hopes should pursue the course of ruin, and con-

tinue with the companions of debauch and crime, or turn to the confessional, where if compunction could once bring him, one gentle word, one well timed admonition, one friendly turn by the hand, might save your child from ruin, and your heart from unavailing sorrow? And if the hardened sinner, the murderer, the robber, or conspirator, can once be brought to bow his stubborn spirit, and kneel before his frail fellow man, invite him to pronounce a penance suited to his crimes, and seek salvation through a full repentance, there is more gained, than by the bloodiest spectacle of terror, than though his mangled limbs were broken on the wheel, his body gibbeted or given to the fowls of the air. If these reflections have any weight at all; if this picture be but true, in any part, better forbear and leave things as they are, than too rashly sacrifice to jealous doubts, or shallow ridicule, an ordinance sanctioned by antiquity and founded on experience of man's nature. For if it were possible for even faith, that re moves mountains, as they say, to alter this, and with it to abolish the whole fabric, of which it is a vital part, what next would follow? Hundreds of millions of christians would be set adrift from all religious fastening! Would it be better to have so many atheists, than so many christians? Or if not, what church is fitted to receive into its bosom, this great majority of all the christian world? Is it determined whether they shall become Jews or Philanthropists, Chinese or Mahommedans, Lutherans, or Calvinists, Baptists or Brownists, Materialists, Universalists or Destructionists, Arians, Trinitarians, Presbyterians, Baxterians, Sabbatarians, Millennarians, Moravians, Antinomians or Sandemanians, Jumpers, or Dunkers, Shakers or Quakers, Burgers, Kirkers, Independents, Covenanters, Puritans, Hutchisonians, Johnsonians, or Muggletonians. I doubt not that in every sect that I have named, there are good men, and if there be, I trust they will find mercy, but chiefly so as they are charitable, each to his neighbor. And why should they be otherwise? The gospel enjoins it; the constitution ordains it. Intolerance in this country could proceed from nothing but a diseased affection of the *pia mater*, or the spleen." Catholic Question in America. p. 87.

I will now dismiss the question of confession. There are many things to which I should like to give answers, in set speeches; but, whoever reads this controversy, must not suppose that because I have not time to answer every accusation at length, there is no answer to them. I catch all I can of what my friend hurriedly utters; for I cannot hear him, for his occasional hoarseness of voice.

When my worthy opponent stated, in his long-blazoned proposition, "*She* is the *man* of sin," I imagined that he meant no more than the exciting of an innocuous laugh at the expense of "MOTHER CHURCH," by making a man of her in her old age. How great, then, has been my surprise, to see him, all sail set, dash headlong upon this rock of commentators, the "infames scopulos interpretum," around which are scattered in profusion, the wrecks of so many learned lucubrations, for the last 1800 years! Catholics and Protestants, churchmen and laymen, ancients and moderns, Papias and Newton, and last, not least, Mr. Alexander Campbell, have all egregiously foundered upon this hidden shoal of controversy.

No wonder, the learned Protestant, Scaliger, observed that Calvin was wise, in not writing upon the Apocalypse. "*Sapuit Calvinus, quia in Apocalypsin non scripsit!*" Had we a congregation of scary old women, instead of intelligent and sensible men, around us, I should expect to be looked at by many a prying eye, confident of seeing one, at least of the ten horns, sprouting, or already strong, full-grown, and threateningly prominent from my forehead. But as I address reasoners, not visionaries, nor rhapsodists, nor fanatics, I must reason, leaving to my fanciful friend, the regions of imagination, into which he has flown, far above my reach.—I would not fetch him too hastily down, but by sending a few arguments, at respectful distances after one another to pluck a feather now, and a feather then from his wings,

we may fetch him safely, and slowly, and with dignity back again to the apprehension of logic, and common sense. These are the weapons with which I, in the first place, proceed to grapple with the gentleman.

1st. Is he an *infallible?* He pretends not, verily, to be such. Then what is all his fanciful theory worth? It is based on reason and history, is it? Well but Hugo Grotius, and Hammond, and Dr. Herbert Thorndike, not to mention fifty others, of different religious denominations, but all Protestants, and at least as good biblical and classical scholars, as my learned antagonist, have ridiculed the notion of calling the pope of Rome Antichrist! If only one learned and pious Protestant were pitted against my friend, I would be even with him, or more than even.—How much superior in this argument, when I have so many wise men on my side, while all the monomaniacs are on his? "*Let them not lead people by the nose,*" says Thorndike, "*to believe they can prove their supposition that the pope is antichrist, and the Papists, Idolaters, when they cannot*" Thus the most learned and orthodox Protestant divines cannot subscribe to—they are, on the contrary, ashamed of—this interpretation of my learned opponent.

2nd. Those Protestants, who agree with him in calling the pope, antichrist, disagree as to the particular pope to be so called, and still more, as to the time when the downfall of Babylon was to have taken place, or is to take place—as in the case of the Jewish testimony against Jesus Christ, there is no agreement among the witnesses. Braunbom confidently asserts that the popish antichrist was born in the year 86; that he grew to his full size in 376; that he was at his greatest strength in 636; that he began to decline in 1086; that he would die in 1640; and that the world would end in 1711. (Bayle Art. Braunbom) bishop Newton, Napper, Fleming, Beza, Melancthon, Bullinger, had all their peculiar and conflicting theories, and none of them, we may safely assert, has found the Apocalyptic key. Turien, Alix and Kett, are in nothing more wise, and equally unsuccessful.

3d. The scripture is opposed to him. For St. John says, 1st Ep. ch. 2. v. 22. "That the liar who denieth Jesus to be the Christ is antichrist." Now this, the pope has never done; but, on the contrary, he contends earnestly for the faith in the divinity of Christ, once delivered to the saints.

4th. Church history is opposed to him. For it shews, at every page, how the pope sent missionaries into every part of the world even the most distant, to gather barbarous nations into the fold of Christ, to preach to them salvation through his blood. Now according to the rule of the Savior, "a kingdom, divided against itself, cannot stand." And it is unheard of among all the signs of the antichrist, that he was to be the strenuous, and for many centuries, the only apostle of the true Christ, the Savior. Even the worst pope, was true to doctrine, and made the beams of the sun of righteousness, of pure, christian faith, gild the villages of Tartary and cheer the roving hordes in its deserts.

5th. My friend is opposed to himself; for he said to day, that the eyes of the little horn signified wisdom and knowledge. Now as the Catholic church is the mother of ignorance, the victim of blind and ridiculous superstitions, the cause of all the obscurity of the dark ages, she cannot be the antichrist. Again its mouth indicated elo-

quence, was eloquent.—Then my opponent is, himself, the beast, for his speech was truly eloquent. Indeed the ingenuity with which he dressed up even the old story of "she is fallen, the mighty Babylon, the great harlot, which corrupted the earth—Allelujah, Allelujah!" is proof positive that he would, *by his command of language*, deceive, *if possible*, even the elect, into the belief, that he had succeeded, where so many had failed, in breaking the seal of the mysterious volume. He has clearly put the lion in a net, and not so much as a mouse durst approach, to gnaw a hole, to let him out.

6th. He is opposed to Catholics. For they have been wont to apply the words of St. John, just before he speaks of the antichrist, to the Protestant sects, which, they conceive, are fast hastening into the arms of the Unitarians, who deny the divinity of Christ. "They went out from us; but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have remained with us, but that they may be manifest that they are not all of us." I have already said something of the "monster," not merely "beast," but "monster," which my friend attempted, like Prometheus, to form and steal fire from heaven to animate, that he might call it "Apostolic Protestantism." This, in our estimation, may be found to possess, some, at least, of the characteristics of the Apocalyptic beast. But we should beg leave to baptize it "Polypos" or "Legion." We could very satisfactorily shew that it has made war on the saints, and devoured them by thousands, not to say millions; that a portion of the beast so detains, even now, when light from heaven is breaking, MILLIONS of the saints, of those who for the Confession of Jesus Christ and for *conscience sake* are reduced to a galling servitude, a poverty, and a degradation, *far worse* than the lot of the negro, of the southern rice-fields.

My friend began by observing that symbolical language gives great scope for the imagination. It sets us adrift upon a sea of speculation. Is he ready to embark upon that sea? Are his sails trimmed? Is his compass ready? If the sad experience, to which I have alluded, has not disinclined him to the voyage, I assure him that he will find it to eventuate like that of the three wise men of Gotham, whom our illustrious compatriot Washington Irving, sent to sea in a bowl. We may drift with every wind, and current, through a thousand perils, on this wide ocean of imagination. But, my friends, what has imagination to do with this question? She is a very good slave, but a very bad mistress. Give me full scope with your imagination and I can prove to you any thing and every thing, until we all are like the novel and romance writers of the present day—"*in fancy ripe, in reason rotten.*" Novels and romances are, confessedly, works of fiction. They are not expected to contain reason, and therefore they escape censure. But when men pretend to pass off their day-dreams for the oracles of Heaven, they should remember the law of Deuteronomy, xiv. 5, "*that the Prophet and forger of dreams shall be slain*," and if they tear not even the fate of the false seer, at least, they should apprehend the lash of criticism and ridicule. I know in this good city, a respectable dame, who is not a Catholic, but who has written a ream of paper on the Apocalyptic visions. I suggest to my friend that he may possibly gather additional light on the subject, by comparing notes with her. She has made it the study of years, and on one occasion, as I am credibly informed, under the influence of the text's inspiration, she came into

church, with the sun, moon, and stars pictured upon her dress, and trailing beneath her feet as she solemnly moved through the aisle. You, sir, may have surpassed this lady in eloquence, though of that I am not quite sure, but, certainly, she was a match for you, in imagination. My friend observed that the sun would go down, it would take him a whole day, to shew the audience the *rationale* of the conceit with which he has favored us—I could not help assenting to the gentleman's remark, and saying, in my mind, that it was even so—nay, that it would take 365 days, before he could shew that there was *any thing* in it that was reasonable.

Southey observes that the "ROMISH CHURCH WAS, in the worst of times, HOWEVER DEFILED, the SALT OF THE EARTH, THE SOLE CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLE, BY WHICH EUROPE WAS SAVED FROM THE LOWEST AND MOST BRUTAL BARBARISM;" and yet in the very face of this reluctant tribute, by a first-rate Protestant historian, Mr. Campbell labors to demonstrate that this very church was Anti-Christ! He places her on the Mediterranean, although it is a weary ride before you reach her splendid domes and everlasting—maugre the liquifying—hills, on which she sits, in humble, if in queenly majesty. The Tiber, like its namesake in the district, instead of being called a sea, may well be called a "*Goose creek*" now.

My friend's Lexicography, Iconisms and Synchronisms, must have all passed for argument strong as the rock of Gibraltar, in his own opinion. It is unanswered and unanswerable. He says that God always by a beast, means some monster or other. Then Jesus Christ must be 'some monster or other,' for what is the cry of Heaven's Jubilee at the end of all things? "*Behold the 'Lion' of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed;*" and again—"Worthy was the Lamb that was slain," &c. &c. My friend would make a strange havoc with the language and imagery of heaven—a curious monster of a Lamb and a Lion, than which notwithstanding all he has said, I will force him to confess that there can be nothing, as there is nothing, more beautiful than this entire passage. The Evangelists are represented in the vision of Ezekiel as Beasts and Birds of prey. Are they too Anti-Christs? England has chosen the Rampant and Roaring Lion for her emblem. My friend has praised and dispraised her. What portion of Anti-Christ, of the *man* of sin, is *she?* She has persecuted—and I might with far more truth say to her, what the martyred Robert Emmett said to Lord Norbury, "*If all the innocent blood your ladyship has shed could be collected into one great reservoir, your Ladyship might swim in it.*" My friend spoke of Elizabeth's long life. He did not say of how many years she abridged the life of the "*Fair Queen of Scots.*" Politically, intellectually, and morally, Rome, or if you will, the papacy was the Savior of Europe, as all historians agree. How, then, could she be the 'Beast?' It is preposterous. Why all this has been prophesied and falsified, and prophesied and falsified again. Forty, or fifty years ago, as my venerable friend there (Rev. Mr. Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States) can inform you, almanacs were published in Kentucky, stating the precise day and minute, when the Hallelujah was to be intoned for the Downfall of Babylon! The day has passed, and what of it? I have got a book here, which makes Napoleon Bonaparte the man of sin. Born on an Island, in the Mediterranean, Corsica, deriving his power from the French Revolution, which affect-

ed to crush Christianity, l'infame; which substituted decadi for Sabath; profaned temples: adored a vile woman in the temple of God, immolated and expatriated thousands upon thousands of priests, and hoped that the last of kings might be strangled with the viscera of the last of priests: plucked Pius VII. from the chair of St. Peter, dragged the saints, the venerable monks by their beards, from the horns of the altar, &c. &c. The Apocalypse is a sealed book, which God has not vouchsafed to unfold to man. Better practise what we do know, with certainty, of his adorable will, rather than blaspheme what we do not understand. Meanwhile, if ever there was made a plausible application of this mysterious prophecy, behold it in the rise, progress, and arrest of Mahommedanism. The sea, or lake, the year 666, the war on Christ and the saints; the sword and Koran; the watch-word BELIEVE OR DIE, the conspiracy of Christendom during the crusades to check its power, the gloriously disastrous battle of Lepanto, the present crippled, but still formidable state of Islamism, all pictured so vividly as almost to convince us that we have surely discovered the object of the prediction. Let us read from Waddington. I shall make a few brief pauses which you will fill up by appropriate reflections. How few have understood the appalling dangers that this civil and religious despotism of the IMPOSTOR OF MECCA, threatened, during so many ages, to Christianity and the world!

"The seventh century was marked by the birth of a new and resolute adversary, who began his career with the most stupendous triumphs, who has torn from us the possession of half the world, and who retains his conquests even to this moment. Mahomet was born about the year 570; we are ignorant of the precise period of the nativity of that man who wrought the most extraordinary revolution in the affairs of this globe, which the agency of any being merely human has ever yet accomplished. His pretended mission did not commence till he was about forty years old, and the date of his celebrated flight from Mecca, the Hedjirah, or era of Mahometan nations, is 622, A. D. The remainder of his life was spent in establishing his religion and his authority in his native land, Arabia; and the sword with which he finally completed that purpose, he bequeathed, for the universal propagation of both, to his followers. His commission was zealously executed; and, in less than a century after his death, his faith was uninterruptedly extended by a chain of nations from India to the Atlantic.

The fate of Persia was decided by the battle of Cadesia, in 636. In Syria, Damascus had already fallen, and after the sanguinary conflict of Yermuk, where the Saracens for the first time encountered and overthrew a christian enemy the conquerors instantly proceeded to the reduction of Jerusalem; that grand religious triumph they obtained in 637. In the year following Aleppo and Antioch fell into their hands, which completed the conquest of Syria. Thence they proceeded northward as far as the shores of the Euxine and the neighborhood of Constantinople.

The invasion of Egypt took place in 638, and within the space of three years, the whole of that populous province was in possession of the infidels. Alexandria was the last city which fell; and in somewhat more than a century after the expulsion of philosophy from Europe by a christian legislator, the schools of Africa were closed in their turn by the arms of an unlettered Mahometan.

The success of the Saracens was not inconsiderably promoted by the religious dissentions of their christian adversaries. A vast number of heretics who had been oppressed and stigmatized by edicts and councils were scattered over the surface of Asia; and these were contented to receive a foreign master, of whose principles they were still ignorant, in the place of a tyrant whose injustice they had experienced. But in Egypt, especially, the whole mass of the native population was unfortunately involved in the jacobite heresy; and few at that time were found, except the resident Greeks, who adhered to the doctrines of the church. The followers of Eutyches formed an immediate alliance with the soldiers of Mahomet against a Catholic prince; and they considered that there was nothing unnatural in that act, since they hoped to secure for themselves, under a

Mahometan, the toleration which had been refused by an orthodox government We should remark, however, that this hope, the pretext of their desertion, was with many the suggestion of their malice: that besides the recollection of wrongs and the desire to escape or revenge them, they were inflamed as furiously as their persecutors by that narrow sectarian spirit, which is commonly excited most keenly where the differences are most trifling; and which, while it exaggerated the lines that separated them from their fellow christians, blinded them to the broad gulf which divided all alike from the infidel.

From Egypt, the conquerors rushed along the northern shore of Africa; and though their progress in that direction was interrupted by the domestic dissentions of the prophet's family, even more than by the occasional vigor of the christians, they were in possession of Carthage before the end of the seventh century. Thence they proceeded westward, and after encountering some opposition from the native Moors, little either from the Greek or Vandal masters of the country, they completed their conquests in the year 709.

Hitherto the Mahometans had gained no footing in Europe; and it may seem strange that the most western of its provinces should have been that which was first exposed to their occupation. But the vicinity of Spain to their latest conquests, and the factious dissentions of its nobility, gave them an early opportunity to attempt the subjugation of that country. Their success was almost unusually rapid. In 711 they overthrew the Gothic monarchy by the victory of Xeres; and the two following years were sufficient to secure their dominion over the greatest part of the peninsula.

The waters of this torrent were destined to proceed still a little further. Ten years after the battle of Xeres, the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and overran with little opposition the southwestern provinces of France—'the vineyards of Gascony and the city Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.' Still dissatisfied with those ample limits, or impatient of any limit, these children of the desert again marched forward into the centre of the kingdom. They were encamped between Tours and Poictiers, when Charles Martel, the mayor, or duke of the Franks, encountered them. It is too much to assert that the fate of Christianity depended upon the result of the battle which followed; but if victory had declared for the Saracens, it would probably have secured to them in France the same extent, perhaps the same duration, of authority which they possessed in Spain. Next they would have carried the horrors of war and Islamism into Germany or Britain; but there, other fields must have been fought, against nations of warriors as brave as the Franks, by an invader who was becoming less powerful and even less enthusiastic, as he advanced farther from the head of his resources and his faith." Waddington's Church Hist. page 135. New York edit. 1835.

This is the tyranny from which the pope has saved us, and for it civilization and religion owe him a debt which they will never be able to repay.

My opponent ran a parallel between pagan and Catholic Rome. Does he not know that the pagan religion borrowed many of its essential rites, and not a few of its forms, from the indistinct knowledge of a primary revelation made to Adam and to the patriarchs, and afterwards from the written law? And might I not run a more perfect parallel between the Catholic and the Jewish institutions, while the latter was DIVINE? The Catholics have a Pontifex Maximus, or High Priest; so had the Jews. The Catholics have a church to guide the people; the Jews had a synagogue for the same purpose. The Catholics have a famous temple, to whose doctrine and worship all must conform; so had the Jews. The Catholic pontiff enjoys some temporal power; so did the Jewish pontiff. The Catholic pontiff sprinkles holy water on the people; the Jewish pontiff sprinkled them with the blood of a heifer, that was slain. The Catholic says, when reminded by the lustral water, emblematical of the blood of Christ, of the power and mercy which can cleanse the stains of the conscience, "Thou shalt sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be cleans-

ed, thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow." David also said, "Thou shalt sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow." The Catholics have nuns; so had the Jews nuns, like the prophetess Ann, who for "*four score and four years departed not from the temple, by fastings and prayers during night and day.*" Luke, xi. 36, 37. It is thus that his parallel crumbles! Lateinos is not the name of the Catholic church. The title that the pope assumes is "*servus servorum Dei,*" servant of the servants of God. The name of Luther, Dioclesian, Julian, of the true God, himself, could be made to tally with the numbers 666—see Robinson's Calmet, p. 71. I could take letters out of the name of ALEXANDER CAMPBELL to mean the same thing.

MR. CAMPBELL.—If you can, I will give up the argument. (A laugh).

BISHOP PURCELL.—What language must it be? Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin or English? No matter. E is in some languages—300—L is 50.—

MR. CAMPBELL.—You have not yet learned the numeral alphabet.

BISHOP PURCELL.—I cannot make the sum RIGHT OFF, but have a little patience with me and I will pay you all. (A laugh.—The audience having composed themselves at the request of the Moderators, Bishop PURCELL proceeded.) Thus, you see, my friends, the name of my friend helps us in this matter, for it is the name of a man, and the name of a beast, too, with a hunch on its back, when we can find the lacking numerals to *decipher* him. He has made a certain admission, after having denied it all the week, that the apostles founded the see of Rome. This shows that the truth *will* prevail, and that my friend will laugh in his sleeve at you, if you believe all his fanciful and romancing conjectures about the *man of sin.* Again—another contradiction. If all that blood is to be shed, in the exarchate of Ravenna, we are here, in Ohio, and safe enough from the danger under our happy constitution.—We need have no fear of being crushed beneath the fragments of that crazy and tottering chair, the pope is sitting in so uneasily; the very rumblings of the volcanic hills will die, and their last echoes be inaudible on this side of the Atlantic, and as the Apocalyptic magician has pointed his wand, to the dilapidated jaws of the Beast, the conclusion is plain, that, *as he has lost all his teeth, he can't bite!* we need not be afraid of him.

We are told the pope suffers himself to be adored, and calls himself God. So far from this, we have seen how he humbles himself before the altar, how he prays the humblest of the saints to *pray* for him to God, and how he has had a prayer inscribed in our church liturgy, whereby we ask of God to preserve him from all evil, especially from the worst of all evils, sin. Does this look like exalting himself above every thing that is called God? The present pope is said to be one of the best of men. The only faults alleged against him are that he gives employment to a large number of poor tradesmen, rebuilding the burned church of St. Paul—and that he *takes snuff* somewhat profusely. I wish every one here had as little to answer for.

Much has been said about the gold and silver of the Vatican. My friend, I am sure, knows that money is a necessary evil. If we all had a little more of it, we might purchase heaven with the mammon of iniquity; but the pope is now poor. If I am rightly informed, his trea-

sury is drained. He has fortunately, or unfortunately, lost this mark of the beast, if it be one. But my worthy opponent has overlooked this remarkable fact. Judea abounded in gold; St. Peter's, in Rome, was never covered all over, like the temple of Jerusalem, with *plates of gold*. When Titus besieged Jerusalem, the Jews swallowed their gold to hide it from their rapacious conquerors—and this was made a new incident in the dreadful vengeance of heaven upon that deicidal people, for the soldiers, in quest of gold, ripped open the bodies of the ill-fated victims whom famine, or the arrow, had precipitated from the ramparts. After the sacking of Jerusalem, so great was the quantity of gold obtained in it, that gold fell, in sterling value, throughou the Roman empire. This would prove, that Jerusalem was the beast. How vain are all the gentleman's eloquent remarks. Not one of these marks is peculiar to Rome, while many of them are not applicable to her at all. I will say nothing about the millstone; it went to the bottom, and so did the gentleman's argument.

My friends, I have one or two arguments to borrow from a very distinguished Catholic writer, Dr. Lingard, author of the history of England. We shall see whether my friend has any of the symptoms of mania here so graphically described.

"During the long lapse of more than fifteen centuries, the visions of the apostle St. John had been enveloped in the thickest obscurity. At the era of the reformation, a strong ray of apocalyptic light dissipated the clouds which popery had raised: and since that period every old woman, of either gender, has been able to unravel with ease the web of mystery, and to reveal to the world the true meaning of the book of Revelations. From the days of Luther to the present, we have possessed a numerous and uninterrupted succession of translators, lecturers, expositors, and annotators, who may truly be said to have seen visions, and to have dreamed dreams; and, lest by some mishap the pious race should become extinct, Bishop Warburton has left a fund for the support or the reward of the more fiery among its members.* I may admire his zeal, but not his wisdom. He probably did not see that he was thus endeavoring to diffuse and perpetuate an alarming species of intellectual disease, which, for the sake of distinction, I shall beg leave to call the apocalyptic mania. It has not, indeed, been hitherto classed in any system of nosology; but it is not on that account less real, or less general; and, I trust, I shall confer a benefit on the public by proceeding to point out the origin, and to describe the symptoms of this theological malady.

When "the magnanimous fathers of the reformation" broke from the communion of the Catholic church, they found it convenient to justify their schism, by pleading that the Pope was Antichrist, and Rome the scarlet w—— of Babylon. This doctrine, while it inflamed the bigotry, flattered the spiritual pride of their disciples; with conscious superiority of birth, they sought in the apocalypse for proof of the ignominious descent of their opponents, and their sacrilegious familiarity with the mysterious volume, quickly produced the disease, which is the subject of the present observations. Its progress was rapid. It soon pervaded every department in life; but its most distinguished victims were, and still are, chosen from among those churchmen, who, from the instructions of the nursery or the university, have imbibed a lively dread of the horrors of popery. The mania first manifests itself by a restless anxiety respecting the future fortunes of the church, and a strong attachment to prophetic hieroglyphics: the antichrist, and the man of sin; the beast with ten horns, and the beast with two horns; the armies of Gog and Magog; the fall of Babylon, and the arrival of the millennium, become the favorite, the only subjects of study; false and ridiculous perceptions amuse the imagination; the judgment is gradually enfeebled, and, at last, the most powerful minds sink into the imbecility of childhood. Of the truth of this description we have a melan

* According to his will, an annual sermon is preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, to prove he Pope to be Antichrist, &c. &c.

choly proof in the great Sir Isaac Newton. To him Nature seemed to have unlocked her choicest secrets: as a philosopher he was and is still unrivalled: but no sooner did he direct his telescope from the motions of the heavenly bodies to the visions in the apocalypse, than his head grew dizzy, the downfall of popery danced before his eyes, and he hazarded predictions which on the scale of prophets, have placed him far beneath the well known Francis Moore, physician and almanac-maker.

It should be observed, that this intellectual malady, like the other species of mania, assumes a thousand different shapes, according to the predispositions of the subject which it attacks. I shall produce a few instances. In 1789, Mr. Cook published a translation of the apocalypse, with keys to open its meaning to his readers. This reverend gentleman was Greek professor in the university at Cambridge; and, as his reading naturally led him to the Greek poets, he was determined that the author of the apocalypse should be a poet, and, moreover, the rival of Sophocles. In his opinion, the apocalypse is a tragedy formed on the same plan as the Œdipus Tyrannus. "The drama opens with the temple scene; the seals, the trumpet, and the vials unfold the plot; and though the antichrist does not die, no more than Œdipus, yet he falls into such calamity as makes him an object of pity, and justifies the lamentations pronounced on his downfall." Nor is this all. By trying one of his apocalyptic keys on the Odyssey of Homer, he has discovered that poem also to have been inspired, and informs us that the suitors of Penelope represent the vassals of popery, who, under the pretence of courting the bride, the christian church, devour all the good things in her house, till Christ, the true Ulysses, the οδος σωος or safe way, arrives, and wreaks his vengeance on them.

In Mr. Granville Sharp, the favorite apocalyptic Nostradamus of the Rector of Newnton Longville, (Le Mesurier reply, p. 193, 202,) the mania has shewn itself in a different manner. This gentleman is known to be singularly partial to monosyllables. He has written a volume on the Hebrew letter vau, and another on the Greek articles, ο, η, τα. From letters and articles, he was induced, by his previous success and the importunity of his friends to proceed to the explication of the visions in the book of Revelations. Here the apocalyptic mania soon discovered itself: but the appearance of the disease was modified by his previous habits of monosyllabic investigation. He convinced himself that the name of the beast was Lateinos, and that Lateinos must signify the Latin church. The proof is curious. Lateinos, he contends, is derived from the Hebrew monosyllable LAT, which means to cover or conceal. Now the Latin church, in the celebration of the mass, conceals some of the prayers from the people, by ordering them to be pronounced with a low voice: therefore the Latin church is Lateinos, the beast in the apocalypse. Moreover the head of the Latin church resides in the palace of the Lateran, a name derived from the same monosyllable LAT: and the Lateran palace is situated in the country anciently called Latium, an appellation also derived from the same monosyllable Lat: and Latium is a province of that part of Europe called Italy, which also derives its name from the same monosyllable LAT. Be not startled, gentle reader: apocalyptic maniacs can with equal facility read backwards or forwards; and Mr. Sharp informs us, that, if we read Italy backwards, we shall have Ylati, in the midst of which is the Hebrew monosyllable LAT. Naviget Anticyram!

Were I to describe all the varieties of the disease, these observations would swell to an unmeasurable bulk. I shall therefore content myself with noticing the prophetic, which is perhaps the most prevalent, species. When the mind is seized with this mania, the regions of futurity are instantly opened to its sight: it can point out the date and nature of every event which is to happen; it can inform us in what year popery, Mohammedism, and infidelity are to perish; when and where antichrist is to be born, reign, and die: who is to restore the Holy Land to the Jews; and in what year the new Jerusalem is to descend from heaven. It is in vain that preceding prophets have frequently outlived their own predictions: the lessons of experience are heard with contempt: and each new seer is convinced of the truth of his own visions. Among those who have suffered lately under this form of the disease, the most distinguished are Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Faber, both scholars of extensive erudition, and both equally animated against the Church of Rome. They both agree that Luther is the angel with the everlasting gospel; and, if by his gospel they mean the solifidian doctrine already noticed, they have a chance to be right. It may justly be called everlasting

for it will probably find proselytes as long as man shall dwell on the earth. Mr. Whitaker discovers that the two horns of the beast are the two monastic orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Why they should claim the preference before their brethren, of greater antiquity, or more general diffusion I know not; but it is certainly unfortunate that the beast has not four horns then you, ye sons of Benedict and Loyola, might have had the honor of being seated on the remaining two. The same gentleman informs us that the Ottoman empire will soon fall, Rome be wrested from the pope, and the seat of the papacy be transferred to Jerusalem. Mr. Faber makes an equal display of erudition; but the third angel, Mr. Whitaker's Zuingle, he has placed in a most uncomfortable situation: he has bound him fast in the midst of the ocean, and transformed him into the *insular church of England!* Nor does he always agree with his rival in more important points. The two beasts he shews to be the two contemporary Roman empires, temporal and spiritual, under the emperors and the popes: and gives his readers the pleasing intelligence, that both the Turk and the Pope will expire in the year 1868. Though he does not expect to witness this happy event himself, yet he has the goodness to promise a sight of it to many of the present generation:

Τλητε, φιλοι, και μεινατ' επι χρονον, οφρα ϊδωμεν
Ει ετεον Χαλχας μαντευεται, η και ουκι.

Unfortunately for these two prophets, each disputed the accuracy of the predictions of his rival: an animated controversy followed; and the result has been a conviction in the minds of most of their readers, that each has completely succeeded in demolishing the system of his adversary, and completely failed in establishing his own.

Thus have I attempted to describe the different symptoms of this disease; but I hope I shall be excused from indicating the method of cure. When the mania has once obtained possession of the brain, I doubt whether three Anticyræ would be sufficient to expel it. I would rather, like Dr. Trotter in his treatise on the nervous temperament, endeavor to correct that *predisposition* which naturally leads to it. I would advise the Protestant theologian to suspend, for a while at least, his assent to some of those doctrines, which education has taught him to revere as sacred. I would have him learn to doubt whether it be certain, that a long succession of bishops, through many centuries, can be that one individual described by St. Paul as the man of sin: or that the church, from which almost all other churches have received the knowledge of the gospel is, "the great mother of harlots," and the kingdom of Antichrist. I would recommend to him, if he must decipher the apocalyptic hieroglyphics, to attend to the solemn asseveration of their author, which is frequently repeated both in the first and the last chapters, that his predictions were, even at the time in which he wrote, on the point of being fulfilled. In the destruction of Jerusalem, and the first period of the christian history, he may find enough to exercise his ingenuity, and may perhaps stumble on the only clue which can lead to the solution of the difficulties contained in this mysterious volume. I am aware that what I ask, will not readily be granted to me. The doctrine that popery is the beast, the pope antichrist, and christian Rome the whore of Babylon, is, I know, an important part of the new gospel preached by Luther and his associates: it forms, to use the words of a learned prelate,* "a primary pillar of the reformed faith." But when I consider the dangerous consequences of this doctrine, its deleterious effects on the judgment of some among the most distinguished writers of the Protestant communion, the ridicule which it serves to throw on the inspired writings, and the handle which it gives to the sneers and contempt of the professed infidel, I indulge a well-founded hope that, for the sake of religion and humanity, it will meet with little support from the enlightened characters, who now preside in the established church. If it once formed a pillar of the reformation, I conceive it could only be a temporary support, which may now be removed without danger to the fabric. To the pious fraud, from its utility, the first reformers might easily reconcile their consciences; at the present day it may be rejected by their successors with some credit: it cannot be retained without disgrace.

* Watson's Theological Tracts, vol. v. p. 7.

Half-past 11 *o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

The bishop has not given one but many and various proofs of the truth of an adage of some currency and authority. Napoleon in his flight from Moscow, musing on recent disasters, often uttered this expression: "There is but one short step from the sublime to the ridiculous." I never before witnessed so illustrious a proof of the invincible force of the argument from prophecy. I looked at the gentleman writhing under the accumulating evidence, amounting almost to demonstration, that I had asserted no defamation in my fourth proposition. Instead of meeting the subject with scripture and argument, like the scuttle fish, he darkens the waters that he may escape the eye and the hand of his pursuer. His effort at mystification is as ridiculous as it is imbecile. He invokes the assistance of some old lady to create a laugh; but the audience has got tired laughing at his manœuvres. The subject is two grave, and the audience too deeply penetrated with the awful truth which they had just heard to be amused by such levity. Failing so manifestly, in the attempt to disparage all use of the prophecies, he undertakes to explain. He is driven into Asia to the Koran, and to Mecca for the man of sin! How have the weapons of war perished! Facts are not found in the history of Mahomet or Mahometanism, to explain these prophecies: and conscious of this, his own courage fails, and a second time he resorts to ridicule. As Voltaire, Volney, and other wits, have fruitlessly attempted to laugh christianity out of countenance, he endeavors to place the whole matter before you as idle and absurd. Could my rhetorical and ingenious opponent afford more unequivocal manifestations of confusion and dismay, than you have now witnessed? But, my friends, we are not to be laughed out of our argument, that stands before us like the rock of Gibraltar. The waves that strike it, but foam out their imbecility, and are broken to pieces. He may, indeed, torture his ingenuity to escape from an argument, which he dare not, which he cannot meet; but he will torture it in vain.

The effort of my opponent has been as much to disparage prophecy itself, as any mode of interpreting it. According to him, prophecy is no gift: On our principles, it is at least as useful and interesting as history. It is one of the kindest boons of heaven, that we are permitted sometimes to peep into the future, guided by the lamp of eternity. The whole Bible, is for the most part, history and prophecy. It is almost all history, for prophecy is the history of the future. God never held the human family in suspense respecting their vital interests. Their origin, duty, and destiny, he has equally regarded in all his communications. Soon as our first parents had transgressed in Eden, he permitted not one sun to go down, till he appeared to them and revealed a portion of his purposes. In a single period he condenses a miniature view of the future destinies of mankind: "I will place enmity," said he to the serpent, "between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." I thank our Heavenly Father, that he has thus from the beginning vouchsafed to his children something of the future. Indeed, so abundant are his revelations, his promises which are all prophecies, and his prophecies which all threaten or promise, that there is scarce a single page of the whole Bible without a prophecy inscribed upon it. Cer-

tainly my opponent has forgotten this! Has he not, according to his ability, been turning into ridicule prophecy itself, the Bible itself God's good and perfect gift? But if prophecy be wholly unintelligible; Why, I ask, should it constitute so large a portion of God's only book to man? But I will not farther debate this question. The gentleman himself would admit all this, on any other occasion.

I did not intend, indeed, and I am sorry I proposed, an argument of this kind before such an assembly, limited as I am at present to an hour or two, at most to complete it. If my opponent would devote with me a day or two to this subject, I might even satisfy himself, not only that prophecy is a gift, an intelligent gift; but that much of it pertains to the origin, progress, and catastrophe of that very hierarchy, of which he is himself a member.

There are two kinds of maps in schools; one gives both the place and the name of it, the other (sometimes called a blank map,) gives the place without the name. The former represents history; the latter, prophecy. Prophecy is as correct a map of the future, as history is of the past; but it is not always quite so obvious. I have taught geography with these two sorts of maps. The pupil studied on that inscribed with the names of the places, and we examined him on the blank map. The study of fulfilled prophecy, with the history of the past, prepares us for the blank map, the outline of the future. On the blank map, we can learn the great outline of things—their relative positions, distances and magnitudes. We may sometimes err, in fixing the proper name on every place: but we cannot greatly err, in forming a useful acquaintance with the whole; especially, having a correct knowledge of what is past, or of certain portions of the past, which must ever be a key to the future. Thus we can acquire a clear and satisfactory outline of the vast expanse of future time, although we may, sometimes, err in a date, or in the name of a particular place, person, or thing.

But as my opponent has so perfectly failed to meet my argument; I shall have to give it to the public without much amplification or proof. I will, therefore, recapitulate, emphatically, a few of the grand land marks; and

1. The two tyrannies mentioned in Daniel and John, arose out of the great sea, the Mediterranean; or, from among the nations bordering thereon, in a state of tumult. Does not Rome stand on these waters; and is not Italy almost surrounded by them? The Tiber itself, inconsiderable as it is, is nevertheless, a part of this very sea. This beast came not from the deserts of Arabia; nor from the Pacific, nor the Atlantic; but from the Mediterranean.

2. The origin or commencement of these two despotisms, or of the ymbolic beasts of Daniel and John, exactly synchronize. They were contemporaries: indeed, they are identical. They both rise at the same time and place.

3. They are co-existent, and continue the same time, 1260 years.

4. The types, in both pictures, or the grand incidents and characteristics, are the same.

5. Their latter end is the same. There is, indeed, no argument on this subject: it is as plain as history. My opponent will never debate it. Paul occupies the place of a commentator or interpretator, and without a figure explains the mystery of iniquity. He avers the impossibility of the appearance of this monster, this papal hierarchy, so

long as pagan Rome, which then hindered a pope, should continue to hinder. All commentators understand, "he that lets," as referring to pagan Rome. We have already seen, that we could not find a pope before the time of Phocas the usurper, and Boniface III. No politico-ecclesiastic communion of nations, under a ghostly monarchy, ever stood on earth before that day.

Paul speaks of the temple of God, as the residence of this mammoth antagonist power. It was not in a pure church he appeared, and, certainly it was not among the pagan Arabs, that this man of idolatry (for such is the import of sin in this passage) showed his blasphemous face.

I said not, that there was no church of God at Rome, before the papacy. If there never had been a true church of God, at Rome; the papacy, or the man of *sin*, never could have been born there. For, be it observed, emphatically, the man of sin is not a pagan, a Turk, a professed infidel; but, an apostate Christian.

Does not the pope of Rome, and none but the pope of Rome, fill up all the grand lineaments of this painting? He exalts himself above all that is called a god—a magistrate, a pagan god; nay, above God himself: for no false God, nor the only living and true God, proposed to forgive sins before they were committed! His name is covered with blasphemy. There never stood on earth such a monster; looking like a lamb, and speaking like a dragon. I need not, however, repeat what has not been contradicted.

My argument is unanswered. I regret that it must go to the public, without being more fully tested. As to *Lateinos*, the gentleman may laugh at it; but can he show state or empire, whose name like that of *He Latine Basileia*, will spell 666? If he cannot, this alone ought to check his opposition.

My opponent did me great honor, in giving me such a colleague as Sir Isaac Newton, to bear half the brunt of his indignation. Greater literary and ecclesiastic names, than that of this great philosopher, and brighter stars in universal knowledge, adorn those prophetic heavens, and concentrate their light upon this map, which I have traced so hastily and imperfectly. What, if I should let the gentleman see a star of the first magnitude, or hear an archdeacon, in his own church, say a word on Babylon, and on the woman that sits on many waters!

"Who can there safely live, where not only wicked things are lawful, but all men are compelled by the severest punishments to believe, speak, and follow the most wicked and ungodly things; and to embrace them as things just and laudable; where they do not only *not receive sound doctrine*, but bitterly persecute all those who do resist the madness of their wills? * * * * What is it, think you, to be drunk with the cup of Babylon, but from long conversation with her to be so infected with the contagion of her, that, following the erring herd, you willingly embrace false things for true; perverse for righteous, mad things for sound; and to desire rather to be mad with the multitude, than to be wise alone with danger and derision? He that is different in manners from them, ought not to live there, where the plague of corruption hath so prevailed as to infect all men with its contagion." *Nicholaus de Clemaugis. Epist. p.* 177.

In his book of *Simoniacal Prelates*, he says, cap. 1.

"The church is now become a shop of merchandize, or rather of robbery and rapine; in which all the sacraments are exposed to sale. * * And therefore, you see such men admitted to the priesthood and other holy orders, who are idiots, unlearned, and scarce able to read, though waywardly, and without understanding one syllable after another, who know no more Latin, than they do Arabic, who, when they read, pray, or sing, know not, whether they bless God or blaspheme him—men undisciplined, unquiet, gluttons, drunkards

praters, vagabonds, lustful, bred up in luxury, and in one word, idle and ignorant."

In his book of *the corrupt state of* the church, cap. 3.

"That she was defiled with the sink of all vices; and might be fitly called the *church of Malignants;* that the saying of the prophet was now verified, that *from the least of them to the greatest*, every one was given to covetousness; that from the prophet to the priest, every one dealt falsely. * * * * Who preaches or declares the gospel? Who either by word or deed shews the way to life eternal?"

Again:

"What should I speak, (saith he) of the learning of the priests, when it is visible that scarce any of them can read? They know not words, and much less things: he of them that prayeth, is a barbarian to himself. If any man is idle and abhors labor, if he loves luxury, he gets now-a-days into the clergy, and then presently he joins himself to the rest of the priests that are voluptuous, and live according to Epicurus, rather than according to the laws of Christ. Cap. 25.

"Such (saith he) is the abundance of wicked men in all professions, that there is scarcely one among a thousand, who sincerely doth what his profession doth require; if there be any sincere, chaste, sober, frugal person, in any college or convent, who doth not walk in the broad way, he is made a ridiculous fable to the rest, and is continually called insolent, mad, and hypocritical fellow; so that many who would have been good, had they lived with good and honest men, are drawn by wicked company into their vices, lest they should suffer the forementioned reproaches among their companions." Cap. 26.

He then concludes with an apostrophe to the Roman church, as follows:

"What thinkest thou of thine own prophecy, the Revelations of St. John? Dost thou not think they do at least, in part, belong to thee? Thou hast not surely so wholly lost all shame as to deny this; look, therefore, into it, and *read the damnation of this great whore, sitting upon many waters, and then contemplate thy famous facts and future ruin.*" Declarat. Defect. Virorum Eccl.

So testifies Nicolaus de Clemaugis, an archdeacon of the church of Rome, in the fifteenth century.

Not only have the sins of Sodom and Egypt been multiplied in this Babylon the great, but she had superadded to these the blood-guiltiness and cruelty of Jerusalem. Persecution is of the very essence and spirit of the supremacy, not merely as the martyred millions of Protestants, of every age, declare; but according to the doctrine of the church, and the oaths of her bishops. Every Roman Catholic bishop is sworn to persecute heretics and schismatics: even this very gentleman *has sworn to persecute and oppose heretics and schismatics to the utmost of his power.* This is no mere allegation. I will hereafter produce the oath, and if it can be otherwise explained, I shall give him an opportunity to do it. Till then, I proceed to allege, further, that learned Roman Catholics have tremblingly interpreted these prophecies, as belonging to Rome papal. I have another witness here, in confirmation of my speech, and with his testimony I shall close these remarks, and proceed.

"Whence is it that this happened? *to wit, because* all flesh had corrupted its ways, we were all citizens and inhabitants not of the holy city Rome, that wicked city; of which that of the prophet Isaiah is fulfilled, "How is the faithful city become a harlot." Let no man think this prophecy has been fulfilled already in the destruction of Babylon, or Jerusalem. No! future things were present to the prophet's eye, and this the prophet hath declared to us, saying, "the daughter of Zion shall be left desolate, as in the wasting of the enemy. St. John doth in the Revelations tell us, the daughter of Zion is not Jerusalem, but Rome; and his description of her makes it plain: For the woman which thou sawest (saith he) is *that great city* which hath dominion over the kings of the earth, that is spiritual dominion. She sits, saith he, upon seven hills, which *properly agrees to Rome*, which upon this account, is styled septicolis. She is full, saith he, of the names of blasphemy—she is the mother of uncleanness, fornications,

and abominations, which are in the earth; than which words, *no more particular demonstration of the city can be requisite*, seeing these iniquities do almost generally reign, yet here they have their seat and empire." Orat. habit. ad auditores Rotar. Maii 15, A. D.

My friend is again on celibacy. But, really, I cannot return to these matters as often as he chooses to explain away, or deny, or otherwise dispose of, his own sayings and concessions. In this matter, as in a hundred others, it might suffice to show, that he differs from both Peter and Paul, and all the other apostles. For, as an apostle of Christ, Paul says of himself and Barnabas, that they had a *right* to have wives, "*sister-wives*," as well as the other apostles. In this way Paul proves the point: "Have we not power to lead about with us a wife, as the other apostles have? Or, are Barnabas and myself debarred this privilege?" Such is the spirit and point of that passage; and excepting in time of public calamity, as Paul elsewhere teaches, "Let *every man* have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." So we teach.

The bishop owes an apology for speaking on a subject, which I did not introduce for discussion. The whole merits of auricular confession is not the question; but the simple fact, that it is a tenet of the party, growing out of a human rule of divine faith. I introduced it, to be admitted or denied; not now to be debated. The same is true of transubstantiation. I introduced these institutions, as proof of the immoral nature and tendency of the Romanist rule of faith. I think it almost enough to have these doctrines or institutions acknowledged in this age and country, to prove that Roman Catholicism is not susceptible of reformation; and would be the same in this community as in Spain, Italy, or Portugal, under similar circumstances. My friend had the opportunity of a simple denial of these items at the moment, if they were not parts of his system; and he may have the full discussion of them again.

On the subject of confession, one word as to the quotations from Episcopalians and Methodists. Would the gentleman wish you to understand, that *auricular confession* is an ordinance of those religious communities, as taught and practised in his church? If he does not, where is the relevancy of these quotations? If he does, where is the truth and candor? "Confess your *faults* to one another," will justify any two or more persons *mutually to confess* to each other, and to *pray for one another*; but will he affirm, that Methodists and Episcopalians say to one another, "I absolve thee," at their mutual confessions?! Why, then, I ask, seek to make Episcopalians and Methodists bear a part of the shame of these unscriptural and sinful practices? They disavow them: they would say to the bishop, confess your faults to us, and we will confess to you; but on no other condition. We may pray for you; we cannot forgive you. You may pray for us; but you cannot forgive us. I must, on this point, read you another extract from Smith's Synopsis of the works of Ligori, that you may see what justice my opponent renders to Episcopalians and Methodists, in his alliancing them with himself on the subject of confession:

"The saint continues thus: St. Philip Nerius used to tell his penitents, that they who desire to progress in the way of God should submit themselves to a *learned confessor*, whom they should obey *as God*. [Is this Methodism?] He who thus acts will be *secure* from having to render an account of any of his actions. A confessor must be believed, because God will not suffer him to err. Nothing is safer than to follow the will of one's director, and nothing is more dangerous

than to be directed by one's own judgment. [Is this Episcopalianism?] "If," continues Ligori, quoting from Glossa, "a commandment be doubtful, he who acts in obedience to his confessor is excused from sin, although in truth, what he does is sinful." [Is this Methodism?] Quoting from St. Dionysius, he has the following: "If there be a doubt whether what one is about to do is against the commandment of God, we must obey the commandment of our *prelate*," (bishop, priest or confessor,) "because, although what we do be against God nevertheless, on account of the virtue of obedience, we being subject to our prelates do not sin." [Is this Episcopalianism?]—Id. ib.

"Let the confessor," continues the saint, "strenuously insist upon the penitent's obeying him, and if he refuses to obey, let him be sharply rebuked, be deprived of communion, and let his obduracy be blunted as much as possible."—Id. ib. N. 16. [Time expired.]

Twelve o'clock, M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

It was not heaven's holy oracles, but man's presumptuous freedom with the word of God, that I ridiculed. It was my friend who exposed the holy record to contempt; and afforded to infidels occasion for triumph and insult, by forcing upon it his own preposterous interpretations, and making it say what its divine Author never intended it to say. I tell him again, in the very words of that sacred book, that "*no prophecy of scripture is of any private interpretation;*" *that these blind who are* "*leaders of the blind,*" and *that* "*both fall into the pit:*" Matthew xv. 14. *that*, as Peter says, *there are many things in the scriptures* which my friend says are so very plain, *hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures to their own destruction:* 2d Peter, ch. iii. v. 16; finally, that "as there were FALSE PROPHETS among *the people*, even so shall there be lying teachers, who shall bring in sects of perdition, and deny the Lord who bought them, bringing on themselves swift destruction, *and many shall follow their riotousness*, through whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." Having exposed the scriptures, our learned friend gave us a smart lesson in geography and chronology, proving, at least, one point to my satisfaction, if not to his own, that we may err in a date, place, person, or thing, the which he veritably hath done in his symbolical dissertation. I may, but I will not, apply to him the figure of Isaiah, "he has broken the eggs of asps, and may eat them; he hath woven the spider's web, and may clothe himself with the filmy texture." Isaiah lix. 5. The fragile egg and filmy texture are proper emblems of fickleness, inconstancy, and change of religion; but in ours there is neither mutability nor "shadow of vicissitude."

My friend has taken us a fishing again; the sea monster has discolored the waters, and like the wolf and lamb in the fable, he charges upon me the troubling of the stream. There is no escape for the gentleman, "*I absolve thee*" are the very words of the Episcopalian ritual in England; and private and particular confession is practised by the Methodists in the United States. Even he, himself, admits that the words "confess your sins to one another," will *justify* (St. James and christians, ought to be much obliged to him,) *any two*, or more, to confess to one another! What, then, does he mean by denying and admitting, rejecting and adopting, every creed and practice alternately? He blows hot and cold with the same breath. St. Philip Nerius gave wise directions on the decalogue, and shewed that God, himself, could not authorize a violation of his own laws, much less a confessor. Hence his advice—"*obey your*

confessor as God," was perfectly intelligible. I wish my friend would study the saint's life, and he would find in it maxims and examples well worthy of imitation, and nothing that could *scandalize* him.

My argument upon the subject of confession was perfectly pertinent; and the gentleman felt it—*hinc illæ lachrymæ*,—hence his charge of irrelevancy. It was elaborately argued by him, that the practice was immoral, and it behoved me to vindicate it, as I have done, by proving that it was authorized and commanded by scripture, practised by the early church in its purity, and advocated by two of the most numerous and respectable sects, viz. Episcopalians and Methodists Now, if my friend says, that persons in those communions never g to confession, according to the discipline and ritual, it only proves their inconsistency. Priests and bishops do confess, and that frequently. The more pious and sincere they are, the more faithfully do they comply with the salutary ordinance.

We do not dissuade young people from marrying, we only regret that those who are called to that state, do not marry faster. What is the object of all that tirade of abusive extracts against the Catholic church? Must I have to read dissertations to my opponent on all the humbugs, which his *criticism* has not been long enough at school to detect? The book "*De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*," was not written by its putative author Nicolaus de Clamangis, who was secretary to the anti-pope Benedict XIII. John De Chelm, James De Cleur, and John of Bavaria, have had respectively the honor of a production of which, its real author had reason to be ashamed. I wish my friend would spare me the necessity of such frequent exposure of his —— I won't say it.

Here are the complete works of Liguori, in eight volumes, with an index consisting of one volume. I have performed a work of supererogation. I have examined these volumes, from cover to cover, and in none of them can so much as a shadow be found for the infamous charge. I exonerate my friend from the sin of wilful misrepresentation, I will say he has been deceived, misled by—anti-christ, perhaps, who can deceive the elect, *if possible*, that is to say, *if I'll let* him, which I have, in this instance, no notion of doing. The original tells the truth. The translation lies. My friends, I hope that the same audience, which is here now, will be here this evening, and I pledge myself, before the heavens and the earth, that this base slander is what I call it. There is no foundation for it whatever in the works of Liguori. On the contrary, in the place indicated, the severest punishment, known to church discipline, is pronounced against the ecclesiastic who violates the holy law; "Thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oath." Numbers xxx. 2 and seq.

I know of no better vindication of Catholic doctrines and practices, than their simple and faithful announcement. It is the misrepresentation of our tenets that did us injury for times and a time and half a time; but now the light from heaven is breaking. "Thou hast appointed darkness, and it is night, *in it* shall all the beasts of the earth go about,—the sun riseth—and they shall lie down in their dens." Ps. ciii. 20, 22.

My learned opponent says the Tiber runs into the Mediterranean. That is a fact, and so do the waters of a thousand other streams. He says that I did not prove that there was a head of the church in Rome before Constantine's time. This I may simply deny; but have I not quoted the testimony of general councils, of the fathers, of numberless

appeals to Rome, of Pagans, historians and emperors, to prove that, now incontestible, fact? I refer to Eusebius, and add one remark that Eusebius was born in 270. His history extends to the year 324, the epoch when Constantine was sole master of the Roman empire. Eusebius narrated the belief of the whole church during the preceding *two hundred* years, for no longer period had elapsed since the death of St. John—and Polycarp, Ignatius, Irenæus, Caius, a Roman priest, and Hegesippus, the ecclesiastical historian, lived in that interval. Read Eusebius. My friend has now allowed that, for a long time, the church of Rome was pure. This is true; but when will he fulfil his promise at the opening of the debate and inform us, at last, from what church she is an apostacy? We are coming near the end of the discussion and this is too important a point to be *forgotten.*

"The church formerly used the vernacular language." So she did. And there was a very good reason for it. The Latin then was the vernacular of the greatest part of the civilized world, in consequence of the Roman conquests. It was generally known, where other languages continued to be the vernacular. St. Paul wrote to the Romans in Greek, a language which *all* the Romans did not understand. My friend Mr. Campbell has stated the very best reasons, in the preface to his new Testament, for the adoption of a uniform language as the vehicle of revelation. The learned Southey agrees, if not with him, at least, with the Catholic church on the subject of its peculiar fitness to be the language of the Christian Liturgy.

"Latin," says Southey, Vol. I. p. 59, "was made the language of religion; there had been the same reason for this in Italy, and Spain, and France, as for making it the language of the laws; and in England also, there was reason, which, though different, was not less valid. A common language was necessary for the clergy, who considered themselves as belonging, less to the country, in which they happened, individually to have been born, or stationed, than to their order, or to christendom, for in these ages christendom was regarded as something more than a mere name. No modern language was as yet fixed, or reduced to rules or regarded as a written tongue; of necessity, therefore, Latin, in which the western clergy read the scriptures, and in which the fathers of the western church had composed their works, and the councils had issued their decrees, was every where retained as the natural and professional language of the ministers of religion. They preached and catechized, and conferred in the common speech of the country, and that the church service was not verbally intelligible to the congregation was, upon their principles, no inconvenience.

But if, in this respect, there was no real disadvantage in the use of a foreign tongue; in other respects many and most important advantages arose from it. The clergy became of necessity a learned body; and to their humble and patient labors we owe the whole history of the middle ages, and the preservation of those works of antiquity, which, for the instruction of all after ages, have been preserved: The students at Canterbury in Bede's time, were as well skilled, both in Latin and Greek as in their native speech; and Bede, himself (worthy to be called venerable, if ever that epithet was worthily applied) had acquired all that could possibly be learned from books, and, was master of what was then, the whole circle of human knowledge."

The people have the substance, frequently the literal translation, in their prayer books, of what the Priest reads, during the sacrifice, in the ancient language of Catholic Europe. They know as well as the priest, himself, does, to what they answer, 'Amen.' When a foreigner from any of the countries where Greek is not the vernacular comes into our churches, and I need scarcely except even the Catholics, of the Greek rite, he is perfectly at home, among his brethren in faith and worship. Their ceremonies and prayers are the same as in his native land—Germans, French, English, Irish, Poles, Swiss, Italians, Por-

tugnese, like the Jews, devout men from every nation under heaven, we hear our priests, as they did the apostles, speaking in a tongue which we well may call our own, "the wonderful works of God." The sermons of our church are not preached in Latin, but in as plain English as we can find in common use.

I have answered all I could note of the gentleman's remarks. I have only two of my own to add at present. It is in reference to the assertion of my learned opponent that monsters are always emblematical of bad men or tyrants. Now what will my friend say of Ezekiel 1st ch. "And I saw—and behold a whirlwind came out of the north: and a great cloud, and a fire infolding it, and brightness was about it; and out of the midst thereof, that is, out of the midst of the fire, as it were the resemblance of Amber, and in the midst thereof the likeness of four living creatures: and this was their appearance: there was the likeness of a man in them. Every one had four faces, and every one four wings. Their feet were straight feet, and the sole of their foot was like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like the appearance of glowing brass. And they had the hands of a man, under their wings, on their four sides: and they had faces, and wings on their sides. And I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of many waters, as it were the voice of the most high God;—This was the vision of the likeness of the glory of the Lord." What will my friend now say of his monster theory? These animals are taken to have been figures of the four Evangelists,—or of all the Apostles.

My second remark is, that whoever has read Hume's or Lingard's history of England, knows that the Ana-baptists when driven by armed soldiers out of the Parliament House, found in the famous Oliver Cromwell, a perfect fac-simile of the Anti-Christ.—[Time expired.]

Three o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

There was one remark made by my opponent, in his last speech, and only one that had some appropriate reference to my remarks on symbols. Upon this remark, I will make one affirmation. Whatever else he has been pleased to say, may pass for what it is worth, tax free.

The gentleman asserts, that beasts of prey are not always symbolical of tyrants. Had I asserted that proposition, it would have been in point to have made such a remark: but unfortunately for him, that was not my proposition. It was, that *when* God depicts a tyranny, he selects some monster, or some savage wild beast to symbolize it. But is that identical with—"beasts of prey in symbolic language only represent tyrants?" Or follows it from my proposition, that a lion or an eagle must *always* and *uniformly* represent a tyrant?—I went farther and said, that some savage wild beast—some monster was God's image of a secular or ecclesiastic despotism. This was my explanation.

It is true that a "lion," as well as a "lamb" is applied to the Savior. He is the "Lion of the tribe of Judah:" but Daniel's lion had wings, and came from the sea. It was a monster.

The Roman spirit, in other words, the savage spirit of pagan and papal Rome, has been imparted even to Protestant states. In so much that England has for her symbol, or national device, a tawny lion; and her sons have chosen their own eagle, a ravenous bird of prey, for their device, that they may pounce upon their mother's lion and show themselves as full of war and stratagem and spoils, as the bar-

barous and uncivilized nations of the old pagan world.—Although I prefer the American Eagle to the British Lion, I would rather fight the battles of my king, under the device of a milk white dove, on an azure flag, as more consonant to the genius of the Reign of heaven. War however, is wholly barbarous. Nations at war, are at best but partly civilized, and, therefore, they generally choose beasts of prey for their insignia. When we become more rational, more civilized, and more christian, we will find some other way of settling our national disputes, than with the sword, and with the confused noise of the warrior, and garments baptized in blood.

The gentleman asked, the other day, (and I know not whether in the crowd of curious and impertinent matters introduced, I paid any attention to it)—if God could make twelve men infallible, could he not make as many more infallible as he pleased; and continue them through all succeeding time?! Certainly he could, I answer: but there is no philosophy in this question. I might retort, could not God have made fourteen instead of seven primary planets? and as many satellites as he pleased? And the same answer would equally suit both questions. We therefore answer by saying, that neither the system of nature, nor the system of religion needs them. The inspired twelve made a full revelation of christian truth. They taught the whole religion: We need nothing more. If a full and explicit development, is once made, and carefully preserved; ten thousand apostles could not perfect the christian system, by adding a new idea.

My friend gave me a challenge the other day: I think I have accepted it: he now adds from some new source, or repeats, I know not which, "If the testimony of tradition be not infallible how can you know the Bible to be inspired?" This, together with his repeated assertion that Protestants believe in the bible on the same testimony he offers for the succession of Peter, &c.; I reserved for my sixth proposition, which, because of the advanced state of the discussion, as respects time, is likely to be crowded into a corner, I therefore beg permission to introduce it at this time.

"PROP. VI. Notwithstanding her pretensions to have given us the Bible, and faith in it, we are perfectly independent of her for our knowledge of that book, and its evidences of a divine original."

The Roman Catholic says, as the bishop has himself averred, "I believe in the Holy Catholic church:" but this phrase needs a general council to explain it. Does it mean, I believe *the* Catholic church; or, I believe *in* the Catholic church? Do they confide in it for salvation, or only believe what it believes; and because it believes it? It is ambiguous. The "fides carbonaria" is thus expressed: "I believe what the church believes; and the church believes what I believe; and we both believe the same thing." Or, as repeated the other day, the Roman Catholic believes the bible on the authority of the church, and the church on the authority of the bible! But the Christian is commanded and expected to be always ready to give a reason for the faith that is in him. God is reason; and every communication from him is rational; and as man is a reasonable being, he must have good reasons to offer for his believing the christian religion. When you ask a Roman Catholic the reason of his faith, what does he answer? His father told him that the Roman Catholic was the true church. The same reason would justify any one for being a Jew, a Turk, or an infidel. He that is of the order of Ali or Omar,

has then, as good a reason to give for his faith in the Koran, as any Romanist has to give for his faith in the bible, if his answer to the question, '*why do you believe?*' is, *Because my father, or the mosque, or the church told me it was so.* I would, indeed, be gratified to learn from my opponent, Dr. PURCELL, why he would not have had as good reason for believing in the Koran, as he has for being a Roman Catholic, on the ground of mere tradition, had he happened to have been born in Turkey? There must be an examination of the testimony, and perception of its truth, on its own intrinsic excellence; or, a conviction of its truth upon the evidence which it affords; else there is no reason in faith—it is mere credulity, or superstition.

The first, and characteristic difference, between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic, is this: the former believes the scriptures first, and the church afterwards; whereas, the latter believes the church first, and the scriptures afterwards. "But," says the bishop, "where does the Protestant get the bible to believe, but through the church?" And that first brings us to the proposition.

If any person hand me a book, and I read it, and believe it, does my faith in it necessarily rest upon him who hands it to me? And, yet, this is the gigantic strength of all that my opponent can say on this subject. It would be much more plausible, that the Protestants are indebted exclusively to the Roman Catholic church for the book, if Protestants believed all the Roman Catholic traditions, as well as the bible: but, while we reject the apocrypha, and the traditions of popery, and receive the bible only, this fact will answer a thousand volumes of sophistry, in proof that our faith in the bible, rests not upon the authority of the church of Rome. The fact, that we reject her apocryphal bible and testament, with all other traditions of Roman Catholics, ancient and modern, resting solely upon her authority, and that we retain the bible, (*one version of which she has,*) is incontestable proof, that we receive the bible on other authority than her traditions. Dispose of this fact who may, I affirm that my opponent never can! This illustrious and indisputable fact, places in bold relief the irrelevancy of his effort to show, that our faith in the bible, and his belief in Peter's Roman diocese, or in his being bishop of Rome, rest upon the same authority. That I must believe a letter on the authority of him who carries it, or a book on the authority of him who puts it in my hand, is another of the assumptions of the church of encroachments, resting upon Peter's having been bishop of Rome.

God created both the sun and the human eye, and he has adapted them to each other. He created the human understanding and the bible, and adapted them to each other. The honest student of nature needs no tradition to prove that man made not the sun; neither does the humble and candid student of the bible, need any witness from the bishops or church of Rome, that they did not make the bible. She is, indeed, a witness for the bible, and the true church, somewhere else existing than in her own communion: for, had it not been for her rivals, who, like Argus, have ever watched the sacred text, how it would have been interpolated and corrupted, her editions of the primitive fathers, and other books of which she was the sole or chief depository, abundantly declare. But, having fixed the date, not merely of the first pope, but of the grand schism which originated the Roman Catholic church, I hasten, with all despatch, to show that we have copies of the

bible more ancient than the grand schism, more ancient than the first pope: nay, that were written before the question of a supreme head began to be discussed; and which copies, in the form of transcription, have never been soiled by the fingers of a monk. I read but a few documents, as I have but little time for this subject; but I read them from a source of biblical authority, which, on these points, has not been, and, I presume, will not be, disputed; "Horne's Introduction:

"Of the few manuscripts known to be extant, which contain the Greek Scriptures (that is, the Old Testament, according to the Septuagint version, and the New Testament) there are two which pre-eminently demand the attention of the Biblical student for their antiquity and intrinsic value, viz. The Alexandrian manuscript, which is preserved in the British museum, and the Vatican manuscript deposited in the library of the Vatican Palace at Rome.

I. The CODEX ALEXANDRINUS, or Alexandrian manuscripts, which is noted by the letter A in Wetstein's and Griesbach's critical editions of the New Testament, consists of four folio volumes; the three first contain the whole of the Old Testament, together with the Apocryphal books, and the fourth comprises the New Testament, the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the Apocryphal psalms ascribed to Solomon. In the New Testament there is wanting the beginning as far as Matth. xxv. 6. ο νυμφιος ερχεται; likewise from John vi. 50. to viii. 52. and from the 2 Cor. iv. 13. to xii. 7. [This manuscript is now preserved in the British museum, where it was deposited in 1753. It was sent as a present to king Charles I. from Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, and patriarch of Constantinople, by Sir Thomas Rowe, ambassador from England to the Grand Seignior, in the year 1628. Cyrillus brought it with him from Alexandria, where, probably, it was written. In a schedule annexed to it, he gives this account; that it was written, as tradition informed them, by Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about thirteen hundred years ago, a little after the council of Nice. He adds that the name of Thecla at the end of the book was erased; but that this was the case with other books of the christians, after christianity was extinguished in Egypt by the Mohammedans: and that recent tradition records the fact of the laceration and erasure of Thecla's name. The proprietor of this manuscript, before it came into the hands of Cyrillus Lucaris, had written an Arabic subscription, expressing that this book was said to have been written with the pen of Thecla the martyr." [Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, by Thomas Hartwell Horne. Vol. II. pp. 66, 67.

But, this is not the only *ante*-papistical manuscript of the scripture, now extant.

II. "THE CODEX VATICANUS, No. 1209, which Wetstein and Griesbach have both noted with the letter B, contests the palm of antiquity with the Alexandrian manuscript. No fac-simile of it has ever been published. The Roman edition of the Septuagint, printed in 1590, professes to exhibit the text of this manuscript; and in the preface to that edition it is stated to have been written before the year 387, i. e. towards the close of the 4th century: Montfaucon and Blanchini refer it to the 5th or 6th century, and Du Pin to the 7th century. Professor Hug has endeavored to shew that it was written in the early part of the fourth century; but, from the omission of the Eusebian κεφαλαια and τιτλοι, Bishop Marsh concludes with great probability, that it was written before the close of the fifth century. The Vatican manuscript is written on parchment or vellum in uncial or capital letters, in three columns on each page, all of which are of the same size, except at the beginning of a book, and without any divisions of chapters, verses, or words, but with accents and spirits. The shape of the letters, and color of the ink, prove that it was written throughout by one and the same careful copyist." Id. ib. p. 74.

There are also versions older than the papacy, older than the vulgate, which is itself evidently older than the church of Rome.

"Syria being visited at a very early period by the preachers of the christian faith, several translations of the sacred volume were made into the language of that country. The most celebrated of these is the *Peschito* or *Literal* (*Versio Simplex*,) as it is usually called, on account of its very close adherence to the Hebrew text, from which it was immediately made. The most extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning its antiquity, some referring it to the

time of Solomon and Hiram, while others ascribe it to Asa, the priest of Samaritans, and a third class, to the apostle Thaddeus. This last tradition is received by the Syrian churches; but a more recent date is ascribed to it by modern biblical philologers. Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Leusden, Bishop Lowth, and Dr. Kennicott, fix its date to the first century; Bauer, and some other German critics, to the second or third century: Jahn fixes it at the latest, to the second century; De Rossi pronounces it to be very ancient, but does not specify any precise date. The most probable opinion is that of Michaelis, who ascribes it to the close of the first or to the earlier part of the second century, at which time the Syrian churches flourished most, and the christians at Edessa had a temple for divine worship erected after the model of that at Jerusalem: and it is not to be supposed that they would be without a version of the old Testament, the reading of which had been introduced by the apostles." Id. ib. pp. 187, 188.

"An important accession to biblical literature was made a few years since, by the late learned and excellent Dr. Buchanan, to whose assiduous labors the British church in India is most deeply indebted: and who, in his progress among the Syrian churches and Jews of India, discovered and obtained numerous ancient manuscripts of the scriptures, which are now deposited in the public library at Cambridge. One of these, which was discovered in a remote Syrian church near the mountains, is particularly valuable: it contains the old and new Testaments, engrossed with beautiful accuracy in the *Estrangelo* (or old Syriac,) character, on strong vellum, in large folio, and having three columns in a page. The words of every book are numbered: and the volume illuminated, but not after the European manner, the initial letters having no ornament. Though somewhat injured by time or neglect, the ink being in certain places obliterated, still the letters can, in general, be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink. The Syrian church assigns a high date to this manuscript, which in the opinion of Mr. Yeates, who has published a collation of the Pentateuch, was written about the seventh century. In looking over this manuscript, Dr. Buchanan found the very first emendation of the Hebrew text proposed by Dr. Kennicott, which doubtless is the true reading. Id. ib. p. 189.

Now, if we of the west of Europe, did receive the bible first from our Roman Catholic ancestors, I ask, would that make us dependent on their traditions alone for that book; any more than A. B., who lived on one of the seven mouths of the Nile, from which he supplies himself with water, was, on that account, absolutely dependent on the branch nearest his dwelling. Tell him that he is absolutely and alone dependent on it for water; and he will say, "No; but it is more *convenient* to supply myself from this stream: there are six other branches, from which I could supply myself, were it necessary for my life or comfort." So say we. We have Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Protestants, from the first schism, A. D. 250, down to the present day; to say nothing of the ancient sceptics, Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and others; and the ancient heretics, from whose writings, together with those of the infidel pagans, we could almost compile a New Testament, containing every thing read, not only since, but before the council of Laodicea. Du Pin himself acknowledges, that before that council, even in the third century, the scriptures were read as they are now. But, as for our independence of all Roman Catholic tradition, on this subject, many other proofs may be offered. The notorious and glorious fact, however, that Protestants have rejected the Roman Catholic rule of faith, apocrypha, traditions, and all, and even her own vulgate, as authentic, will for ever frown out of countenance, the groundless imputations of my too credulous opponent. [Time expired.]

Half past 3 *o'clock, P. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

My friends, have you ever seen the Anti-Christ? Look at him now (holding up a book.) This morning, I endeavored to shew that Ma-

hommed was the fittest beast, to illustrate the mysterious prophecy; and I stated that many names (fourteen) could be found to correspond with the numbers 666. I now distinctly shew the page and book, where the computation is made and the last of these names is that of God himself. Cerdenus, a Greek writer, testifies that the name of Mahommed, as it was written in his time, will exactly spell the beast. On this subject, the reader who is not content with the article, Anti-Christ, in Robinson's Calmet, may refer to Walmesley's General History of the Christian church, p. 250.

I do not give my own theory of the matter. There have been too many theorists *already*, to need more. I believe the beast was neither Luther, nor Mahommed, nor the pope. This is not an article of faith with me, nor with any Catholic. I respect the prophecy, but I await to decide the questions until 'Revelations' be what the term imports. I have here a history of the popes, in French, published, as the title page says "at the expense of the holy Father." Of course it is to be understood to be a hoax, and it deserves to be so considered. It tells a heap of lies about him; among others he was to be destroyed for ever in 1745. We may *then* write his epitaph.

I do not know on what grounds my friend asserted yesterday, that the 2nd. commandment was not a part of the Catholic rule of morals I have already exhibited various catechisms, in use in the United States, in all of which, every word of the commandments is found. I suppose my friend overlooked the fact. I was glad to hear the gentleman speak so highly of Michaelis. It showed his literary knowledge; and perhaps he may be interested in knowing that when but one edition of his works could be obtained in Paris, in 1824, I procured it. Here it happens by a singular coincidence, unknown to him, to be. I invite him to examine in it the commandments, and he will find them fully and faithfully rendered in every Catholic Bible and Testament Will my friend tell the audience when the *mazoretic points*, without which the understanding of the Bible, if not impossible, is very difficult, were first introduced? and by whom?

Do all Bible readers know, as they ought to know, that in the old Hebrew Bible, there is no division of verses, much less of chapters? That a Roman Catholic cardinal had a good deal to do in making the division—and that they were not Protestants, but Rabbis, who suffixed the points which serve instead of vowels to Hebrew words, which have none but consonants alone; accordingly, as these vowels are placed, the Hebrew root may signify whatever the *pointer* pleases? The context of the oldest known meaning must be the only criterion. But I should like to know how one of our good, plain, homebred and industrious citizens can accomplish this task for himself. Even learned men made themselves ridiculous by their mazoretic fixtures and translations, and Luther, who was a good *Catholic* scholar—laughing at the absurdity of their versions of passages in the Bible—observed that "In the beginning the cuckoo ate the sparrow and the feathers," would be just as good a translation of the first line of Genesis, as some of theirs. I will return to this subject.

It appears that Birds and Beasts of prey may represent peace, as well as cruelty. England then suffers no disparagement from her Lion, nor the United States, from her Eagle. The gentleman suggests a dove for the latter. I have not the slightest objection, and if

the criticism I have heard be correct, the bird lately stamped on the new American coin resembles a chicken, more than a bird of prey. It looks as if it were more to be preyed upon than preying, and more sinned against than sinning.

Before I come to the very important point of the Bible, I must not forget to quote the testimony of the eloquent Southey, to shew what anti-Christs the popes were, and how they displayed their anti-christian spirit, in the conversion of Old England.

"That Gregory, who was afterwards raised to the popedom, and is distinguished from succeeding popes of the same name (one alone excepted,) by the rank of saint, and from him, by the appellation of the Great, was one day led into the market-place at Rome, with a great concourse of persons, to look at a large importation of foreign merchandise, which had just arrived. Among other articles, there were some boys exposed for sale like cattle. There was nothing remarkable in this, for it was the custom every where in that age, and had been so from time immemorial: but he was struck by the appearance of the boys, their fine clear skins, the beauty of their flaxen or golden hair, and their ingenuous countenances; so that he asked from what country they came; and when he was told from the island of Britain, where the inhabitants in general were of that complexion and comeliness, he inquired if the people were christians, and sighed for compassion at hearing that they were in a state of Pagan darkness. . . . . From that day the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons became a favorite object with Gregory. . . . . Accordingly he despatched thither forty missionaries from a *monastery*, which he had founded at Rome. . . . . .

When, therefore, Augustine (who was their chief) and his companions landed in the isle of Thanet, they came not as obscure men, unprotected and unaccredited; but with recommendations from the kings of France, and as messengers from a potentate, whose spiritual authority was acknowledged and obeyed throughout that part of the world, to which the northern nations were accustomed to look as the seat of empire and superior civilization. They made their arrival known to Ethelbert, and requested an audience. They approached in procession, bearing a silver crucifix, and a portrait of our Savior, upon a banner adorned with gold, and chaunting the litany. The king welcomed them courteously, and ordered them to be seated: after which, Augustine stood up, and, through an interpreter, whom he had brought from France, delivered the purport of his mission. in a brief, but well ordered and impressive discourse. He was come to the king, and to that kingdom, he said, for their eternal good, a messenger of good tidings; offering to their acceptance perpetual happiness, here and hereafter, if they would accept his words. The Creator and Redeemer had opened the kingdom of heaven to the human race: for God so loved the world that he had sent into it his only son, as that son himself testified, to become a man among the children of men, and suffer death upon the cross, in atonement for their sins. That incarnate divinity had been made manifest by innumerable miracles. Christ had stilled the winds and waves, and walked upon the waters: he had healed diseases, and restored the dead to life: finally, he had risen from the dead himself, that we might rise again through him, and had ascended into heaven, that he might receive us there in his glory; and he would come again to judge both the quick and the dead. "Think not," he proceeded, "O most excellent king, that we are superstitious, because we have come from Rome into thy dominions, for the sake of the salvation of thee and of thy people; we have done this, being constrained by great love: for that which we desire, above all the pomps and delights of this world, is to have our fellow-creatures partakers with ourselves in the kingdom of heaven, &c." [Southey's Book of the Church. chap. iii. p. 23. etc.

My friend proposed a question, which he thought difficult. Why do I believe the bible? He said my answer would be, because the church believes it; and this, he says, is like Peter giving a character to Paul, and Paul to Peter. I reciprocate the question of the gentleman, and he says he believes in the church, because he believes in the bible. Thus the bible and church testify to each other in his theory, and the difficulty is infinitely greater for a Protestant, than for a Ca-

tholic. In fact, for a Catholic the question is not susceptible of any difficulty, whatever. One word will shew that we are right. WHICH WAS PRIOR? The bible or the church? Manifestly, the church was the older. The apostles did not wait to have thousands of bibles copied, and to freight vessels with them, and sail as supercargoes of the heavenly merchandise, to the distant nations of the earth. "*Faith*," says St. Paul, "*comes from hearing*." There were millions of converts to Christianity, whole nations were converted to the Savior, by *preaching*, before the different books composing the present bible, were determined to be genuine Scripture and collected into one volume. This was not done before the beginning of the fourth century. The church was therefore prior to the bible: and if the bible had never been written, the gospel could have been preached and believed, as it was in the early ages, without its aid. How did the apostles make converts without the bible? They addressed themselves to the reason of the unconverted nations. They convinced them, if necessary, of the existence of God, by the spectacle of the divine wisdom and power, displayed in the creation and preservation of the world. They appealed to the natural law, whose precepts were written by the finger of God, on tablets of flesh, the hearts of men, before they were engraven on stone, amidst the thunder and lightnings of Sinai. Thus did they find the great primary truths of natural religion, with regard to both doctrine and morals, inculcated by the contemplation of the visible wonders of creation and the testimony of the human heart.

They next proceeded to convince their hearers of the unity of God, and the sinfulness and grossness of idolatry, of their having departed from the moral law, of the darkness in which sin had involved the human race, of our incompetency for our own cure, of the divine commiseration of our misery, of the descent of Jesus Christ, his doctrine, his miracles, his charity, his establishment of his church, his sacraments and the various means of grace, his promises to be with his apostles, He and his Holy Spirit, for ever, his death, &c. The holiness of the apostles' lives, the cruel death with which they sealed the truth they had proclaimed, conciliated the belief and completed the conversion of their hearers. "*I willingly*," says Paschal, "*believe the witnesses, who let their throats be cut to attest the truth of what they declare.*" The bible could not shed its blood to attest its divine origin. The ignorant, who are a large proportion of the human race, could not read it; the learned, and the pious, and the sincere, as every one knows, found it a task far above their strength, to distinguish genuine from spurious scripture. Before the invention of printing, men could not procure bibles: since the invention of printing, they read them to introduce a flood of new sects; so that there are now as many religions, almost, as there are different versions or different readers of the scriptures. If, on the contrary, there is anything clearly taught in the scriptures, it is the authority of the church, which, without aid from the bible, not all composed when the first apostles preached, had fully established her authority, and, independently of her miracles, proved, by the preternatural success of her preaching, that God was indeed with her, as he had promised, teaching all nations, and perpetually suggesting to her all truth. Hence, we believe in the church first; and on the faith of the evidences which I have enumerated, we believe in the bible, which the church presents to us, vouching for its purity and authenticity.

The bible obtained, sanctions the authority of the church, and confirms our faith. Here, all is consistent, and our submission to the church is reasonable. The Protestant divines, Hooker and Chillingworth, allow that the bible cannot bear testimony to itself: even Luther was forced to acknowledge it. "We are obliged," says he, "to yield many things to the papists; that with them is the word of God, that we received from them; otherwise, we should have known nothing at all about it." (Comment on John, c. 16.) Hence the remarkable saying of St. Augustine: "I should not believe the gospel itself, if the Catholic church did not oblige me to do so." Will my friend inform me, why he rejects an authentic work, of great excellence, written by St. Barnabas; who is termed, in scripture, an apostle, and declared to be full of the holy Ghost, (Acts xiv. 24, xi. 24;) and receives, as canonical, parts of the New Testament, which were not written by apostles at all, viz. the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke? The original text of Moses, and the ancient prophets, was destroyed with the temple and city of Jerusalem, by the Assyrians under Nebuchadnezzar; and the authentic copies which replaced them, perished in the persecution of Antiochus. How were these books restored? Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, and entrusted it to the deaconess Phœbe. His Epistle to the Ephesians, he confided to the disciple Tychicus. How can we be sure of these epistles, as they now stand in the Testament? Was it not the corruption of the bible by Queen Elizabeth's bishops, that caused James I. to have a new translation to be made? But, I should be endless, if I enumerated all the insurmountable difficulties, which a Protestant encounters at the very first step of his journey in quest of a religion. *He must turn Catholic at the very outset, and take the bible, as he gets it, on authority, or remain an unbeliever all his life. And he must believe that authority to be infallible, or he can never be sure that the bible it gives him is divine.* Catholics have faith by baptism, as Protestants have; but the latter lose it when they adopt, on arriving at mature age, the Protestant principle, that every man must find out his religion for himself, from the bible. Many Protestants are not admonished of the danger of their situation, and do not themselves reflect on these difficulties. As long as they are sincere, and do the best they can to obey God and conscience, the Catholic church excuses them, in the words of St. Augustine: "Let those treat you harshly, who know not how hard it is to get rid of old prejudices. Let those treat you harshly, who have not learned how very hard it is to purify the interior eye, and render it capable of contemplating the sun of the soul, truth. But, as to us: we are far from this disposition towards persons who are separated from us, not by errors of their own invention, but by their being entangled in those of others. We are so far from this disposition, that we pray to God, that in refuting the false opinions of those whom you follow, not from malice, but from imprudence, he would bestow upon us that spirit of peace, which feels no other sentiment than charity, no other interest than that of Jesus Christ, no other wish but for your salvation." Had we been born Mahommedans, we would, perhaps, live Mahommedans. Thank God, we are not. But, this does not require us to throw away our faith. It would be too long to notice all the gentleman says. I attend to the most important.

Now, I will venture to assert, that there is not a Protestant in this house, who can say, that he has found out all the tenets which he be-

lieves, by reading the bible alone. He believes them, because his parents, and teachers, and minister, his catechism, taught them; or a hundred other influences may have been brought to bear upon his mind and his affections, favorable to those peculiar tenets. It is not at all the case with Protestant children, any more than with Catholic children, that reason is the *first* to lead them to their belief. Let each one candidly examine his own heart, and ask himself if he was not as much *educated* in those doctrines which he now professes, as the Catholics were in theirs.

How can he be sure, if he indeed possess an authentic copy of the scriptures, that he *understands* them? "The word of God," says the Protestant bishop, Walton, "does not consist in mere letters, whether written or printed, but in the sense of it; which no one can better interpret than the true church, to which Christ committed this same pledge." (Polyglot. Proleg. ch. v.)

My opponent says, there was a copy of the scriptures found, which the fingers of a monk had never soiled. And how does he go about to establish this proposition? He quoted Horne. I will take up this very work, and prove, while I admit that Horne was a learned writer, that he fell into some very unlearned blunders. But how does Horne say that my friend is right? He says, that this very manuscript was found in one of the twenty-two monasteries of Mount Athos!! Lo! there was a monk at the bottom of it after all! [Time expired.]

Four o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

My friends, there is any thing but order in our discussion—I mean logical order, as respects the duties of a respondent. Now, certainly, this will abundantly appear in the report of this debate.

The gentleman has not once, as yet, replied to my speeches in regular sequence; but, after the interval of a night, a day, and sometimes two days, he responds to some point or argument: and then his reply consists either in accusing me of misunderstanding, or misstating what he has said; or perhaps in denying my authorities, or by introducing some extract, or tradition, or opinion, from some great Protestant, or some good Catholic, or some excogitation of his own. His last speech was a happy illustration of Ovid's

"congestaque eodem—
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum."
[Metamor. lib. I.

And, certainly, his mirthfulness and gravity were in unison with the dignity of his reply; and equally fallible as respects effect of any sort upon his audience. This rhetoric soon wears out. It is but an echo, a sound, a shadow; the crisis calls for something more solid. But if it cannot be found, I must submit to interruption, and turn aside to notice the gleanings of his last and best reflections upon the prophecies.

The gentleman has given us from his library some ridiculous puns upon the name of Mahomet. He does not, and under his hard destiny he cannot, always discriminate the precise point in debate. It is not about the name of an individual, such as Ludovicus, or Mahomet; but of a people—a community—a kingdom. His second mistake is, that if it were a personal name, the number of the name of Mahomet as given in his example only makes 502. His name properly written is equal to only 463. He ought also to have decipher-

ed, or his author, whether his name should be taken as it is written in Arabic or in Greek. But whether he take it in Arabic or in Greek, it will not in Grecian numerals, and certainly not in Arabic, equal 666. So fails his effort at both reason and ridicule to dispose of this morning's argument from prophecy. I again repeat, that on this point, as on every other, my argument appears unassailable.

Yesterday my opponent was asked, where infallibility resided; today he answers by asking, where shall we find *the mind?* In the head, stomach, hands, feet, or where? This is not a parallel case. The question is, as usual, mistaken, or misapplied. It is, where is the *mouth* of infallibility? when I desire an infallible response, where shall I hear it? Where is the *tongue* of infallibility? If the church possess infallibility and never decides a question by any organ—never can utter an answer, it is worth no more than a diamond in the depths of the Atlantic.

The alpha and omega of the proofs offered by the bishop for the existence of infallibility, which has been so often repeated, and which I promised sometime to notice, is this: "*I am with you.*" Now, logic asks, what means "I am with you?" as proving infallibility, unless "I am with you," is a phrase already incontrovertibly established to mean infallibility. But what says bible fact? There are, at least, four meanings of the phrase. I am with you, personally, providentially, graciously, or with miraculous power. It could not be the first: for he was leaving them personally. It could not be the second; because that was common to all good men. Thus God was with Joseph, with Jacob, with all the patriarchs, and with all good men. It could not be that God was to be with them graciously; for that too, is common to all christians. As the apostles said to all good christians, "The Lord be with you all," it could not be a special promise to the apostles. What remains then? Mark, the evangelist, explains: "These signs shall follow. In my name shall they cast out devils: they shall speak with new tongues, serpents shall they take away; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them. They shall impose hands on the sick and they shall be whole." So the Rhemish Testament reads Mark's account of the promise, "I am with you." Again: after the ascension of the Messiah, the evangelist relates, v. 20. "But they" (the apostles) "going forth preached every where: our Lord *working with all*, and confirming the word with signs that followed."

This, then, is the proof of infallibility, as interpreted by Mark in the canon Catholic Testament. Now, does not this confine the promise to the apostles? Can the popes work miracles? Can the bishops?—Such a miracle, forsooth, as the existence of the Roman Catholic church in the western empire, after the rise of Mahometanism in the east! A splendid miracle, truly! That proves as much for Mahometanism and Paganism, as for the popes of Rome: for all these systems rose upon the ruin, and also withstood the shocks of other systems!

When Peter said to the cripple, "Silver and gold I have none; but *such as I have* I give thee—In the name of Jesus take up your bed and walk," he felt that he possessed something in the promise "I am with you." Can any of his successors speak in this style: silver and gold I have none: but such as I have (the power of Christ) I give thee!

The gentleman's dissertation on the vicious circle, leaves him

where it found him; believing the church first and the bible afterwards; and making the one prove the other: but he will never dispose of it. He is like the eccentric witness, whose veracity could only be proved by the principal: and yet the principal depends for his veracity upon the witness. The bishop for a little while turned Protestant, and then he affirmed that he believed in Christ on the evidence of his own miracles; and that evidence he found in the bible, and that bible he interpreted for himself. Thus he became a Protestant, when he attempted to solve that Gordion knot. But as soon as he had, by the Protestant rule, obtained faith in Christ, he instantly relapsed into the embrace of holy mother, and denounced the bridge over which he escaped from the island.

But the gentleman asked a question which has puzzled wise men to answer. A child however of four years old could have asked Newton a question that he could not have answered in a thousand years. "How can you prove the bible?" says the bishop. Does it prove itself? I will imitate him, this once, and ask, does *nature* prove itself? Does God prove his own existence without his works or by his works? Must there be another universe created to prove this?—This is a question no one will put, unless on the hypothesis that no man can prove a universe to exist but by other testimony than itself. So the bible proves itself to be the word of God, as nature proves itself to be the work of God. Thus has the supreme intelligence stamped the impress of himself both on nature and revelation. David says, "Lord, thou hast magnified thy word above all thy name." I have other reasons, if necessary, to prove how the bible was put together. Many a christian has been made so by the single testimony of one evangelist; or by a single epistle of Paul. We have four gospels; but one would have been enough; and as much as many individuals had. The whole christian doctrine might be learned from Paul alone, from perhaps the half of his epistles. Paul and Peter wrote, and said much more by divine inspiration than is preserved or recorded. So did the ancient prophets. We need not to prove, in order to our faith, who collected the writings into one volume, any more, than who collected all the words of Christ, that are reported.

Cardinal Bellarmine says: "There is sure to be some doctor at the head of a schism." Heresiarchs are generally men of letters. Where then the pertinency of those remarks about the unlearned wresting the scriptures? The original means *untaught*, *untractable* persons rather than unlearned. Philosophers, as they love to be called, are generally the most unteachable, and the greatest wresters and perverters of the scriptures. Peter had those too wise to learn, in his eye, when he spoke of wresting the scripture; and not the simple, honest and unassuming laity. Let a man sit down as Mary sat, at the feet of Christ, and humble himself as a pupil ought; he will then hear the voice of God, and understand it too. He will then discern how it is, that all God's children are taught by God, and that there is none that teacheth like him.

Rather wittily than logically, the gentleman gives the monks some credit, for handling the Alexandrine manuscript. Be it known however, that monkery began in St. Anthony's time; and that this said copy is older than the founder of monasteries. Because Tacitus, Livy, Horace, and Virgil passed through their hands, are we dependent on them

for all our knowledge of Greek and Roman letters? The monks handled copies that they never wrote. But that gave those copies neither more nor less credit. I did not mean that one ought not to thumb the scriptures in reading them, when I spoke of them being soiled by the hands of a monk. I have then, so far as objection has been made, as I conceive, sustained the sixth proposition. Will the president moderator please have the 5th proposition read? [The 5th prop. was here read.]

PROP. V. Her notions of purgatory, indulgences, auricular confession, remission of sins, transubstantiation, supererogation, &c. essential elements of her system, are immoral in their tendency, and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political.

Now, my friends, I want to strike a blow at the main root of the whole papal superstition: for that root is found in the proposition just now read. I have but little time to do it, and shall, therefore, march right up to the point at once.

The capital, distinguishing doctrine of Protestantism, next to the bible alone as the rule and measure of christian faith and manners, and the right and duty of all to read and examine it is, that the death of Jesus Christ was not simply that of a martyr: but that "he died *for our sins*, according to the scriptures." *That the death or sacrifice of Christ is the great sin offering, and the only sin offering*, is a cardinal doctrine of Protestantism; and that there is now no priest, nor victim, nor sacrifice, nor altar, nor sin offering on earth follows, as a matter of course. Jesus was "the Lamb of God"—"Himself the sin offering and the priest." He expiated our sins in his own body on the cross." "His blood cleanses from all sin." Papal priests, penances, confessions, masses, remissions, purgatories, intercessions of saints, angels, and almost all their ceremonies, arise from the notion, the radical mistake that the sacrifice of Christ, as a sin offering, an atonement, a reconciliation was some way deficient. Although we can trace supererogation, purgatory, penances, lustrations, the intercessions of angels and dead men, &c. to the philosophers and dreamers of the east—their divine Platos, Pythagorases and Aristotles: still the immediate origin and cause of all these errors may be traced to ignorance of the bible doctrine of the priesthood of Christ, the antitype of that of Aaron and Melchisidec. It was Dryden, a Roman Catholic poet, if I mistake not, who said that the *dos pou sto*, which Archimedes sought in vain by which to raise the globe, was found by the popes of Rome in the doctrine of purgatory. That was the philosopher's stone—the lever which lifts the world—which has brought more gold to Rome, than the discovery of America itself.

My friends, the doctrine of purgatory with all its correlates is based on two errors.

1st. *That man can do more than his duty:*

2d. *That something may be added to the sacrifice of Christ to give it more value or efficacy.*

Now, I affirm, that no created being, not a Gabriel, or Uriel, or Raphael, or the highest of the angelic hosts, can do an act of supererogation. No man can, by any thought, word, or action, make God his debtor. "Who," says Paul, "has first given to the Lord, and it shall be recompensed to him again? For, of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." Jesus told his disciples, that when they had done all that was commanded them, they had only done their duty, and were to him unprofitable servants. The greatest saint that

ever lived is not more holy than he ought to be, on his own account. This single thought evaporates that sea of merit which has performed such wonders in Roman story.

No human being has any thing to give to God; and therefore none can merit from him any thing. If a man's salvation depended on his shedding a single tear, where could he find it? The heart that feels and the tear that flows, clear as chrystal down the cheek of the most devoted saint, are of God's creation. And, therefore, it is out of the question, to conceive how any work of merit, as respects God, is possible for angel or for man.

Were a saint to turn pilgrim and peregrinate on his naked knees the four quarters of the globe, were he to give his body to the flames, when God asks it, or duty requires it; he has deserved nothing from God, on the ground of merit. He has only employed the powers that God gave him, and used his faculties in a way consonant to the designs of him that gave them. And sooner will a man add new glories to the sun or create new luminaries in the heavens, than add one attribute of merit or of power to the sacrifice of Christ. "He finished transgression: made an end of sin offerings, brought in an everlasting justification;" and left nothing to be done to make his sacrifice more meritorious or efficient.

Works of supererogation, auricular confession, masses for sins, transubstantiation, purgatory, with all the appurtenances thereto belonging, are the veriest ghosts of paganism—the phantoms of infatuated reason, attempts against the dignity of God and the supremacy, as well as the true and proper divinity and dignity of his Son.

This superstition, this man of sin, stands with his two feet upon the two greatest lies in human history. He places his right foot on the first and his left foot on the second. Need I say that the former affirms *that the sacrifice of God's own* SON *is insufficient as a sin offering:* and that the latter teaches *that man can do more than his duty to God.* Here then, I say to my opponent, I will measure swords with him. Let him meet me on these too points, then it will be an easy task to dispose of his imaginary purgatories, transubstantiation, penances, works of supererogation, &c. &c. and to shew that so far from bringing glory to God or righteousness to men, they are positively, naturally, and necessarily opposed to both. Let him try his strength of scriptural argument and reason on these cardinal points, and it will, as our time is so far exhausted, save the tediousness of numerous details.—[Time expired.]

Half-past 4 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

My friends, it is imperative upon me to make one exposition before I proceed. Many of you were here when my friend would have led you into a gross mistake, respecting the Catholic church, by quoting a pretended extract from Liguori. I asserted then, that nothing could be found in that writer's works to substantiate the odious charge, to give it so much as a semblance of truth. I have now before me the entire works of Liguori, and I have placed them in the presence of my friend, Mr. Campbell. The 9th volume has an index, containing every word of any importance, and I repeat, that after a search through the whole nine volumes, *nothing like the quotation of last evening can be found.* I have now placed the book in the hands of Professor

Biggs, of Lane seminary, one of the moderators, and a Protestant of the Presbyterian denomination, if I do not mistake, and I will leave it to him, or any other intelligent and candid man, to say to you whether the fact is as my friend has stated, or the very contrary of what he has stated.

MR. CAMPBELL. Be so good as to explain the matter fully.

BISHOP PURCELL. I will explain the exact state of the case. Mr. Smith, the author of the translation, from whom my friend read this, as well as many other things, *has given a false quotation*, and made Liguori say, what he never said. The facts are these: a canon of the council of Trent, and Liguori, according to the canon, say, "that if a priest falls by criminal intercourse, as specified, from the holy state of purity, to which he is bound by a voluntary, deliberate, and solemn vow, he shall be deprived of a large portion of his salary for the first offence. If he does not refrain after admonition and such punishment, he is again admonished, and deprived of his whole salary, and suspended from all his functions as a priest in the Catholic church. But after the third admonition, if he is still incorrigible, he is excommunicated, and cut off from the church, even as St. Paul cut off the incestuous man of Corinth." 1st. Ep. Corinth. ch. 5. v. 5. No where, in any part of these volumes, is it said that a priest may sin thus upon paying a fine, &c.

Thus, my friends, you see how the poisonous fountains of error and prejudice have been swelling over the land, and infecting the public mind, until many an honest and upright man has thought, when he denounced us for our (imputed) doctrines, he was doing God a service. Were he aware of the imposition practised on his credulity, he would, I have no doubt, have turned his indignation on more deserving victims. "*If we leave off slandering them*," said the ministers of Amsterdam, to Vossius, who remonstrated with them on their injustice to the Catholics, "*our people will soon leave us.*" "*We shall do no good with the people*," said Shaftesbury, speaking of the Mocedo plot, "*if we cannot make them swallow greater nonsense than this.*" "*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor*," is a commandment which Maria Monk and her *reverend* protectors reckon not to belong to the "weightier things of the law." Their stale calumnies are paid for with the blood-money! Our doctrine, many of its ministerial adversaries know to be pure and holy; but, overwhelmed with confusion, whenever they attempt argument, they have no resource but in addressing themselves to the prejudices of their *implicit* believers. These mock at Catholics for "hearing the church;" and whom do *they* hear?

As to the bible, the whole difficulty is to be gone over again and again. Every new translation, it seems, lies open to objections on grave and important grounds. I have here a paper, printed at Kanawha, in Cabell county, Virginia. In it a considerable class of Baptists, I think they are, quarrel with their brethren near Zoar, in Ohio, and quarrel with the bible. They insist that *all the existing translations* of it should be rejected, and a new one commenced for themselves from the original Hebrew and Greek scriptures—if they get them! They can never get a bible they are sure of. They cannot get the original Hebrew in which the gospel of St. Matthew was written. St. Jerome says he had seen it, and that is all we know of it since. They cannot in twelve months of the time that the getting up of their bible will require, determine, on grounds satisfactory to a biblical

critic, and on Protestant principles, why they adopt or reject, as the event may be, the seventh verse, of the fifth chapter, of the 1st Epistle of St. John.

While this paper was being printed at Charleston, Virginia, the "Churchman," at New York, perhaps at the same hour, was printing the very proof I have read to you, in favor of the Catholic doctrine of confession. Let the Burmese and all others, Pagans or Christians, lie on their oars, till the new scriptures appear. Then let printers, agents and missionaries, be well paid, and the cumbrous machinery set to work, and compass heaven and earth to make one proselyte, who surely cannot be more settled in his faith than they who thus despise the "inspired, authoritative, perpetual, catholic, perfect and intelligible rule."

He says the documents I have read are not pertinent. Now he certainly did not suspect that I thought *he* would so consider them. In his estimation, there is nothing pertinent, logical, relevant, in all this discussion, but what he says himself. This he has neglected no opportunity of impressing on our attention. But the public will be the best judge, and they can see through the attempts of either disputant to forestall their impartial and unbiassed verdict. The printed report of this controversy, will shew the pertinency or impertinency of our respective arguments, and, for my own part, I have not the slightest fear of the result.

I am very far from believing that I *am worthy* of advocating the holy cause, in which my humble talents, and all my heart's affections are enlisted, but such is my confidence in the power of that truth, which I embraced on conviction as soon as I was able to judge for myself, and whose evidences have been, ever since, brightening to my understanding, the more I examine them, that I ask no more than that my unadorned arguments should fall into the hands of *thinking* men.

My opponent says that the whole structure of Catholicism is an assumption, and rests upon two *lies*. The gentleman pledged himself at the commencement of this debate, to use no opprobrious language, and I promised not to set him the example. How he has kept his word, as the terms in which his propositions are expressed are so very refined, let these, by which they are defended, decide. I will not bandy epithets with him, but I must say that the Catholic church has two sound legs to stand upon. The gentleman tenders her crutches which she modestly declines, with the suggestion that as his argument is lame he may have occasion for them himself! I will argue these various doctrines which he has enumerated and prove them all to be founded in the bible, and believed, in all past ages, from the time of Christ and his apostles. The gentleman has misrepresented, or he does not understand our doctrine. We believe that there is no other name under heaven, but the name of Jesus given to men, whereby they may be saved. Acts iv. 12. We believe that "*by one oblation Christ hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified,*" Heb. x. 14. That atonement by His vicarious sacrifice, if not the first, is one of the great cardinal doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, no man who pretends to any acquaintance with that doctrine, will, or can venture to deny. Christ has paid an all-sufficient price for our ransom. But do we arraign the sacrifice of Christ of insufficiency, when we sanctify the Sabbath, when we give alms to the poor, when we abstain from

evil, when we hear preaching, or go to prayer? When St. Paul chastised his body and brought it under subjection, lest, while he preached to others he should himself become a reprobate, did he believe Christ's sacrifice incomplete? that it needed his supplementary austerities? Or that the other Apostles should command us, *to make sure our election and vocation by good works; to work out our salvation with* fear and trembling? No; God who made us without ourselves, will not save us without ourselves. He requires our co-operation, and with his grace he aids our weak endeavor. This grace he communicates to us by divers channels, and in various ways. Of these the principal are the seven sacraments, which, if I may use the gentleman's figure in its proper application, like the seven mouths of the Nile convey the healing waters from the fountains of the Savior to every portion of the church. The will is made and recorded. The executors, the apostles and priests of the church, convey and apply an adequate portion to the wants of men. Wherever a captive may be presumed to groan in spiritual slavery, they seek him out, they proclaim to him the glad tidings of his deliverance, they pay, with the treasures of Christ, of which they are the depositaries, the price of his ransom; and this when they find the slave willing to accept the terms on which redemption is offered, do they carry into effect, in his behalf, the charitable intentions of the divine testator. Is this arraigning his bounty, or distributing it as he commanded? Is this robbing Christ of his glory, or calling all nations to bask in its rays and exult in its effulgence? The Catholic church, in all the institutions she venerates, the sacraments she administers, the truths she proclaims, the sacrifices she offers, the prayers she prefers, the charity she inculcates, the grace she dispenses, acts by the command of Christ, in the name of Christ. *This is the true and living way* by which she commands all to seek access to the Father, and by Him, with Him, and in Him, to give to God all honor and glory forever. He is the sun of the entire system, and all the ordinances of religion, are but the rays of that sun enlightening and vivifying the christian pilgrim at every step of his weary progress through this vale of tears.

Sacrifice, we consider indispensable to religion. It has been offered to God in every age, by every people, under every form of religion. Abel offered sacrifice in Eden, the purest firstlings of his flocks, for he was a shepherd. Cain sacrificed the fruits of the earth, for he was a husbandman. Noah, when the waters of the deluge had subsided, Solomon, when he dedicated the temple, offered sacrifices; even the Pagan nations of the earth, who changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, paid homage to this dictate of nature, and continued the rite of sacrifice, however unworthy the objects of idolatry From all this we rightly infer, that the only perfect religion should not be destitute of sacrifice. The scripture everywhere testifies to its necessity. Melchisedec, as we read in Genesis, offered bread and wine. He was a priest of the most High God. And David, in the 109th Psalm, says of Jesus Christ, King of Justice, King of Peace, "The Lord hath sworn, and it shall not repent him, thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedec." When God abrogates the Jewish dispensation, and substitutes a new and better in its stead, he says to the Jews, by the last of all the prophets, "*I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts; and I will not receive a gift*

of your hand; for from the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is a sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation; for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts." Malachias, ch. 11, 6. v. When Jesus Christ, as we read in three Evangelists, instituted the Blessed Eucharist, he said to his apostles, "*This my body, which is offered for you. This is my blood, which is shed for you. Do this in commemoration of me.*"

Catholics obey the injunctions of the Savior, they do what he commanded them, they offer the memorial sacrifice, they continue and represent the sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon Calvary. They offer it under the forms of bread and wine as Melchisedec had done in figure. They offer it from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, as Malachy had predicted. On Asia's distant plains, under the burning sun of Africa, in the tangled forests of the western world, as well as in its new and blooming cities, the sacrifice is offered and the prophecy obtains its glorious accomplishment. If Protestants say they have the sacrifice of the death of Christ, I answer with our divines, so had the servants of God, under the law of nature and the written law; for it is impossible that with the blood of oxen and goats, sin should be taken away; nevertheless they had perpetual sacrifices to represent the death of Christ, and to apply the fruits of it to their souls. In the same manner the Catholics have Christ himself really present, and mystically offered on their altars daily, for the same ends.

If time permitted, I might call up in review before you those venerable bishops and doctors whose blood sealed the doctrine, which their writings had defended. The saint Johns and the Polycarps of the east —the Irenæuses and the Hilaries of the west—those venerable men whose great age, like that of the patriarchs of old, enabled them to transmit to their children without fear of error, or multiplying too much the intermediate links—the traditionary chain of their own and their forefathers' belief—what they believed and taught themselves and what was daily practised in those old centurial churches which we have inherited from them, built many ages before any of the modern dissentient religions were known, and where the altar and the cross, the liturgy and the stone from the wall, bore testimony to the real presence in the Eucharist, to the divinity of the victim that was offered there in sacrifice!—[Time expired.]

FRIDAY, January 20. *Half past 9 o'clock, A. M.*

Mr. Campbell rises—

I did not, in first taking up "The Synopsis of the Moral Theology of the Roman Church," say aught of its author, or of the causes which ushered it into existence. But since it has become a matter of so much debate, I shall state a few things concerning it and its author, Mr. Smith, the author, was a member of that community for seventeen years, several of which he officiated as a priest. Convinced of the errors of that superstition, he publicly renounced it, and is now a Protestant minister, greatly devoted to the cause of Protestantism. From

his intimate acquaintance with the spirit and tendency of the Roman Catholic institution, he has recently translated a considerable portion of the works of Saint Ligori. The title of the book is:

"A synopsis of the moral theology of the church of Rome, taken from the works of St. Ligori and translated from the Latin into English by SAMUEL B. SMITH, late a popish priest." New York, 1836.

It is further explained in the preface:

"What we present before the public in this synopsis, is a compendious view of the doctrine of the church of Rome, now taught in all her schools. It is a fair and exact translation of selected portions of the voluminous MORAL THEOLOGY of St. Alphonsus de Ligorio, published at Mechlin in Belgium, *superiorum permissu*, in the year 1828." [Preface, p. 5.

Of its author he speaks thus:

"He was enrolled among the *saints*, as the title page of his work declares, by pope Pius VII. on the 15th of September, in the year 1816." [Pref. p. 6.

It seems that this work is so popular, as to be found in almost every priest's library, and is quoted by them, as of the highest authority.

"Besides the above testimony in confirmation of the authority of St. Ligori, we have also that of the Rev. father Valera himself, the popish priest of the city of New York. This Rev. father Felix Valera, about a year and a half ago, in his attempt at a refutation of my "*renunciation of popery*," quotes this very same Ligori as overwhelming and decisive authority against something which he found advanced by me." [Pref. p. 9.

In some very important matters, he has given the original itself; and fearing, as the manner is, that his translation might be called in question, he says:

"If they deny that we have given a fair translation, we will then challenge them to come forward in a public assembly with the works of St. Ligori, when we promise to meet them, and submit our translation, and the original, to the inspection of a committee, one half of whom to be chosen by ourselves, and the other half by the Roman clergy. Truth never shuns investigation. If we have not given a fair, genuine, and true translation, and if we have not exhibited the doctrines of Ligori and the church of Rome fairly and correctly, without garbling, or giving an erroneous construction, we will be willing to incur the consequences that we ought to expect, for having deceived the public." Synop. Pref. p. 12.

I have given but a sample of this work, though I have made numerous quotations; only one of which has been challenged by my antagonist. That point I touched as lightly as possible, because unsuited to a popular assembly. This the gentleman fully understands. I slurred it over, in terms the least intelligible which I could select at the moment: but he has no reason to object even to the comment, that Mr. Smith puts upon the article quoted. He well knows that marriage in the priesthood is instant excommunication; while concubinage is matter of forbearance. In the course of this discussion, I had occasion to observe, that I found very many canons of the church, even in the fifth and sixth centuries, on the subject of marriage and its abuses. This, from the modesty of my exposition, he took occasion to use in argument, as proof that the celibacy of the clergy was early introduced. This was a perversion of my observation, which the delicacy of my situation would not allow me to explain. Nor will I now sin against my own feelings, or those of my audience, by going fully into such details. I will only add, that I have a superfluity of evidence in proof of the allegation of Ligori. The casuistry, dissimulation, and immorality of the Jesuits, and the whole genius of the internal spirit of the papacy, are abundantly attested in the two works lying before me: "The Provincial Letters," of the accomplished Pas-

chal, which I have not yet opened in this discussion; and, "The Secreta Monita of the order of Jesus." This copy, in the original French, I am informed by the lady through whose kindness I have been furnished with it, was brought to this country by the secretary of the great and renowned La Fayette, on his last visit to the United States. This, our national benefactor, who, my opponent says, was a true Catholic, has declared, that if our liberty should be lost, it will be by the hands of priests. I saw this fact stated in two papers; one published in Richmond, the other in New-York; and I have no doubt of its correctness.

The Secreta Monita has been a few years since, translated at Princeton N. J. and is now found in many book-stores in this country. From the perusal of these two volumes, we shall find that the moral theology of St. Ligori, the doctrine of Smith's Synopsis, is in perfect unison with the true spirit of the Roman clergy and institution.

The gentleman mentioned the disclosures of Maria Monk. I did not; because I rely on no such documents. What she says, is private property; and there is no occasion for bringing it into this controversy. I have my own opinion of it however: but need not its aid on this occasion.

The gentleman speaks often of the imperfections and difficulties of Protestant translations of the bible. He says that we Protestants are in a deplorable state; always making new translations, and never, or not long satisfied with any of them: and seems to sympathize with us, as if we were without the scriptures. This pretended condolence, I only notice because it gives me an opportunity to repeat with emphasis, *that his church, with all her pretended infallibility, cannot produce a translation of any sort, in any living language on earth!* With all the riches, and learning, and infallibility of the Roman hierarchy; she owns not an English New Testament, authentic or authorized either by pope or council, or the church diffusive or responsive. How supremely ridiculous, therefore, for the gentleman to talk of Protestant translations, as imperfect! How does he infallibly know that any one of them is imperfect? Two infallible editions of the Latin vulgate have been made by the authority of two popes, not thirty years distant from each other; and yet they differ in more than 2000 places !!! Sixtus V. issued a bull, with an anathema, against any man that would change his authorized vulgate, even in the least particle, (in minima particula,) yet, Clement VIII. had the audacity, in despite of said bull, to order a new translation, and did accomplish it, changing it more than 2000 times, and sometimes very seriously, to the amount of clauses, and whole verses, as Dr. James in his *Bellum Papale* has amply testified. Thus the Clementine vulgate, under the solemn curse of the Sixtine bull, carries upon it the seal of infallibility!

I now invite attention to the subject of yesterday evening. I then endeavored to state, as briefly as I could, the two fundamental errors on which the Man of sin stands. The *first*,—That the sacrifice of Jesus Christ was not alone sufficient, to put away sin; and the *second*,—That persons can do more than their duty. To provoke discussion on these two great doctrinal lies, I stated that all the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, viz. penance, purgatory, transubstantiation, and all this priestly sacrifice, confession, &c. were

built upon these two doctrinal lies. I shall not further discuss that subject, till the gentleman agrees to meet me there.

Again, It is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic church, that the "*intention*" of the priest, in every act of worship and consecration, is essential to the validity of that act—that is, that unless the person ordaining a priest *intend* to ordain him, all that is done, is of no validity, however exact the form; because he did not *intend in his heart*, to ordain him! So, in consecrating a wafer, without such intention, its nature is not changed; and the reception of it, of no value. Such intention is essential to every act of religion, in which a priest officiates. The efficacy of all ordinances, is therefore resolved into "the intention of the priest." He that denies the necessity of this intention, according to the council of Trent, "is to be anathema." This is therefore, one of the essential doctrines of the church as necessary to salvation, as the gospel itself; for the rejection of it incurs as solemn a curse as any one of the hundred anathemas which the council of Trent pronounced in confirmation of its decrees. The only time, the word *anathema* is used by Paul in the sense of a curse is in his letter to the Galatians, in respect of corrupting the gospel. This then, is as essential as the gospel. Who then, let me ask, can have faith in any of the ceremonies or ordinances, or consecrations of Rome? Can any one know the *intention* in the heart of a priest or bishop? Nay, indeed, bishop PURCELL never can prove to any mortal, that he is truly ordained: nor can any one have any faith in his services as a bishop, unless he know all hearts, from Peter's time till now, and could show that the *intention* was never wanting from the apostolic age till now, in the ancestorial official lines. This doctrine lays the axe at the root of all certainty in every part of the Roman Catholic religion: for in the judgment of that church multitudes of her clergy have proved hypocrites and impostors, in whose intentions at any previous time, there can therefore be no faith. So far as Protestants are concerned, their principles are perfectly free from this incertitude. Every Protestant feels the most perfect certainty in submitting to the ordinances of religion. The Protestant minister knows and teaches that the ordinance receives no saving or salutary efficacy from his intentions, or his hands. Persons, who in faith and piety receive them, know that they receive all the efficacy of the ordinance, independent of any special virtue in him that does administer them.

On the subject of indulgences I shall touch but lightly, for the want of time. The rich and profitable trade, which has been carried on by Rome in the sale of this single article of her merchandize is as public as her name. The conspicuity of this subject as connected with the Protestant Reformation is as familiar as the names of Luther and Tetzel. It is a sprout from the root of supererogation, from the doctrine of human merit—that immense bank of which the clergy are directors. The intolerable abuses of that board of directors was the *punctum saliens* of the Protestant Reformation. Pope Leo X president in that day, wanted to pay off some sixty million of dollars, incurred and being incurred for the splendid edifice of St. Peters at Rome. He published a plenary remission of past sins, and an indulgence to all contributing to this splendid undertaking. As a matter of curiosity and of edification, we shall here read the form of these indulgences.

"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and that of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censure, in whatever manner they have been incurred, then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be; even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see, and as far as the keys of the holy church extend. I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism: so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of paradise shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force, when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." [Controversy between Messrs. Hughes and Breckenridge, p. 243.

All we have said with regard to the power and pretensions of Rome in granting indulgences, is substantiated, and more than substantiated by this document, for in anticipation of the future, even to death, and in death, the absolving power, or grace, was to continue. I will also add, the doctrine of the creed of pope Pius IV.

"The council of Trent teaches that "whoever shall affirm that when the grace of justification is received, the offence of the penitent sinner is so forgiven, and the sentence of eternal punishment so reversed, that there remains no temporal punishment to be endured, before his entrance into the kingdom of heaven, either in this world, or in the future state in purgatory: let him be accursed." Id. ib. same p.

Perhaps we should also hear, in this place, the council of Trent:

It is also an article of faith in the creed of Pius IV. "that the power of indulgences was left by Christ to his church, and that the use of them is very helpful to christian people." [Ground of Catholic Doc. p. 71. 72.

Once more:

Bellarmine, that great cardinal of the Roman Catholic church (to show that he died in the faith he willed half of his soul to the Virgin Mary and the other half to her son)—Bellarmine in his book on indulgences heads the second and third chapters thus: "That there exists a certain treasury in the church, which is the foundation of indulgences; that the church has the power of applying this treasury of satisfactions, and thus of granting indulgences."

I will not branch out on this subject farther, unless the gentleman agrees to meet me on the facts and documents just now submitted. To prove the immoral tendency of such indulgences, would, indeed, be a work of supererogation, if such a work were at all possible.

On the subject of transubstantiation, the creed of pope Pius IV. decides as follows:

Article xvi. "I do also profess, that in the mass there is offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that, in the most holy sacrament of the holy eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion the holy Catholic church calls TRANSUBSTANTIATION."

"The church of Rome declares that, upon the priest's pronouncing these words, *hoc est corpus meum*, (this is my body,) the bread and wine in the eucharist are instantly transubstantiated into the natural body and blood of Christ; the species or accidents only of the bread and wine remaining. Christ is offered as often as the sacrifice of the mass is celebrated. Solitary masses, wherein the priest communicates alone, are approved and commended; and the council of Trent declares that whosoever saith they are unlawful and ought to be abrogated or abolished, is accursed." [View of All Religions, compiled and selected from the best authorities by *Thomas Robbins*, minister of the gospel in east Windsor, Conn. Hartford 1826, p. 25.

It is always right to attack a doctrine in the words of those who

profess it. Every cardinal doctrine of the papacy can be traced to a certain period, when it became an element of the system.

Monachism began to be taught by St. Anthony in the 4th century.

Auricular confession in the 5th; but was finally established by Innocent III. early in the 13th century.

Theoretical purgatory began to be spoken of from the Pagans and Jews in the 6th century; but did not obtain a fixed residence till in the council of Florence, it became an integral part of infallibility A. D. 1430.

Early in the 7th century the idea of universal father, or pope obtained.

In the 8th century, after many and various fortunes, images began to be set up; and in the 9th became an integral part of Roman Catholicism.

In the year 730, a council summoned by Leo. III. with only one dissenting vote, called the worship of images and relics idolatry.

Celibacy among the clergy began to be canonical in the 11th century.

In the 9th century, the doctrine of transubstantiation began to be talked of commonly; but was made infallible by pope Innocent III. 4th Lateran council.

Scotus, of Roman Catholic memory, affirmed that it was not an *article of faith* before the Lateran council of 1215, and that it cannot be proved from scripture. Bellarmine, Book iii. chap. 23, on the Eucharist, quotes Scotus as saying so, and admits, "though the scriptures quoted last above, seems clear to us, and ought to convince any man that is not forward; yet, it may justly be doubted, whether it be so, (proved by scripture,) when *the most learned and acute men*, such as Scotus, in particular, held a contrary opinion." Cardinal Cajetan, Ochan, and bishop Fisher, *cum multis aliis*, held the same opinion.

Among Protestants, the reason and authority of religious belief and practice, is, "Thus saith the Lord." It is not important to ascertain when any opinion or practice began, nor who introduced it; but *if it be not in the* BIBLE, no matter how ancient it may be. It wants apostolic sanction, for the apostles sanction only what was written and ordained before their death. St. Clement, and St. Ignatius, and St. Irenæus, and all the other saints in the Roman calendar, were born too late to sanction any article of faith, or morals, by their vote.

But a few words on transubstantiation. "A *sacrament*," says the church, "is an outward and visible sign of some inward and spiritual grace." Now, it cannot be both the sign and the thing signified. If, then, the Eucharist be a sacrament, it cannot be true that it is the body and blood of Christ transubstantiated. Rome ought, then, to strike it from her list of sacraments.

But Jesus gave the eucharist for a *sign*, a keepsake, a memorial of his love. It is, then, a commemorative institution, as well as a sign of New Testament blessings: "Do this in remembrance of me." Like other tokens of love, it has inscribed upon it the name of the donor. As was said of the passover; it is *the Lord's passover:* so says Jesus, "*this is my body.*"

Now, as all words have a literal and figurative meaning, the only question here is, Are these words to be taken literally or figuratively? If literally, some good reason must be offered: and what is it? Because some father, pope, or council so decided? We must have the

reason which authorised them, else their decision is a mere assumption.

Where shall that reason be found? Is it because Jesus always so speaks, that he must be thus understood? Then I contend, that when he said, "*I am the door*," he was literally transubstantiated into a *door;* and when he said, "*I am the bread* which came down from heaven," he was converted into *bread;* and when he said, "*I am the true vine*," he was literally changed into a real *vine*. And why not? Is it more irrational, marvelous, incredible, than that "this loaf is my body," should mean that this loaf was converted into his body, and changed into flesh; and that while the apostles were eating the loaf, they were eating the living flesh of him that stood before them?! If, then, the bishop assumes a literal interpretation in the one case; I assume it in these and various other passages. For, if he may assume *ad libitum*, so may I; and so may every one else; and then what comes of the certainty of language? It is, then, without law, precedent, or authority, to assume the very point in debate; and to say, that because it reads *this is my body*, it means that bread is converted into flesh.

This style, of the passage in dispute, is very common in both the Old and New Testaments. So early as the time of Joseph, we read "the seven good kine are seven years,"—and "the seven good ears are seven years." What a transubstantiation! But change *are* into *represent*, which is its meaning, in a thousand places, and all is plain.

Again: says Jesus, "Destroy this temple," pointing to his body. "The field *is* the world—the reapers *are* the angels."—Are these, also, transubstantiations? Paul also speaks thus, when he says of the rock Horeb, "that rock *was* Christ." And John the apostle, "the seven stars *are* seven angels;" "the seven candlesticks *are* seven churches." And what is the difference between these phrases, and "this is my body?"—but finally on this part of the subject, Jesus said of the cup, "this cup is the New Testament." Does not that, on the bishop's premises, prove that the cup was changed into the New Testament?! But, if by pronouncing over a loaf the words of consecration a priest has power to change bread into flesh, and wine into blood, he has, indeed, a power truly miraculous and divine; and works as many miracles in the whole course of his life as he says masses. A claim to such a divine, supernatural, and extraordinary power, ought not to be claimed upon an arbitrary, capricious, and whimsical interpretation of a word! Good reasons ought to be offered by any man, who passes himself on the community, as possessing power equal to quickening the dead and suspending the laws of nature.

Once more, for the present: If, you believe the priest and receive the bread as flesh, you never after can with reason believe your own senses: for, when your eye declares it bread, and your senses of smelling, tasting, feeling, and I might add, your hearing—all declare that it is still bread and not flesh—If, I say, you can, contrary to your own senses, which God has given you as the means of knowledge and certainty, thus implicitly believe the declaration of a priest; you are disqualified for reasoning, for believing the christian religion, or your own senses on any subject of which they are witnesses. So that it may be truly said, he that believes in transubstantiation, can rationally believe in nothing else. All the christian miracles, were to be believed—not because they were contrary to the evidence of sense; but because they were in accordance with that evidence.

I cannot argue this point with any sort of ability. I cannot feel in earnest. I seem to myself as if I were reasoning against a thing which no person believed; and I never could with any sort of spirit, discuss a matter, unless there was some little show of plausibility, or shadow of reason in it. The doctrine of transubstantiation is so absurd, that I do not know that I ever read a tract through against it in my life. But this subject gives such glory to the priests and has wrought such miracles upon the superstitious crowd, that it is worth more to sustain the priesthood, than all the other six Roman sacraments. And that which causes this most incredible of all things, to be devoured by such multitudes is, that it expiates sin. Hence the body of Christ is daily eaten by hundreds of thousands, as a sin offering together with "his *soul* and divinity," as decided by the council of Trent! The Messiah is then always suffering, always bleeding, always dying, always expiating sin by the sacrifice of himself; and his people are always literally devouring his flesh! What a picture!! I shall turn away from it; for my soul sickens at the thought.

Protestants know that the sin of forgetfulness is the easily besetting sin of mortals; and that they need commemorative institutions. Hence, they highly appreciate the honor of having a Lord's table, a Lord's supper, a holy communion and fellowship, through these sacred emblems of a Savior's love. "The loaf, which we break," says the apostle, "is it not the communion of the body of Christ? The cup over which we give thanks, is it not the communion, or the joint participation of his blood?"—Hence, the New Testament with its spiritual and heavenly blessings is always contemplated, realized, and remembered with holy thankfulness in the christian assemblies, while they partake of the sacred emblems of that great sacrifice "*once* offered for the sins of many. For by one offering up of himself, he has forever perfected them who are sanctified."

Having yet remaining a few minutes, I shall prepare the way for the introduction of my seventh proposition. Having touched at the roots of all the principal corruptions, and having yet heard nothing in reply, I will anticipate that proposition with a few remarks on the papistical notion of a judge of controversy.

The council of Trent decreed "that the oral traditions of the Catholic church," (meaning the Roman) "are to be received, *pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit ac veneratur*,—with equal piety and reverence as the books of the Old and New Testament."—Council of Trent 4th session.

Then she asserts: "It belongs to the church to judge of the true sense and interpretation of scripture; and that no person shall dare to interpret it in matters relating to faith and manners to any sense contrary to that which the church has held, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers."—Ib. Id.

And according to the 23rd article of the creed of pope Pius IV "I do acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the bishop of Rome, the successor of Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the vicar of Christ."

Here then, we have the essential elements of mental slavery and degradation: for, if no person *dare* to interpret the Scriptures contrary to what the church has already held, or to the unanimous consent of the Fathers; where is that liberty of thought and speech and ac-

tion, on the most important of all subjects, our moral and religious relations, without which, liberty is without meaning, and mental independence but a name?

In all monarchies, save that of Rome and Mahomet, a judge is not constitutionally a judge of his own case. But the Roman judge of controversy is the whole church, says my learned opponent, and her councils affirm with him. The whole church judging then between what parties? Herself and the heretics!! What a righteous, infallible and republican judge, is the supreme judge of controversy in the Catholic church! The controversy is between two parties—the church, or the clergy, on one side; and the heretics or the reformers on the other, as they may happen to be called; say the church and the heretics. And who is umpire, who is supreme judge of both? One of the parties, indeed, the church herself! This is the archetype—the *beau ideal*, of civil liberty, and republican government, in the supreme Roman hierarchy. It will not help it to place the ermine on the pope. He is that instant exparte judge. And besides, he is executive of the church. If the pope is to be judge, and executive, and lawgiver, in the case as he frequently is, what a splendid picture of a republican president or judge have we got in the Roman church!

This ghostly despotism is to be sustained and defended too, by the whole church, by vows, oaths, and pledges, the most solemn and binding that religion can suggest, or human ingenuity devise. It is true she governs by her bishops. The popes make bishops, on the recommendation of bishops, and these bishops serve the pope and govern the people. Their oath, which is the same in all countries, I will now read,—so far at least, as relates to this matter. I have the original, and different translations of it, and if it be disputed, I am prepared to sustain it. To reconcile it to the genius of our institutions, and to the safety and happiness of our country, will require the explanations and reasonings of my friend.

"I, N. elect of the church of N. from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the holy Roman church, and to our lord, the lord N. Pope N. and his successors, canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, or do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands any wise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall intrust to me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, and the royalties of St. Peter, saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic see, going and coming, I will honorably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church of our Lord the Pope, and his foresaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will signify it to our said lord, or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will to my utmost power persecute and oppose."

The Latin of the last sentence of which reads:

"Hereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles, eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo."—[Pontificale Roman. Edit. Antwerp. A. D. 1626.

Here then is the most solemn pledge and vow given *by every bishop*

of Rome, that he will to the utmost of his power *persecute and destroy heretics and schismatics!* Does not this indisputable fact, alone, sustain my seventh proposition, and prove that the genius of the Latin church is anti-American and essentially opposed to the existence of all free institutions? [Time expired.]

Half past 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Bishop Purcell rises—

You perceive, my friends, that there is scarcely a single tenet of the Roman Catholic faith, which my friend has not brought into view this morning. How then am I to escape the charge of desultoriness, in following such an argument? The whole category, from Alpha to Omega, shoots up before me, shifting with the rapidity of lightning. It is the necessary effect of the confusion of my learned friend's ideas, and of the order in which he arranged the propositions whose discussion was to call them forth. The very first of these propositions—the first word of it—Holy—would have called up for discussion all we have heard on the immorality of the church. As my friend thought fit to commence as he has done, order and method continue to be exiled from this debate. He selected the points of attack and the plan of campaign; let him not charge on me his own blunders, which he sees now, too late. There was one great question which he should have determined, *a limine;* it would have cut off all this desultory argumentation. It is this. Did Jesus Christ establish an infallible tribunal to determine the meaning of scripture? If so, we are bound by its decisions. If not, the whole Catholic religion falls to the ground. Now, my friends, I endeavored to prove that Christ *did* establish such a tribunal, and I defy any one to bring from the Bible proof to the contrary. One text alone is sufficient to put this matter at rest for ever. "The church is the pillar and ground of the truth." I began to enforce my argument, when my time expired, and my friend seemed unwilling to let slip the opportunity, but got up immediately, and said that my last observations of yesterday were unworthy of notice.

He brought as a parallel to the words, "I am with you all days even to the end of the world," the customary ancient salutation, "the Lord be with you;" and argued from this, that Christ's words mean no more than that! But, my friends, what point of comparison is there between the words, "God be with you," which one frail man addresses to another, and the words, the solemn promises of the Savior, commissioning his apostles to preach his gospel, and cheering their despondency by the divine assurance, "Behold, I am with you all days even to the end of the world?" Are the two cases the same? Are we not more sure that Christ is with his church forever, than we are of the effect of the salutation of a poor fallible man? What Christ does is infallible; what he says will come to pass. If his church was to fail, we shou.d have had an assurance to that effect in the Bible. There is none. If his church was to fail, we should have had miraculous displays like that of Sinai, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, marking the commencement of a new era. Or Christ would have come again upon earth, rebuked and banished error, and restored the primitive lustre and beauty of truth. This has not been done, nor has such a prophecy been any where made. As Christ, by one oblation, has perfected those that were to be sanctified for ever; so has he by one

revelation, assured us of divine truth in religion for ever. The work of God then, needed no reformation. If men's morals were bad, they should have been corrected, but religion should not have been changed. In a word, as Bishop Smith of Kentucky, has so well said, "Reformation should have taken place in the church, not out of it." Let my friend twist the words of Christ as he pleases, he can find nothing like them in human language. Christ was God and his word is what it purports to be. He is with his church all days, until the consummation of ages. The heavens and the earth may pass away, but his word will never pass away. The worse we become, the more refractory and insubordinate, the farther from apostolic times and fervor and purity, the more need have we of authority to control us. So that the power of the church to maintain unity of faith, which Christ so much desired for his disciples, is, at least, as necessary now as it has ever been. The necessity of submitting to the church does not destroy liberty, while, on the contrary, the sources of error and contentions, among sects which undertake to judge for themselves, are endlessly multiplied. Christ foresaw the time when even the apostles would dispute. He knew the itching of the Greeks for novelty, and their proneness to disputation—always learning and never coming to the truth—tearing down to-day, and building up to-morrow: one wave of error and doubt following another, and washing away every doctrine, and creed, and sect, in its turn; and he therefore said: "Hear the church."

My friend argued in the commencement of this controversy, that since there were as good men among Protestants as among Catholics, why should there be any argument? Let him answer that question since he is the challenger. I cheerfully admit the fact, but what is the inference? Why that those Protestants were better than their principles. Every man who follows out the Protestant principles may be bad. He may find *his own* code of morals as well as his doctrinal code, in the Bible. Because if he choose to interpret the Bible for himself, in morals as well as in faith, he may argue from it in favor of the lawfulness of any thing he pleases. And is it not true that certain vicious acts are done by some men on the pretence of their being allowed by scripture? I could adduce hundreds of instances of the strong and terrible delusions and crimes, for which their victims persuaded themselves they found a sanction in the Bible. And if the sincerely pious, the humane and charitable of Protestant communions ask themselves the question: "are the virtues I strive to practice, the fruits of my religion?" they would find that their peculiar tenets have no influence on their conduct. Their piety and the purity of their morals are the effects of naturally good dispositions, of virtuous associations, of principles, which they hold in common with Catholics, a reverence for the divinity and a desire for future happiness, a sense of honor, decorum, propriety, &c.

In this kind of virtue even pagans have been eminent, but their virtue is no proof of the goodness of their religion. Aristides was just, Scipio chaste, Regulus patriotic, Plato sober, Cincinnatus unambitious, Titus, the delight of the human race, and Antoninus, pious—and yet they were all idolaters! There are, thank heaven, conservative principles in man's bosom, which correct in conduct, what is wrong in principle. But if we sincerely desire to know the fruits of the reformation, we have only to ask its authors. Hear, then, what

Luther was compelled to acknowledge upon this subject. "We see," says he, in his sermon the 2nd Sunday in Advent, "that through the malice of the Devil, men are now more avaricious, more cruel, more disorderly, more insolent, and much more wicked, than they were under popery." "If any one wish, says Musculus, to see a multitude of knaves, disturbers of the public peace, &c. let him go to a city, where the gospel is preached in its purity, (he means a reformed city) for it is clearer than the light of day, that there never were pagans more vicious and disorderly, than those professors of the gospel." "The thing," says Melancthon, "speaks for itself in this country among the reformed; their whole time is devoted to intemperance and drunkenness, (immanibus poculis). So deeply are the people sunk into barbarity and ignorance, that many of them would imagine they should die in the night, if they should chance to fast in the day." Ad capt. vi. Mat. Neither was the growth of vice and ignorance confined to Germany. They grew wherever the seeds of the reformation were permitted to take root. "*In this nation*" (England) says Stubbs, after he had made the tour of the island, "*I found a general decay of good works, or rather a plain defection, or falling away from God.*" (Motives to good works, An. 1596.) But hear how the eloquent Erasmus describes the fruits of the reformation. He was indeed a Catholic, but a Catholic whom the Protestants allow to have been impartial. He was an eye and ear witness to the introduction and progress of the reformation, observed its workings with the eye of a philosopher, and has marked them down with the accuracy of a candid and correct historian. "And who," he says, "are the gospel people? Look around you and shew me any who has become a better man. Show me one who, once a glutton, is now turned sober, one who, before violent, is now meek; one who, before avaricious, is now generous; one who, before impure, is now chaste;—I can point out multitudes, who have become far worse than they were before. In their assemblies, you never see any of them heave a sigh; shed a tear; or strike his breast, even on the days that are sacred to affliction. Their discourses are little else, but calumnies against the priesthood They have abolished confession, and few of them confess their sins even to God. They have abrogated fasting; and they wallow in sensuality. They have become Epicureans, for fear of being Jews. They have cast off the yoke of human institutions; and along with it, they have shaken off the Lord. So far from being submissive to bishops, they are disobedient to the civil magistrates. What tumults and seditions mark their conduct! For what trifles do they fly to arms! St. Paul commanded the first christians to shun the society of the wicked; and behold! the reformers seek most the society of the most corrupted. These are their delight. The gospel now flourishes forsooth! because priests and monks take wives in opposition to human laws and despite of their sacred vows. Own it is folly to exchange evils for evils, and madness to exchange small evils for great ones." Ep. 47. Lib. 31. John Wesley says, speaking of his own time not one hundred and fifty years ago, "*A dissipated age* (such as is the present perhaps beyond all that ever were, at least that are recorded in history) is an age wherein God is generally forgotten. And *a dissipated nation*, (such as England is at present, in a superlative degree) is a nation, a vast majority of which has not God 'in all their thoughts.' We therefore speak an unquestionable truth, when

we say, there is not on the face of the earth another nation (at least that we have ever heard of) so perfectly *dissipated and ungodly*; not only so totally without God in the world, but so openly setting him at defiance. There never was an *age*, that we read of in history, since Julius Cæsar, since Noah, since Adam, wherein dissipation or ungodliness did so generally prevail, both among high and low, rich and poor." Neither would it be well in a Protestant, in order to apologise for the disorders, which I have mentioned, to say—"that they were only the accidental evils of a moment, evils of a period of change and fermentation." What! the first fruits of a reformation disorder! —the first fruits of a system of piety licentiousness!—the first fruits of the reestablishment of the law of truth, impiety! Surely such an apology, and yet it is often made, is absolutely weak! There are multiplied attestations of it. "*Miserable*," says Neal, speaking of the time of Elizabeth, and when the fermentations of the revolutionary violence of the reformation had subsided, "*miserable and heathenish was the condition of the country in regard to religion.*" That you may form some notion of their condition, hear in what manner the inhabitants of London, in a petition presented to the parliament during this reign, express themselves. "In one half our churches," they say, "we have watchmen that have no eyes; and clouds that have no water; and in the other half, there is scarcely one tenth man that takes conscience to wait on his charge. Whereby, the Lord's day is often totally neglected; ignorance increaseth, and wickedness cometh upon us like an armed man." "In the county of Cornwall," Neal says, "there were at this period a hundred and forty clergymen, not one of whom could preach a sermon." The situation of other counties was nearly similar. Judge of the consequences. I have here the authentic documents, Luther's and Wesley's works, to prove what I have cited. Here is the great father of the reformation; with Melancthon at his side, both very *unghostly* looking personages, *on their knees, before an image* of the crucifix!! (Holds up a large and old volume, and describes a circle, with his person, exhibiting the pictured title page, at which there was continued laughter.) This edition was published by Lawrence Schenck at Wittemberg, in 1561. Here is image worship by Martin Luther and his co-reformer! and beasts, and monsters all around them. Mr. C. says that the popes might have been much worse men than he has described them. That bad acts are soon forgotten, and good ones more apt to be chronicled. This is, unfortunately, not the case, as history but too well attests. The virtues are too unobtrusive to attract public notice, and Shakspeare, who was a close observer of human nature, says: If I can quote him correctly;

"The evil, that men do, lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

I am sorry to say, my friends, Professor Biggs informs me, that want of time has prevented him from examining the works of Liguori, in reference to my opponent's accusation, based upon this book. There is a gentleman of learning and integrity, in this city, who is not a Catholic, Mr. Alexander Kinmont, who will devote some time to it, and who will be here at half-past four, P. M. and give us the requisite information. I again say, I hope a large audience will be present at the *denouement*. My friend told us he slurred over what was worst in the charges against Catholics. He has taken a new mode of doing this. He has, indeed, said *the worst*, and helps it by a vague, but not a slur-

ring insinuation, that there is more. *His translation would make* the fallen priests' sin as bad as that of the Corinthian that afflicted by his scandalous crime the fervent christians of antiquity, instead of being of a different and less heinous kind. I appreciate his motives. The charge is, as I have already stated—the church punishes *severely* for the slightest fault, and excommunicates the impenitent offender, giving him up to the civil tribunal, for the punishment, in such cases, inflicted in some countries by the law of the land.

He says, we find from the decrees of councils, that scandal has existed in the church. It is true; and it is also true that Christ predicted its existence. What is the world but the theatre of falsehood and truth? a field of tares and wheat?

As for the other volume which the gentleman has brought up, the *Secreta Monita* of the Jesuits, I pronounce it an infamous forgery. It has been proved a hundred times, that no priest had any hand in that document. "The Monita Secreta, or private instructions, a publication sometimes brought forward against the Jesuits," says the learned Charles Butler, of Lincoln's Inn, "is a most infamous work, and wholly beneath notice. Neither the original, nor any certified copy of this work, was ever produced; no circumstances respecting its discovery, ever proved; no collateral fact, to establish its authenticity, ever published. There does not live the Jesuit, or the scholar of a Jesuit, who, if any one of the doctrines which it inculcates, or any one practice which it recommends, were proposed to him, would not spurn it with indignation." Francis Xavier was a Jesuit; our first archbishop, Carroll, was a Jesuit; they were both worthy of being numbered among the best of men, and it was *true*, not *forged*, instructions that made them so. The copy of this notorious slander, on one of the most virtuous, learned, and apostolic societies that have ever existed, the gentleman informs us, was brought to this country from France by the secretary of La Fayette! and what was the religion of this secretary? A Jacobin, an infidel, one of the anti-christian conspirators, that would have blotted all denominations of the followers of Jesus, as well as the Catholic, from the whole world? By *priests*, it it well known, that such men meant ministers of every creed; and against all, but chiefly against those best able by learning and virtue to confound them, was their hostility directed.

A greater than La Fayette, as a statesman, I mean Thomas Jefferson, said of the Presbyterians,—"Their ambition and tyranny would tolerate no rival if they had power. The Presbyterian clergy are the loudest, the most intolerant, of all sects, the most tyrannical and ambitious; ready at the word of the lawgiver, if such a word could now be obtained, to put the torch to the pile, and to rekindle in this virgin hemisphere the flames in which their oracle, Calvin, consumed the poor Servetus, because he could not subscribe the proposition of Calvin, that magistrates have a right to exterminate all heretics to the Calvinistic creed. They pant to re-establish by law, that Holy Inquisition, which they can now only infuse into public opinion." p. 322, letter to William Short. Will my friend take this testimony to the letter? Jefferson had more opportunities for *judging* than La Fayette, and he knew this country better. But, sir, I agree with La Fayette, that all priests are to be dreaded in this sense; that none of them should be allowed a particle of political ascendency in this country. Our

main danger is from ambitious priests of various denominations. When they confine themselves to their only sphere of usefulness, they are the best friends of mankind; when they depart from it, the worst tyrants of the darkest ages of Paganism were not more intolerant than they. A hyena is a lamb, to a minister of Christ, who casts off the livery and the peaceful spirit of his master, and turns round to denounce and abuse his fellow-men for obeying the sacred dictates of conscience, and adhering to a religion, which, no matter how much persecuted and calumniated, they believe to be divine. I could say much more on this subject, but it is not the most suitable time.

The charge has been made against all denominations, but my opponent has singled from among them the Catholic, and made it the scape-goat, to bear the sins of all to oblivion. I must however remind the audience that the Methodist conference, held, not so many years ago, at Baltimore, denounced the Episcopalians, for contemplating an alliance with England, to subvert the liberties of this country; and alleged what they conceived to be no mean proof of treasonable designs on the part of the, then, obnoxious Episcopalians. This proscriptive spirit is as old as Christianity. History informs us that the inoffensive disciples of Jesus Christ, even in the golden age of the apostles, were accused, *convicted*, and put to the most horrible death, precisely on the charge of *hating all mankind*," odio humani generis convicti sunt. Tacitus Annal. lib. xv. This celebrated historian terms the christians "sontes, reos, novissima exempla meritos—perflagitia invisos," and calls their religion itself "exitialis superstitio." They were, consequently, dressed in the skins of wild beasts, and thus caricatured, the Pagans set their dogs upon them. Jesus Christ, himself, when the Jews could convict him of no crime, was charged by them with *not being a friend to Cæsar*.—Pilate, who '*found no fault*' in Christ, was willing to release him, but the Jews cried out, "if thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend;" that moment the just one sank, oppressed beneath the malice and slander of his enemies! We, as his disciples, can expect no better fate than our master's. He foretold all that now befalls us. "Blessed are you," says he, "when men shall revile you and persecute you, and speak all manner of evil against you, untruly, for my sake: be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven." St. Matth. V. 11, 12.

We have, the gentleman says, no authentic translation of the scriptures. This is not true. We have a Latin translation, the vulgate. That is one authentic translation. We have, moreover, an approved translation in the vernacular, sanctioned by all the bishops in the United States, and for sale in every city in the union. But if, by an authentic bible, we mean one perfectly immaculate, in point of typographical execution and mechanical neatness, I ask the gentleman, can he pretend that any Protestant denomination has such a one? Yet my friend says, notwithstanding the facts I quoted yesterday morning, respecting a new bible, that they have a bible that is sufficient. If that is the case, where is the use of a new translation! He speaks of Sixtus' and Clement's bible. That only shews that the popes never taught that their personal opinions were to be received, as articles of faith, as my friend would persuade us they did. Private authority should not presume to alter the authorised version This was the amount of the prohibition.

Now to post the books with my friend on the subject of the bible, I ask him if he was not infatuated, for I really cannot call it by any other name, when he said he could show us a bible never soiled by the thumb of a monk, and took us right into the midst of twenty two monasteries, on mount Athos, *for the proof?* Horne in his Introduction to the study of the Bible, vol. 1. p. 222, quotes Oudin and Michaelis, for the opinion that it was written by an Aecmet—and written too, say Burber and Wetstein, for a church or a monastery. Horne says the Aecmets were a class of monks in the ancient church, who flourished particularly in the east in the fifth century. They were so called, because they had divine service performed without interruption, in their churches. They divided themselves into three bodies, each of which officiated in turn, and relieved the other so that their churches were never silent either night or day. This very Mss. Codex Alexandrinus, in the British Museum, contains a list of the Psalms sung by these monks!

My friend says that our getting the bible from monks, does not leave us beholden to them for its spirit. This is a disingenuous evasion. I did not say that it did, but this last question belongs to quite another category. My opponent says that the bible, like the universe, must testify to its own divine origin—it is the work of God. In this he is completely at issue with one of the most enlightened Protestants of the day, bishop Smith, of Kentucky. "These christians," says the bishop, in his review of Van Dyck on christian union, "have done well in agreeing upon those sound principles of investigation which lead them to substantial, and sufficient agreement, what the canon of scripture is. The principle is correct, and therefore all honest minds rest satisfied, in the same results. Abandon the question of the oneness of the bible, to be agitated and kept afloat on the perturbed ocean of expedience, as the question is, respecting the oneness of the church, and very soon we should have amongst us almost as many books claiming to be bibles, as we have sects claiming to be churches. And what are the laws of evidence, guided by which, all christians come to such a desirable agreement as to the canon of the scripture? Do we settle that grave point by appeals to the scripture alone? Do we require a "thus saith the Lord," for the admission of any book within the compass of the bible?" Ay, this is the question, do we take up the bible from the shelf, and putting it to our ear, ask it what it has to say for itself? If we do, we shall lay it aside without receiving the desired answer, pretty much as the Indian chief did, when the Spanish missionary handed him the good book.—"It says nothing," said the Indian. How then shall we proceed in this investigation? "We select," says bishop Smith, "some period of christian antiquity by universal consent anterior to great corruptions, and that we may be safe, anterior to great causes tending to corruption; the year 300 for example, prior to the conversion of Constantine; or the year 250, when the documents of the then existing christianity were abundant; or the year 200, when men were living who had conversed with the disciples of John, and we ask, what books were received by christians, every where, and with one consent, as sacred books; and these, and no others, we admit into our canon. Then with the utmost care we look into every previous writer, for concurring or for opposing evidence. Finding every thing nearly clear and satisfactory, we repair to the books of the New Testament themselves for acci-

dental and internal evidence, to endorse for and confirm the whole. And here we rest satisfied that we *have grasped the* TRUTH."

How will the champion of Protestantism extricate himself from this dilemma? Does he confess his ignorance of the leading doctrines of eminent Protestant divines? They find a unanimous consent.

He talks of two great lies! I like strong language, but this is such as Milton's Satan would have better used, than a professing christian. How Jews and Infidels will triumph, when assured by my opponent that Christ's preaching and miracles, so signally failed, that the largest body of christians in the entire world, have been based upon two great lies, since the year 250, or about that period! Take away the 2,000,000 Catholic and Greek christians that believe in these two great *truths*, and think it blasphemy to call them lies, and what becomes of the few stragglers that remain in the valleys of the Alps, or where you please—the "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto?*" Did Christ expend all his labor, all his blood, to give mankind, one kind of idolatry for another? *Credat Judæus.*

Now, my friends, dispossess your minds of prejudice; forget your *religious* education, if possible; take up the Bible, and see if it be wholly silent upon these two great *truths*, not *lies*. For 2, or 300,000,000 who have not all lost their reason, adhere to these divine doctrines, which they find in this blessed volume. I speak unto you as wise and pious men. Judge you, *yourselves*, and do not let others judge for you, what I say. I quote the Bible which you all admit, as I have hitherto quoted Protestant authority, which you admit on all cases, to be not over friendly to Roman Catholic doctrines. I disdained to avail myself of the *weeds which you threw over your garden walls*, I mean im moral and degraded ministers, as my opponent has done with discarded priests, to cast your doctrine with them. With such, we hold no fellowship. The pure of life, the men of honor and of learning, whom we receive from your ranks. we cherish. From the Bible, then, the fathers, the most eminent Protestants, I shall select my proofs, that, on these two *imputed lies*, the Catholic church, like St. Paul, so Christ is her witness, speaks the truth in righteousness.

To begin from the Bible. If there is a single tenet of christian faith, clearly established in the Bible, I contend that it is the real presence of Jesus Christ, in the adorable sacrament of the Eucharist. And if we cannot take in the literal sense, the words of Christ, "This is my body; This is my blood," the plainest that God or man could utter, but must adopt, instead of this, some one of the *two thousand meanings*, invented by the sacramentarians, and the anti-sacramentarians, for this text, we may bid adieu to the doctrine of the intelligibility of scripture. I distinguish two principal epochs in the Gospel narrative; the first, when Jesus Christ promises to give us his body and blood in the Eucharist; the second, when he *gives* them to us. Before announcing his desire of bequeathing to the world this divine legacy, as we read in the 6th chapter of the Gospel of St. John. he wrought a splendid miracle, even the feeding of 5000, with a few loaves, in the wilderness, to prove himself the God whom the heavens and the earth obey, and thus conciliate the faith of the multitude in the divinity of his mission, and the truth of his doctrines. He speaks of the absolute necessity of this faith—of its scarcity, and expressly declares that the sight of his miracles, or the testimony of the sense, cannot beget faith. In a word, *that no man can come to him, unless*

his father draw him. He then continues his divine instructions, by alluding to the miracle which he had wrought, in which was a most striking resemblance to the greater miracle which he designed to work, viz. the multiplication of his own body and blood, for the daily, the super-substantial bread, or food, of men, with whom, as he elsewhere assures us, in scripture, *it is his delight to dwell.* He reminds his hearers of all the wonders wrought in their favor, in the old Law, shews them all the wisdom, the power, the love of Heaven, displayed in their behoof, from the commencement of their history; how dear they were to God, and further and better gifts, which, if want of faith opposed no obstacle, so many divine pledges gave them a right to anticipate. The greatest of Kings, even Solomon, in all his glory, had nothing better to give them than gold and silver, a city, a tract of land. No earthly king can compete with God, in conferring benefits. This the history of the Jews sufficiently attested; and the miracle of the loaves brought affectingly to their minds, what their fathers had told them, what they, themselves, had read in the testimony, of the manna or miraculous bread, which, for so many years had been showered down from heaven, to feed their ancestors in the desert. They were thus prepared for all that God could accomplish to show his EXCESS OF LOVE. They whom *his father called, who are taught of God,* hear with faith; they whom his father called *not,* hear with incredulousness, while he thus announces *his own* intended benefactions.

"This is the bread which came down from heaven. If any eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, "how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" Then Jesus said to them, 'Amen, amen, I say to you, except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed; and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me. This is the bread that came down from Heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead; he that eateth this bread shall live forever.' These things he said, teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum. Many, therefore, of his disciples, hearing it, said, this is a hard saying, and who can hear it? But Jesus knowing, in himself, that his disciples murmured at this, said to them, 'doth this scandalize you? If then, you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. But there are some of yo that believe not.' For Jesus knew from the beginning, who they wer that did not believe, and who he was that would betray him. And he said, 'therefore no man can come to me unless it be given him by my Father.' After this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Then Jesus said to the twelve, will you, also go away? And Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed, and know that thou art the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus answered them, 'have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil.' Now he meant Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, for this same was about to betray him, whereas he was one of the twelve."

We have here a continuous argument, and faith and infidelity, pictured to the life; murmuring at impossibilities then, as well as now, rebuked by the Savior, and acquiescence in his word and his love, by Peter, as the first believer of the divinity of the SON OF GOD—of HIS REAL PRESENCE in the Eucharist. If he spoke figuratively, would he have suffered his disciples, who understood the *reality*, to leave him, he who came to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel? Would he have suffered all his disciples to perish, rather than tell them this *single fact*, that they misunderstood him? If he spoke of a figurative presence, the words, "*how can you believe when you see the Son of man, ascending up to Heaven, where he was before*," would *have had no sense*. In the Catholic view of the Eucharist, it is divinely strong. If you cannot believe, now, that my flesh and blood are visible, palpable objects of every sense, that I can give them to you for food, how much less can you believe it, when you see the Son of Man ascending up to Heaven, &c. The flesh surely profiteth nothing to understand this mystery—it requires the faith and the spirit of faith, to impose silence on the senses, and say, with St. Peter, "Lord, to whom should we go—Thou hast the words of eternal life." This is the bread which strengthens us to live out successive ages. This is not an immoral doctrine. It elevates man to know that he is THUS loved. That he is of a holy race, a purchased people, a royal priesthood, the especial object of incessant wonders. That he beholds *God with him*, Immanuel, in Bethlehem, *house of bread*, hid beneath the sacramental veil, but destined, and prepared by this nourishment, to enjoy him hereafter, without a veil, in the rich effulgence of the beatific vision. [Time expired.]

Half past 11 *o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

My opponent in commencing observed, that almost the whole circle of Catholic tenets came in review in my last speech. If such be an error, whose fault is it? I have no respondent. How many hours has the gentleman spent in reading against time, without any relevancy to the questions at issue, or to the proposition before us. And when he does reply, it is frequently to something said a day or two ago.

I selected two points yesterday afternoon as comprehending the substance of the error opposed in my fifth proposition, and even to the present moment he has not presumed to meet me on these vital matters to discuss them. In my last speech, I therefore not only recapitulated some important items; but argued one or two specifications, in proof of the proposition legally before us. I also introduced in part my seventh proposition, and so far discussed its bearings as to show the anti-American, and anti-Republican theories of the Latin church.

The bishop has, indeed, this time, selected the doctrine of transubstantiation: but has he adverted to the various points of argument I have made? Ought he not, at least, to have glanced at these points, in order?

1. The incongruity of the idea of a sacrament with that of transubstantiation.

2. The unreasonableness of preferring the literal to the figurative, in the interpretation of a phrase common in scripture, which in no other case is so interpreted by the party themselves.

3. The arrogance of the priests in assuming the power of working miracles, for the sake of a forced interpretation of a phrase without precedent or analogy.

4. The belief of such a transubstantiation destroys the credibility of all testimony, human and divine, and necessarily tends to atheism.

5. That the institution of the supper is commemorative and not expiatory, having nothing of the nature of a sacrifice for sin.

To which of these important considerations has the gentleman replied in his last speech? Has he formally and specifically met any one of them?

It was also alleged, that the admission of such a pretension, on the part of any priest, was debasing and paralizing to the human understanding, and subjected to imposture and fraud those who implicitly acquiesced in it. There are few persons, who so observantly trace moral effects to their causes, as to be able duly to appreciate how much influence in the formation of human character may philosophically be ascribed to such idle, absurd, and irrational pretensions. We sometimes see with what little power, reason, philosophy, and experience combat the belief in witches, ghosts, apparitions, and other legendary tales, the effect of the nursery and early impressions. When the imagination is once filled with such tales and delusions, it requires a power equal to the dispossession of demons to rectify it, and elevate it above such a tormenting infatuation.

The gentleman, indeed, with a show of respect for scripture, seemed to appeal to the 6th chapter of John, as though it spoke of the same thing. Now, unless this discourse relates to the last supper, and was delivered with respect to it, how idle to seek to prove from it what was never said in it! It was a discourse upon loaves and manna, delivered to the people of Capernaum in their synagogue, on the occasion of our Lord having fed five thousand men in the desert, upon a few loaves and fishes. And as at the well of Jacob he spoke of the *water of life*; so here, when the miracle of loaves is the topic, he speaks of the *bread of life*: and of *eating* that bread, as to the woman of Samaria, he spoke of *drinking* that water. He goes on to speak figuratively of *coming to* him, *eating* him, never *hungering*, never thirsting again, &c., and in the most figurative style, continues his discourse, till at last, after he had spoken of their eating his flesh and drinking his blood, he told them that the words he spoke "were *spirit* and *life*," not literal *flesh* and *blood*—that flesh and blood could not profit the soul. And so the apostle Peter understood him when he said, "Lord thou hast the words of eternal life." In metaphorical language, it is usual to say 'one *hungers* and *thirsts* after knowledge, righteousness,' &c.; and to say that one *eats* what he believes and receives into his mind. Thus says David: "I found thy word, and I did *eat* it." The transubstantiation of John vi. is the very opposite of the transubstantiation before us. It was flesh into bread, as the figure given in John; and bread into flesh, as the figure given in the Eucharist. "I am the living bread." "My flesh is meat, indeed," "My blood is drink, indeed." "The bread which I give is my flesh."

But the gentleman relies upon the Savior's leaving them in error, suffering them to go away in a mistake. If this were true; I can find a similar case. To the proud and captious, he often deigned no reply. Hence, when some went away from his discourse, alleging that he

was born in Nazareth, he took no pains to correct the error, though it would seem that a single word would have decided the case. He knew what manner of spirit they were of, and never said once; I was not born in Nazareth; but in Bethlehem. But to conclude, the subject of discussion in John vi. is about receiving him—*coming to* him believing him to be the Messiah, &c., and was addressed to ambitious obstinate Jews. The subject in Matth. xxvi. and 1 Cor. xi. is his Savior's death, sacrifice and the commemoration of it, addressed to his disciples. It is, then, every way illogical to reason from the one to the other, as parallel cases.

But I would ask, how is a man to believe the same sense at one time, and disbelieve it at another, when in reading Paul or Matthew he *sees* the words, "*this is my body*," and when looking on the table, he sees not flesh but bread, why should he believe what he sees in the former case, and disbelieve what he sees in the latter case. That he *sees* bread is certain; why not then believe his eyes? Or, if he rejects them here, why not reject them there, on the words, "This is my body?" and believe that it reads, "this *represents* my body!" But even after the consecration, and after Jesus had said, "This is my blood," he clearly teaches, that he spoke in a figure: for, adds he, "I will not drink again of this *fruit of the vine* with you," &c. And Paul, after consecration says, "He that eateth *this bread*, and drinketh *this cup* unworthily"—&c.

Were it, however, converted into flesh, we would have to ask, what sanctifying power in *flesh?* or, what spiritual food would there be in the human flesh of the Son of God? And were it omnipresent, how would the eating of it as a sin offering, take away sin from the conscience?! The virtue was in the altar, on which the sacrifice was offered: for "it is the altar that sanctifies the gift." And had it not been for the true and proper divinity of the Son of God, his flesh as a sin offering, could in no sense profit any person. But the priest can bring down the divine Savior from heaven, and offer him, body, soul, and divinity, as often as he pleases; and have the people adore both him and the miracle in his hand!! He that can believe all this, is not to be reasoned with.

The gentleman's remarks on, "*I am with you*," even after so many hours' reflection since I expounded them, have not the slightest reference to any thing I have said. I could not have thought it possible for a child to have so misunderstood and misapplied them. I need not again repeat them. They are wholly misrepresented. He has "defied heaven and earth." What a daring logician! Yes; he "defied heaven and earth," on what? To weaken his argument on infallibility! It would be hard indeed, to weaken that, which has no strength. Perhaps he might defy Omnipotence to weaken what does not exist. But the bishop is just as fallible as your humble servant; and his church (I may with confidence say) is even more fallible than the Protestant church: for, our rule of faith is perfect and complete: his rule, as I have shown, is imperfect and immoral.

"But Protestants are better than their principles!" Indeed! Their principles are the bible alone. Their acknowledged principles, certainly, are those to which my friend refers! A good argument! I read the other day something like this—"Bad as human nature is, there is no man on earth bad enough to make a good papist." "The system cannot be carried out fully by any person." Would my learn

ed antagonist call this a good argument against his system? and is it not as logical as that which he has just alleged?

The bishop accuses Mr. Smith of ingratitude. I have something more to do than to defend Mr. Smith from such groundless imputations. Every one who abjures Catholicism, is a wretch: for Protestants are all heretics! The best return Mr. Smith or any person can make for favors received, is to disabuse the minds of his benefactors from error, if they happen to entertain it. The best and most grateful return that I could make to a Roman Catholic benefactor, for any benefit conferred, would be, if possible, to convince and save him from the most ruinous and destructive heresy that time records, or ever will record.

Next comes the *Secreta Monita*; for we must circumnavigate another circle in this speech also. The *Secreta Monita*, then, is just as accurate and fair a view of the spirit, design, and policies, of that order, as can be given. Such is our faith: and that on no mean testimony either.

We shall give some account of the discovery of this said book:

——————"We are indebted for this "terrible book" of Jesuits' secrets, to the parliament of Paris. They passed the act to abolish the Jesuits society: and the execution came on the Jesuit college like a thunder stroke. Their palace was surrounded by troops, and their papers and books, and these "*Secret Instructions*" were seized before they had heard that the parliament had taken up their cause!"

The reasons which the parliament of France, in 1762, gave for extirpating this order, which has *thirty-nine* times been proscribed, speak volumes:

"The consequences of their doctrines destroy the law of nature: break all the bonds of civil society: authorizing lying, theft, perjury, the utmost uncleanness, murder, and all sins! Their doctrines root out all sentiments of humanity: excite rebellion: root out all religion: and substitute all sorts of superstition, blasphemy, irreligion, idolatry."

Other reasons for the suppression of this order, will be found in the following extract from their oath:

——————"In the presence of Almighty God and of all the saints, to you, my ghostly father, I do declare that his holiness, pope ——, is Christ's vicar-general, and the only head of the universal church throughout the earth: and that by virtue of the keys given him by my Savior, Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths, and governments: all being illegal, without his sacred confirmation; and that they may safely be destroyed. Therefore I, to the utmost of my power, shall and will defend his doctrine, and his holiness' rights and customs against all usurpers," &c.

"I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, state, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates, or officers."

"I do further promise and declare that notwithstanding I am dispensed with, to assume any religion heretical for the propagation of the mother church's interest,—to keep secret and private, all her agent's counsels," &c.

"All which I, A. B. do swear by the blessed Trinity, and the blessed sacrament, which I am now to receive. And I call all the heavenly and glorious hosts above, to witness these *my real intentions*, to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most blessed sacrament of the eucharist, and set my hand and seal."

Such is the order of men restored by *Saint* Pius VII., who, for restoring them and the inquisition, ("the vice of the dark ages!!") has been beatified, and enrolled in the Roman heavens, as a saint of the first order! Is it not in striking and thrilling harmony with the genius of our institutions, to have priests of this order, all over the land

in charge of the souls and consciences of American citizens?! So much for Jesuitism.

I ought not to have called *errors* "lies," as the apostle John, and the other apostles, have done. Why? All errors are lies; and all who propagate them are, by the same apostle, John, called liars. "All liars," says he, (teachers of error,) shall have their part in a certain lake. Was it not impolite for the apostle, thus to use such a vulgar style? I must, then, have fallen into bad company, when I said, the man of sin stands upon two cardinal lies!

Next comes the doctrine of majorities; and these are every thing with a Romanist. They are the root, and reason, and illustration, and proof of infallibility. The man who seeks the truth by the tests of sincerity, majority, and antiquity, will never find it on earth. This is amply true of the present and all past ages. There are sincere Turks, Jews, pagans, infidels. There are very ancient errors, heresies, and sects. And, as for majorities, from Enoch till now, they have generally, if not always, been wrong in religion. Where was the majority, when Noah was building his ark? when Abraham forsook Urr of the Chaldees? when Lot abandoned Sodom? when Moses forsook Egypt? when Elijah witnessed against Ahab? when Daniel and his companions were captives in Babylon? when Malachi wrote? when the Baptist preached? when Christ was crucified? when the apostles, and many of the first Christians, were persecuted?!

And, compared with paganism, when had Roman Catholicism the majority? Strange, indeed, that infallibility, after all this, should come to be the attribute of majorities! But the bishop, in his speech against Luther, delivered here in October last, said there were one hundred and fifty million Roman Catholics. I cannot find them on the earth, unless I count many millions of atheists and pagans along with them. But, after a more accurate search, I find there are in all, but one hundred and ten millions of professed Roman Catholics, and amongst these, millions of sceptics: of Protestants, there are seventy-five millions; and of the Greek church, above forty millions; making at least one hundred and fifteen millions of Protesters against the man of sin. If, then, there be anything in majorities, the Romanists have it not. Infallibility is somewhere else. The time comes, (and may heaven speed its flight!) when the kingdom, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, when all dominions shall serve and obey him. But Babylon will never see that day; for she will be buried in her own ruins before it comes. And when the angel, with the trumpet of everlasting good news, shall sound the hour of her judgment as come, and announce the triumph of the gospel; then, but not till then, will the majority be on the side of God, and Christ, and heaven.

I am only now at the place where I left off in my former speech, and my half hour is almost expired. I cannot again condescend to such a sacrifice of time to so many points.

I was showing, when I sat down, that the theory of spiritual despotism always precedes the practical display of it; and that the theory of the terrific and appalling despotism of papal Rome, is to be found in principles and theories promulged, and believed, and taught, before the reign of darkness and terror began.

The fact of putting the bible under a bushel, of forbidding the read-

ing of it, of swearing for ever to interpret it as it *has been* interpreted, of not permitting men to think or speak for themselves on religion, of teaching them the power of the priests to work miracles, to create a god out of bread, that the people might adore it and them, of making a supreme judge of controversy out of one of the parties, or combining the legislative, executive, and judicial powers in one person, (the model of the most cruel despotism,) is the paragon of supreme tyranny, never surpassed, never equaled on earth.

How any person can, from such a system, elaborate a single element of free government, or of civil liberty, I cannot imagine. Indeed, the radical ideas of papal supremacy, are as antipodal to republican doctrine and American institutions, as are the zenith and the nadir! But my time has fled.

Twelve o'clock, M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

I have only to stand here for half a minute, and to open the bible, to reduce to dust the arguments which it costs my opponent such a waste of time and labor to construct. Was not Civil and Ecclesiastical power united in the high priest, by the Almighty God, himself? Is not this recorded in Deuteronomy, and admitted by my worthy antagonist? What says the scripture.

"If you perceive, that there be among you, a hard and doubtful matter in judgment, between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy; and thou see that the words of judgment within the gates, do vary; arise and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose. And thou shalt come to the priests of the Levitical race, and to the judge that shall be at that time; and thou shalt ask of them, and they shall shew thee the truth of the judgment. And thou shalt do whatsoever they shall say, that preside in the place, which the Lord shall choose, and what they shall teach thee according to this law: and thou shalt follow their sentence, neither shalt thou decline to the right hand nor to the left hand. But he that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord God, and the decree of the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel." —Deut. xvii. 8, et seq.

Here is civil power, and ecclesiastical authority blended in one tribunal, of the presiding priest and of the Levitical ministry, and the penalty of death ordained by God, against him who contends for private judgment and refuses to obey.

Now, my friends, if Mr. C. seriously intends to employ reason and argument, instead of the calumny and abuse too often employed in religious discussions heretofore, why does he rake up from a pile of rubbish, sad memorial of the havoc made by the enemies of the Jesuits, and exhibit the tattered, and sordid, documents found there, for proof? I expected "*honor bright*" from my friend, when we began this debate, and I still expect it. Have I not dealt fairly myself? Have I gone to the sewers and streets, as he has done to those of Cracow and Paris for the *Secreta Monita*, for evidence against the Protestants? No! I have quoted their most respectable authorities—I have taken up Southey, and Waddington, and such writers. I do not think it honorable to stoop down, and pick up from the gutter, all the vile trash, that Protestants have written against one another; much less that, which the enemies of Protestants may have invented; and I do not expect this course from my friend, in his attempt to fasten upon Catholics, the sins which they abhor. "Why did the parliament of Paris destroy the society of the Jesuits?" I will tell the gentleman. Because they

had become the disciples of the man, who boasted that "he was tired of hearing it said, that *twelve* men had been able to convert the world from paganism to christianity, for that he would let it be seen that one man was able to unchristianize it." This was the boast of Voltaire, who, at the head of his letters to the infidel conspirators leagued with him against revelation, was accustomed to write the words; "*Ecrasons l'infame*," *Let us crush the wretch*, meaning Jesus Christ and his holy religion. These anti-christian machinations could never succeed, and their authors were too wide awake in their hostility to the christian faith, not to be aware of the fact, as long as religion commanded the services of so learned and exemplary a body of men as the Jesuits. In all the entire world, in China and in France, in America and in Europe, society, as well as pure religion was their debtor. In every language they wrote the most admirable treatises on the mathematics, on medicine, on geography. Their historians, orators, poets, missionaries, have never been surpassed. Mr. Secretary Cass and Richard Peters of Philadelphia, recorder of the Supreme Court, will inform you, for they have examined it, how perfectly accurate is their map of Lake Superior with its 1500 miles of coast, which one or two of these fathers, while seeking the red man, for Jesus Christ, in their frail canoe, found time to survey. In a word the Jesuits were ornaments to human nature, but they had, at the same time, the *misfortune* to be the ornaments and the pillars of Religion. This Voltaire knew. His infidel colleagues knew it. And as they were conscious that the lives of the Jesuits defied their malice, and the learning of the Jesuits would continue to confound their sophistry, they had no resource but to oppress them by calumny. Hence they spared no pains to render them obnoxious to the Parliament of Paris, and reproduced the *Secreta Monita*, fabricated by some anonymous calumniator in 1612. The spuriousness of this paper has been every where admitted by the critics. Let not any one who reads this controversy on the theatre of its exposure, learn from it that erudition and honor are at so low an ebb in the United States, as to admit as argument, an appeal to so contemptible a slander

As to the oath of the Jesuits, it is taken from the same book! There is no Jesuit that ever takes such an oath. Every Jesuit in the United States, who is not a native of the country, and intends to reside in it, has taken the oath of allegiance to our government. And in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, are native American Jesuits, some of the most whole-souled and thorough-going republicans in the world, prepared, at any moment, to imitate the patriotic example of the first of their order in the United States, Arch-bishop Carroll, the friend and associate of Washington. In this spirit they are rivaled by the rest of our clergy. That venerable old priest, now before you, has done for half a century, and specially in those perilous times that tried men's souls, when a formidable enemy was on our frontier, within our borders—nay in our very capital, and committing our noblest monuments to the flames, more for freedom, happiness and THE UNION, than any other living man, perhaps, of the clerical profession. The Latin poems, which he published during the war, breathing the energy and spirit of the songs of the Greeks, when they struck down the tyrants, were translated into English, and widely circulated. General Harrison, if he were here to-day, would inform you, as he has informed me, by my fire-side, what loyal men

and true were the Catholic missionaries of Indiana and Missouri, in *auld lang syne*. How they exerted all their influence, and it was not inconsiderable, to keep the Indians faithful to the cause of free government. My friends, if I must have an opponent, let me have an honorable one: let me have facts and proofs, instead of slanders and insinuations. And, to say all in one word, in answer to the charges against the Jesuits, Why did the parliament of Paris restore the order in France? Ay, that is the question. I will tell the gentleman. Because they discovered their blunder, and the injustice they had committed in suppressing them, and the prostrate state of *education*, after the Jesuits had been expelled the colleges. Then, with the magnanimity of the corporation of London, a few years ago, who honorably chipped off the inscription from the pillar, which, *like a tall bully, raised its head and lied*, by attributing the conflagration of 1666 to the Roman Catholics, did the parliament of Paris make partial atonement for the wrong done to the Jesuits. These are examples worthy of our imitation in a free and happy republic, where the iron heel of religious bigots should not be allowed to bend so much as a blade of grass!

I continue my argument for the real presence. I shall first produce the sequel of the scripture evidence, and then reply to the objections of my friend. The institution of the eucharist is related by three evangelists, and by St. Paul; by St. Matthew, who wrote his gospel, in India, seven years after the death of Christ; by St. Mark, who wrote his gospel in Rome, two years later, under the direction of St. Peter; by St. Luke, whose gospel was written in the nineteenth year of the Christian era, in Asia; and by St. Paul, from Macedonia, in Greece, fifty years later than St. Matthew, and who had learned what he teaches, not from the other evangelists, but from the revelations made to himself by Jesus Christ in person; all writing at different times, and in different places, and yet all using the self-same words, the plainest in the languages in which they wrote, or in any other, and the best adapted to the poor and illiterate, who had the gospel preached to them. All these tell us, with one accord, in the Holy Ghost, that the Lord, the night before he suffered, took bread into his venerable and creating hands; and lifting up his eyes to heaven, (to heaven, to show us whence that power was derived, that goodness emanated,) he blessed and brake, and gave it to his disciples, to whom he had made the promise of his body, saying: "Take, and eat. This *is* my body." In like manner, the chalice, saying: "Drink you all of this. This is my blood of the New Testament." Now, these words are so intelligible, and so clear, that if ever the principle, that every one can interpret the bible for himself, should be admitted, and enforced, and insisted on, it is surely here; for there is scarcely a possibility that words so plain, and so frequently repeated in their plainness, should lead us into error. We may even safely ask, in the hypothesis that Jesus Christ had really wished to leave us his body and blood in the eucharist, what other words he could have used, to signify more clearly the real presence in the sacrament? He has, however, in his incomprehensible wisdom and love, found something plainer still; for he not only said, "This is my body," but, as he was then making a law, a will, where nothing should be left, in the slightest manner, ambiguous, he added, "This is my body, which is GIVEN FOR YOU, this is my blood, which SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU."

Was it a figurative body, that was delivered for us? Was it by figurative blood, that we were redeemed? Then are we yet in our sins, and Jesus Christ has deceived us. This it were, in the last degree, impious to suppose; and, therefore, *steadfast* in the truth of what the Son of God has done for us, we may say, as Tertullian said, on a different occasion, to the innovators of his time: Under what pretence do you come? and why do you remove the landmarks. The estate is ours: we have the ancient, the prior possession of it: we are the heirs of Jesus Christ: he made his will in our favor; and, eternal praise be given to him, he himself, the original proprietor, has delivered to us the title deeds (laying our hands on the bible.) Here is the pillar, the fast anchor of our faith in the eucharist. But it is not yet expedient to lay aside these texts, without conferring on them one mark of attention more. In the twenty-second chapter of St. Luke, 18th, 19th, and 20th verses, we read of the institution of the eucharist, as a sacrament, and as a sacrifice, in a manner more and more explicit. "This," says the benefactor of the world, taking leave of it, "this is my body, which is given for you;" and in the Greek text of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, "which is broken for you:" "this is the chalice, the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you;" and in the Greek text, "which is shed for you, for the remission of sins: do this in commemoration of me." Here, then, is every thing essential to a true sacrifice, clearly prescribed. The bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and offered, and ordered to be offered to his heavenly Father, for the remission of sins. Now, hear how St. Paul, whose authority, upon what I have already remarked of the circumstances in which he was called to the apostleship, is entitled to special respect, speaks on this subject, in his Epistle to the Corinthians: "Wherefore," says he, 'my dearly beloved, I speak to you as to wise men; judge ye yourselves what I say. The chalice of benediction which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? And the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord? Behold Israel according to the flesh: are not they who eat of the (Pagan) sacrifices, partakers of the altar? But the things which the heathens sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God. And I would not that you should be made partakers with devils. You cannot drink of the chalice of the Lord, and the chalice of devils: you cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord, and the table of devils." Who does not see, in a text so plain, that St. Paul contrasts the table of Christ with the altar of the Jews, and the table of devils, which the Gentiles frequented. So that, in the same manner as the Jews partook of what was offered on the altar, and the Gentiles of what was placed on the table after having been first sacrificed to the idols, so do the Christians partake of the table of the Lord, eating of that flesh which had been offered for them, and with whose blood they had been sprinkled and purified.

But this argument would be weak and utterly inconclusive, if the faithful, like the Jews and the Heathens, were not partakers of something really offered by them in sacrifice. Again, St. Paul, not only here, but also in the Ep. to the Hebrews, speaks of an altar, "of an altar, whereof they have no power to eat who serve the Tabernacle." Now it is altogether an abuse of terms, a wilful leading of others into error, to call that an altar on which sacrifice is never offered; and when St. Paul said we have an altar, whereof they cannot eat, who

remain attached to the Jewish religion, he meant, no doubt what was then understood by every one, that there was a victim offered by christians at that day, 36 years after Christ, and eaten by priest and people. This is the victim of the eucharist, of which Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul speak so clearly, and so forcibly, and which we must either now admit on the evidence of scripture, or fling the sacred volume into the flames. My opponent may talk of Christ's saying; "I am the vine;" "I am the door;" "destroy the temple;" the ten lean kine, and the ten years of famine; but, my friends, does not the scripture explain its meaning, so as to leave no doubt as to the sense of these, and twenty such texts besides. The dream of Pharaoh, and his butler's were most minutely interpreted and perfectly explained. The evangelist expressly informs us, Christ spoke of the temple of his body; lest this expression should leave any doubt on the mind of the reader as to the Savior's meaning. But where is the *parity* between these passages and the words of Christ: "this is my body—this is my blood." "My flesh is meat indeed—my blood is drink indeed." Our Lord does not say of the vine, "this vine shall be hung up for you," he does not say of the door, this door shall be hung up for you, he does not say of the temple, or of the vine, "they shall be offered for you;" but he says all this as I shall shew, when I come to speak of the institution when speaking of the divine food which he gives us in the Eucharist. "This is my body *which is offered* for you, this is my blood, which is shed for you"—and as he was then at the last hour of his life, and speaking heart to heart to his friends, it was no time for parables and figures. The traitor was nigh; the hour was at hand, when he was to pass out of this world to the Father. He knew how this doctrine would be contested, that the VAST MAJORITY of christians would believe in it, as they do at this day, according to the obvious and literal meaning of the text, and yet he speaks not *one word* to induce us to believe in a figurative presence. Why? Because he meant it to be understood literally, with faith in his almighty power and his infinite love. Because as God, he operates his greatest wonders, by the simplest words. "*Let there be light;*" "*Thy son liveth;*" "*Lazarus, come forth;*" "*I will, be thou cleansed:*" "*Take up thy bed and walk;*" "*Peace! Be still;*" "*This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise;*" "*This is my body, this is my blood.*" This Luther himself was forced to admit. He tells us how very desirous he was, and how much he labored to overthrow this doctrine, knowing how much he could, thereby, annoy the pope: 'but,' says he, 'I found myself caught, without any way of escaping; for the text of the gospel, was too plain for me." Epist. ad Argintenses, t. 4. fol. 502. Ed. Wittemberg. In another place, he says, condemning those who denied the corporal presence; "The devil seems to have mocked those to whom he has suggested a heresy so ridiculous, and contrary to scripture, as that of the Zuinglians who explained away the words of the institution in a figurative way." He elsewhere compares these glosses with the following translation of the first words of the scripture: *In principio Deus creavit calum et terram.*—In the beginning the Cuckoo ate the sparrow and his feathers. Def. verb. Dom. On one occasion he calls those who deny the real and corporal presence; "a damned sect, lying heretics, bread-breakers, wine-drinkers, and soul-destroyers." In parv. catech. On other occasions he says, "They are endevilized, and superdevi-

lized." Finally he devotes them to everlasting flames, and builds his own hopes of mercy at the tribunal of Christ, on his having with all his soul condemned Carlostad, Zuinglius, and other believers in the symbolical presence. Bishop Bramhall thus writes: "No genuine son of the church (of England) did ever deny a true, real presence. Christ said—*This is my body*,—and what he said we steadfastly believe. He said neither CON, nor SUB, nor TRANS: therefore we place those among the opinions of schools, not among articles of faith." Ans. to Militiare, p. 74. Bishop Cosin is not less explicit, in favor of the Catholic doctrine. He says, "It is a monstrous error to deny that Christ is to be adored in the Eucharist. We confess the necessity of a supernatural and heavenly change; and that the signs cannot become sacraments, but by the infinite power of God. If any one make a bare figure of the sacrament, we ought not to suffer him in our churches." Hist. de Transub. Lastly the profound Hooker expresses himself thus; I wish men would give themselves more to meditate in silence, on what we have in the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how; since we all agree that Christ, by the sacrament, doth really and truly perform in us his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation?" Eccles. Polit. B. v. 67.

My opponent says that when we meditate any doctrine, we eat it. So, then, when we meditate on hell we eat it and all its contents! He says we eat it spiritually, but this is nonsense. I want not the stomach or the mind, such orthodoxy requires.

My friend observes, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is contrary to the testimony of our senses. We have nothing but our senses to guide us. This is the scepticism of Thomas Tanew: "*Unless I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my fingers into the place of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe.*" The Savior condescended to give the requisite proof of the senses, to the doubting apostle, but he replied to the confession "My Lord and my God," "Because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed. BLESSED ARE THEY THAT HAVE NOT SEEN, AND HAVE BELIEVED." The *consequences* of the doctrine of the real presence are not unworthy of God. Every pretended absurdity is as justly chargeable on the *Incarnation* as on the Eucharist. In Pope and McGuire's discussion, one of these is to be found, where my friend got the foregoing. It is that of a mouse, that *is said* to have once run away with the sacrament, while the priest had his eyes shut saying his prayers. But is this ridiculous story an argument? Then deny that sin could be committed, for sin is a greater insult than this, to Jesus Christ. Deny that his sacred person was outraged with blows and spittle; that he was dragged through the streets of Jerusalem, with the halter of ignominy around his neck; that he was scourged, crowned with thorns, crucified; that his blood trickled to the ground; that his executioners trampled upon it; that insects and quadrupeds partook of it! all these adorable scandals are the consequences of the infinite love with which Jesus Christ loved us. The more he is humbled for our sakes, the dearer should he be to us. But if the scandal of his humiliations shake our faith, let the wisdom and the power of the Godhead, displayed in the midst of these humiliations, sustain and animate it. Behold! the earth that receives that falling blood, trembles to her very centre; the sun, unable to behold the bloody tragedy, withdraws

his light, and leaves the world in darkness and mourning and terror, for its author's dissolution; the rocks are rent asunder; the graves give up their dead; the pagan centurion strikes his breast and exclaims "Truly this man was the Son of God." Let us also believe and adore!—[Time expired.]

Three o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

Knowing, my fellow-citizens, how much depends in such a discussion, as that now in progress, on having authentic documents, I determined from the beginning to rely on none which could, on proper evidence, or with justice be repudiated. I knew that in all debates so far back as the very era of the Reformation this party have been accustomed to deny authorities, to dispute versions, translations, &c. even of their own writers who were so candid as to give a tolerably fair representation of themselves. And as all their historians, good and bad, frequently tell the truth, they are all occasionally to be censured, when that truth is quoted by a Protestant and turned to its proper account. I have not then, to my knowledge or belief, introduced an unworthy author. And so long as my opponent can disprove nothing which I have quoted, either from Du Pin, or Ligori, his frequent allusions to them, with such unqualified censures, only shows how much he feels the truth of their testimony.

The Jesuits, that standing army of the pope, are revived, and are inundating our country. Other fraternities are but the militia: but these are the trained band life-guards of the papacy. Their oath is full proof of the spirit of the corps. My worthy opponent says, that they are a very learned body of men, and that he is not *now* a Jesuit. So much the worse. How then can he defend the order from the doctrines of the *Secreta Monita*; and affirm that they do not *now* take the oath which I read to you?—He would represent me as picking out of the streets, or out of the ruins of some fallen edifice the oaths and books of the Jesuits. If that were the fact, would it disprove the contents of these documents? It would not. Truth is truth, wherever found, in the street or in a temple—in a cellar, or in a mountain. But I did not so seek or find them. They are public and authentic documents, and my opponent can only deny or dispute, but he cannot disprove them.

Here is another document, not from the ashes of a monastery. I do not know the writer of this article: but it is from an Encyclopædia.

BISHOP PURCELL. Is it the book of Fessenden & Co.?

MR. CAMPBELL. It is from their press.

BISHOP PURCELL. Ah! I know it!

Mr. Campbell reads:

'In 1801 the society was restored in Russia by the emperor Paul; and in 1804 by king Ferdinand, in Sardinia. In August, 1814, a bull was issued by pope Pius VII. restoring the order to all their former privileges, and calling upon all Catholics to afford them protection and encouragement. This act of their revival is expressed in all the solemnity of the papal authority; and even affirmed to be above the recall or revision of any judge, with whatever power he may be clothed; but to every enlightened mind it cannot fail to appear as a measure altogether incapable of justification, from any thing either in the history of Jesuitism, or in the character of the present times.

"The essential principles of this institution namely, that their order is to be maintained at the expense of society at large, and that the end sanctifies the means, are utterly incompatible with the welfare of any community of men. Their system of lax and pliant morality, justifying every vice, and authorizing

every atrocity has left deep and lasting ravages on the face of the moral world. Their zeal to extend the jurisdiction of the court of Rome over every civil government, gave currency to tenets respecting the duty of opposing princes who were hostile to the Catholic faith, which shook the basis of all political allegiance, and loosened the obligations of every human law. Their indefatigable industry, and countless artifices in resisting the progress of the reformed religion, perpetuated the most pernicious errors of popery, and postponed the triumph of tolerant and christian principles. Whence, then, it may well be asked, whence the recent restoration? What long-latent proof has been discovered of the excellence, or even the expedience, of such an institution? The sentence of their abolition was passed by the senates and monarchs, and statesmen, and divines, of all religions, and of almost every civilized country in the world.

Almost every land has been stained and torn by their crimes: and almost every land bears on its public record the most solemn protests against their existence. The evils of Jesuitism arise not from the violation of the principles of the order; on the contrary, they are the natural and necessary fruits of the system; they are confined to no age, place, or person; they follow like the tail of the comet, the same disastrous course with the luminary itself; and, in consequence, not this or that nation, but humanity, is startled at the re-appearance of this common enemy of man." [Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, p. 685.

Remember, my friends, that one of the cardinal principles of Jesuitism is, that "*the end justifies the means.*" This maxim justifies every crime in our criminal code! if the cause of the Roman church can be thereby promoted.

The gentleman asked "Why has this order been so often restored, if it be not good?" I answer, For the same reason that the Inquisition has been restored, and by the same persons too. Whenever the power of the papacy and the state of the community would tolerate it, it has been revived; and I presume so long as the papacy lives, it will, being infallible, pursue the same course. Does the restoration of the Inquisition prove it to be good?

The gentleman would trace to the hatred of Christianity, the opposition of Voltaire and other sceptics in France, to the order of the Jesuits. This is a *non causa.* The infidels hated the Jesuits, not for Christ's sake, for no one could hate them on that account: but because they supported the political despotism of this pretended vicar of Rome. This was the true reason of that mortal hatred of the Jesuits by all the republicanism of France, and throughout the world.

The bishop has confessed that he would have the legislative, judicial, and executive powers in the same hands, and quotes Deuteronomy xvii. to prove that it is right, even now. What an admirer of American institutions! Certainly, he has forgotten himself: and the Jewish institution too! It was a theocracy. God himself was lawgiver—the priests kept and expounded the law—the judges and kings executed it. Where, then, were all these powers accumulated in one and the same dynasty! It is a mistake of the case, as well as of the nature of the government. The very elements of a just and pure government will be found in separating these powers; the very essence of a despotism in uniting them in one and the same person.

The gentleman, I am glad to observe, understands my discovery of the elements of all tyranny in the supreme judge of controversy, or, councils of the Roman church. But he fails in vindicating it. The council is "the church *representative;*" consequently, it is the church judging for herself against the heretics or reformers. She is always a party in the case of which she is judge. Most controversies are on points affecting the priesthood. All disputes, more or less affect the standing or temporal interest of the clergy. Now the councils are

composed only of clergy. Is it not then the clergy judging in their own case? And such is the model of a Roman Catholic Republic!

A word or two more on transubstantiation. Will the bishop please inform us *whether the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the natural body of Christ, or into his glorified body?* If into the natural body, in which he said "*this is my body*," "*this is my blood*;" of what profit to eat it? and how dare christians to eat it, according to the decrees of the apostles? and if it be his glorified body, how can there be flesh and blood in it? for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven!

The allusions of my opponent to the Episcopalians and Unitarians in vindication of his gross interpretations of the eucharistal words, is unworthy of a serious reply. Besides, their opinions are not the subject of controversy here. It is transubstantiation, and not consubstantiation, or any other theory of the presence of the Lord in this ordinance, which I assert, and which he is bound to defend, if he can. The Episcopalians would abhor the comments and interpretations which the bishop dares append to their words. He treats them as he treated Luther!

One of the most unfortunate references I recollect to have heard in debate, was that of the bishop to the unbelief of Thomas. The Savior's answer to Thomas fully expresses his sophistry on transubstantiation: for Jesus said, "reach hither thy finger,"—"handle me"—"thrust thy hand into my side." So we reason: "Take this loaf into your hands, feel it, taste it, smell it,—Is it flesh, or is it bread? Test it by your senses. Believe not, contrary to your senses. Jesus made his appeal to the senses. So do we. Why has my opponent quoted this passage? Is he turning Protestant?

I wish the Roman Catholics would hear Paul in this case. He has positively said, that it is bread that is eaten in the act of celebrating the supper. "As often," says he, "as you eat this *bread*, and drink this *cup*, you do show forth the Lord's death till he come." To "drink a cup" is certainly a figure as much as "this is my body;" and goes to show that words are not to be taken literally in this passage. If then, Jesus called it *the fruit of the vine*, after consecration, and Paul, the *bread* and the *cup*, in the very act of communicating, I ask, What foundation is there for the miracle of the mass?!

My learned opponent tells you a story about a mouse. It may, indeed, have a good argument in it; but I do not use such arguments, on so grave a subject. He did it, he said, to anticipate me. He did not however anticipate me: for I had no intention of telling such a story, or any other of the same type. I think it would be more apposite for him to show how a person can believe against his five senses, that a priest can, by a few words create the body, soul and divinity of he Son of God out of a little "*paste*;" than to relate such mouse stories, how true soever they may be. Surely, before they kneel down and adore a wafer, they ought to be fully assured that the priest nas converted it into a divinity!

I must return to my last proposition. This concerns him and his party more, than any other one of the seven. We will soon be able to judge, whether he is determined to evade or canvass it. I would emphatically tell him, the community expect him to discuss this subject above all others. They are much excited and interested on this

point. Many who have no antipathy against Roman Catholics have some fears of them. I belong to that class. I have no antipathy: but I have my fears. I do honestly think, (and I avow it here, that I may give my ingenious opponent an opportunity to remove the impression if he can.) I say, I do sincerely believe and think, that Roman Catholicism, in any country is detrimental to its interests and prosperity: and in a republic, directly and positively tending every moment to its subversion. Such is my conviction. I avow it, that if possible, it may be removed. I always distinguish between a system and those who profess it,—between a creed, and the people. And therefore I war against *principles* and not *men*. I am not singular in these sentiments. They are possessed by a large portion of the most intelligent of this community. I have, indeed, been asked, perhaps, a hundred times, since October last, in different places, and by different persons, of all religious parties and by persons of no sect: "Are you not afraid to meet the Catholics in debate?"—Afraid of what?—"Of your life —of being killed," was the reply. "Are you not afraid that they will lay violent hands on you?" No; was my answer. I met the infidel Owen and feared nothing; and certainly I have no more to fear from "the Mother and Mistress of all christians" than from infidels!

It gives me pleasure to say, that there are some Roman Catholics, to whom I could trust my life and my all as confidently, as to any Protestant. To such men, as Fenelon, as Paschal, as Rollin, as Du Pin, as St. Pierre, as Thomas à Kempis, I could commit my life, as freely and as cheerfully as to any Protestants. In such cases the *man* rises above the system. I state this fact to interest my opponent in discussing my *seventh* proposition; and to assure him that it will give me pleasure, and I have no doubt the whole community, to learn that all such fears are perfectly groundless; and to see that he is able satisfactorily to remove them. Let the public mind be disabused: for as present advised, Protestants generally think that civil liberty and the papacy are wholly incompatible with each other: and that the introduction of large numbers of Roman Catholics into this community, would inevitably subvert this government; and place us under a spiritual and political despotism, intolerant and cruel as those, which the see of Rome has established in every country on earth, where she has obtained a majority.

Let the gentleman, then, turn his attention to this subject, and improve the opportunity in wiping from his escutcheons those foul stains that have associated with the name Roman Catholic every thing that is intolerant, inhuman and tyrannical. Let him show us here in what manner the decrees of councils, the bulls of popes, the oaths of the clergy, and the infallibility of the church are to be disposed of, if w could promise ourselves that the prevalence of his party in this country would not be an end of all those free and equitable institutions, which have made these United States the wonder and the admiration of the world.

Is it of the essence of this superstition to root out and destroy every antagonist principle, tenet, and party; or is it merely accidental, that Rome can endure no living rival? Has not the Roman see even when a foreign empire always sought to be above all gods or magistrates: and does it not now bind every bishop on earth under the most heart searching and conscience binding oaths and anathemas, to defend and

keep the Roman papacy, and the *royalties of St. Peter*, saving his own order against all men? Is not my opponent thus sworn? Has he not bound himself as he shall answer to God in the great day, by the most solemn imprecations to preserve, defend, *increase* and *advance* the authority of his lord the pope, and his successors canonically coming in?—He has so sworn—just as certainly, as he has sworn "to *persecute and oppose* all heretics and schismatics," as we read from an oath which he has not yet had the courage to deny. It is, indeed, a part of the same oath.

It will require the ingenuity of a Jesuit to show how these duties to the pope can consist with the obligations of the oath of naturalization, or the duties which a citizen of this country owes to its government. But before I comment further on the oath, we will hear it to the end:

"I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the apostles every three years; and give an account to our Lord and his aforesaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things any wise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment I will perform all things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy, [of the diocese] by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the aforesaid messenger to the cardinal proponent of the holy Roman church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table, I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these holy Gospels of God." *Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. Anno* 1626—pp. 59, 86. [Time expired.]

Half past 3 *o'clock, P. M.*

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

Mr. Campbell begs me to follow him. I am following him; but the truth is that my learned friend runs away so fast from his own reason, that it is not surprising if he gets ahead of mine. My friends, I promise to satisfy you on the vital question of civil liberty. He will not be able to draw me off from my argument. He is a foreigner, an Irishman, as well as I, and I am sorry to see, that while he breathes, he would infect, the atmosphere of freedom. We are both indebted to America for the liberty which we enjoy, which he as a dissenter, and I, as a Catholic, would not have enjoyed under the *Protestant Government* of Great Britain, in our native land. For myself, I am an adopted American citizen, having renounced, by oath, all foreign allegiance. It is my only desire to live and act as an American freeman should, and escape the charge which rests on foreigners like my worthy opponent, and those Scotch fanatics in New York, who volunteer to teach Americans how to understand their own constitution. These, and their like, are the men who cause all the excitement about religion. They, and not the Catholics, are the real mischief makers. This, I say, more in sorrow than in anger, and exclusively with the view of doing justice to the truth. Let us appreciate the blessings we here enjoy, and not withhold, or mar them. We have not here imbibed the spirit of controversy, which may be called

the spirit of the world, but the spirit of charity which is the spirit of God. The former is predicated for another meridian.

I will now finish my arguments on the real presence. St. Paul, speaking of the dispositions with which the Eucharist was to be received, seals the proof deduced from the words of the institution and the promise. His words are these: "When you come therefore together into one place, it is not now to eat the Lord's supper." The apostle condemns their partaking of this, as of ordinary food. "What," says he, "have you not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God; and put them to shame that have not? What shall I say to you? Do I praise you? In this I praise you not. For I have received of the Lord, that which also, I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread. And giving thanks, broke, and said: 'Take ye and eat; this is my body which shall be delivered for you; this do for a commemoration of me.' In like manner, also, the chalice, after he had supped, saying: 'This chalice is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye as often as you shall drink it, for the commemoration of me.' For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink the chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord, until he come. Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body, and blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, not discerning the body of the Lord." 1st. Ep. Cor. ch. xi. Here the most virtuous and pious dispositions under the dread penalty, of receiving the body and blood of the Lord unworthily, and thus incorporating, and making our condemnation a portion of our flesh and blood and being, are required of the Catholic communicant, and yet my worthy opponent quotes this sanctifying doctrine among the immoralities of the Catholic church!

But my friend objects to transubstantiation. Then let him differ from Luther and the Episcopalians, for the real presence, without transubstantiation, which they teach, is a greater difficulty. If the bible be our guide, let us adhere to it. What was the first miracle which our Savior wrought? Was it not the changing of water into wine? transubstantiation? My friend says that he has never read on this subject, nor studied it. I do not wonder that he says it is so absurd, if he never gave it serious consideration. (Mr. Campbell here explained that he had said that he had never read a controversial treatise on the subject, but affirmed that he had reflected on it, and studied it.) Not only the first miracle, but every thing in nature confirms the doctrine. The bread and meat that my friend ate, a week ago. is. this day, flesh and blood and bone of his body. So of trees,—the juices they draw from the soil, are converted into branches and verdure. Nature, in fact, is replete with evidences illustrative of the possibility of transubstantiation. If you wish for a human testimony, interrogate christian antiquity. St. Ignatius, the disciple of the apostles, in his Epistle to the church of Smyrna, speaking of heretics, says, "They do not admit of Eucharists and oblations, because they do not believe the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Savior, Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins."

Origen says; "Manna was formerly given, as a figure; but now

the flesh and blood of the Son of God are specifically given, and are real food."

St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, says:

"Since Christ himself affirms thus of the bread, *This is my body; who is so daring* as to doubt of it? and since he affirms, *this is my blood;* who will deny that it is his blood? At Cana in Galilee, he, by an act of his will, turned water into wine, which resembles blood, and is he then not to be credited when he changes wine into blood? Therefore, full of certainty, let us receive the body and blood of Christ; for under the form of bread, is given to thee his body, and under the form of wine, his blood."

St. Ambrose thus argues with his spiritual children:

"You will say, why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see quite another thing? We have this point therefore to prove. How many examples do we produce to show you, that this is not what nature made it; but what the benediction has consecrated it; and that the benediction is of greater force than nature, because by the benediction, nature itself is changed! Moses cast his rod upon the ground, and it became a serpent; he caught hold of the serpent's tail, and it recovered the nature of a rod. The rivers of Egypt, &c. Thou hast read of the creation of the world: If Christ, by his word, was able to make something out of nothing, shall he not be thought able to change one thing into another."

My friend spoke of the period at which this doctrine was introduced, and quoted Scotus. I venture my life, that he does not know who Scotus was, or when he lived. I ask my friend to tell me, who is this Scotus, to whom he referred.

Mr. Campbell.—I presume he was a father of the church.

Bishop Purcell.—I do not speak disrespectfully of my friend, but I do not like this index learning:

"Which turns no student pale,
Yet holds the eel of science by the tail."

There were two individuals whom he has confounded. The first, called Scotus Evigena, lived in the ninth century, and wrote a treatise against the real presence, which was condemned in many councils. The second flourished in the fourteenth century, and taught theology in Oxford and Paris. Or, instead of either of the foregoing, does the gentleman quote Soto, the theologian, sent by Charles V. of Germany, to the council of Trent? Of which of them does the gentleman speak? I pause for a reply. (Pauses.)

Mr. Campbell.—You may proceed.

Bishop Purcell.—I will proceed to settle this point.

Mr. Campbell. That is not the question before us.

Bishop Purcell. Well, then, my friends, I will take up the subject of indulgences, against which my friend had directed his batteries. An indulgence is no license to commit sin. The Catholic church anathematizes the doctrine that any man, or set of men, can grant a license to commit sin. She teaches that an indulgence is nothing more nor less than a remission of the temporal punishment, which often remains attached to sin, after the eternal guilt has been forgiven to the sinner, on his sincere repentance. Before proving this doctrine both scriptural and rational, and that the church is guilty of encouraging no immorality by the power which she exercises in the granting of indulgences, I must shew that the charge of immorality presses heavily on my opponent's doctrine, and not on mine, for he teaches that the distinction between greater and lesser sins is not found in scripture. He has advocated the monstrous, and insupportable doctrine, that the child who tells an untruth, to save itself from punishment, is as guilty as the parricide who cuts his father's throat! and accuses Catholics of being

immoral, because they do not subscribe to such a doctrine as this! What is the effect of this doctrine, that all sins are equal? Why, it is this: that the man who has committed the slightest sin, is as guilty in the sight of God, and as deserving of being damned, as if his sins were ever so enormous. "If this be my lot," is his spontaneous reasoning, "I see no cause why my passions should not have all the advantage of this doctrine. I will, therefore, continue to sin. No natural law, no divine legislation, no civil convention, or moral restraint, shall debar me of my pleasures." This is revolting; it is horrible Scripture, reason, and Catholicism, anathematize it. I now resume he proof of my position, touching indulgences, and maintain that after the eternal guilt is remitted, a temporal pain is often inflicted for the satisfaction of divine justice. Thus, when Adam and Eve had sinned in paradise, when they had incurred the Divine displeasure, and heard the dread sentence pronounced against them and their posterity, even in his wrath the Almighty remembered mercy. They were driven from Eden, but not into hell. In other words, the eternal guilt of their sin was forgiven, but the temporal punishment still remained to be endured. (There is some doubt whether Eve partakes of her consort's happiness in heaven, or not; but Adam, we are assured by scripture, is in heaven.) "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," said the Lord, "the earth shall be accursed in thy toil, briars and thorns," &c. We are bearing a part of their punishment. We feel the effects of this primeval prevarication. The whole earth is a hospital. Poverty, crime, disease, war, pestilence, and famine; physical, moral, and mental afflictions, and evils; all the quarreling; all the differences of opinion; this very controversy; all this is a part of the temporal punishment of our first parents' transgression. This shews the difference between the temporal and eternal punishment of sin. Behold another illustration. David takes Uriah's wife—he orders Uriah into the front of the battle that he might be killed. The Almighty, incensed at his double crime, sends his prophet to rebuke him, and David trembles before his wrath. God is moved, and pardons him. He remits the eternal guilt of his sin, but not its temporal punishment. "The child that is born for thee shall die." We know all the evils that followed; Absalom, &c. The doctrine of indulgences is this: WHEN A HUMAN BEING DOES EVERY THING IN HIS POWER TO ATONE FOR SIN, God has left a power in the church, to remit a part or the entire of the temporal punishment due to it. It is always understood, that no matter what the church does, the indulgence is of no effect, if the repentance be not sincere. I will give you a striking example from scripture. It is the case where St. Paul absolved the incestuous man of Corinth, 2d Cor. ii. 6, 8, who had been guilty, even in the early age of the church, of a crime which struck the hearts of all the church with dismay. St. Paul wrote to Corinth and said, when he heard that the man was overwhelmed with contrition, and shunned by all the people, "To him that is such a one this rebuke is sufficient, that is given by many. And to whom you have pardoned anything, I also For what I have pardoned, if I have pardoned any thing, for your sakes have I done it IN THE PERSON OF CHRIST." One text is worth twenty arguments. The obedience rendered to St. Paul on this occasion, by the church of Corinth, my friend denounces. But the early christians were more humble, and Paul was guilty of no assumption in demand

ing it. "In the person of Christ,"—mark those words—that he, in the person of Christ, forgave—what?—not the eternal guilt of the incestuous man—God alone could forgive that; but the temporal punishment; to restore him to the privileges of the church and of christian society. Nothing is more frequent in the ecclesiastical history of the early ages, than the narrative of the acts of the martyrs; and this, among others, of their being visited in prison, or met in their way to execution, by persons condemned to perform public penances, according to the discipline of the church in those days, and supplicated for a ticket, or other intimation of intercession in their behalf, with the pastors of the church, that the term of these penances might be abridged, in consideration of the martyr's generous sacrifices. One drop of Christ's precious blood was sufficient to ransom a thousand worlds. He left this treasure and its keys to the church, saying, "Whatever you shall loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven," &c. But I will give you other examples to illustrate the doctrine of indulgences. The English church grants indulgences. Luther granted them, of an extraordinary kind too. Our government grants indulgences. An insolvent debtor hangs his head with shame; there is nothing he would not do to pay his debts. The law takes him to jail—he gives a schedule of his property, and upon surrendering all he possesses in the world, upon oath, he is allowed to take the benefit of the act. This is what the church does to sinners, who sincerely repent and do all they can, first, to pay the spiritual debts that stand against them. Shew me that there is anything wrong in the insolvent laws, and then you may find fault with the practice of the church. As for the pope, or bishop, giving a license to sin, I will repeat as often as it is repeated, that the Catholic church reprobates it. If all the bishops in the world, and the pope were to sign such a license, the sinner would not be forgiven, if he remained in sin. God himself does not pardon sin upon these terms. But I cannot consent that the gentleman should force down our throats doctrines that we abominate.—[Time expired.]

Four o'clock, P. M.

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

Really, my friends, it would seem as if I ought to go back some two or three days to help my opponent forward to the subject now before us. But I will not. There is no person in this house, with the exception of my ingenious opponent, who believes that I represent all sins as equal as respects man. Though as respects the divine law, as already observed, they are equally transgressions of it. Hence, as James the apostle avers: "He that offends in *one point*," though he should keep every other, "*is guilty of all*"! The gentleman, then, may defend his "white lies," and other violations of God's law, as he pleases; but God will show the universe that, as respects his character, as Lawgiver and King, the least infraction, as respects man, is the highest insult that can be rendered to the Lawgiver. Eve's "little sin," as the infidels call it, is the best exposition of the logic of Roman theology. Though it differs much in the estimation of man from the treachery of Judas: yet, does not every page and letter in man's sad history, bear witness, that even the pulling off an apple against the law of God, is an offence that justifies the Governor of the Universe for having suffered the whole creation on our

planet to groan and travail together in pain and death for thousands of years.

To the unpropitious destiny of my opponent I attribute all his remarks on my saying that I read no tracts in confutation of transubstantiation. Does that prove that I cannot refute—or that I have not refuted his defence of it. The bible alone qualifies me to expose all his sophistry, or that of any man, on that grossest and most unfeasible of all the impostures that have, in any age or nation, been obtruded on mankind.

The gentleman has spoken of various natural transubstantiations Astonishing! Who ever thought any thing else, but that all organized bodies, all earthly substances, nay, indeed, that all matter was susceptible of real changes, and new combinations and transubstantiations? But where is the analogy? They are real and apparent, visible and sensible transubstantiations. But the universe affords no transubstantiation, similar to that for which the Bishop contends—Nothing transubstantiated, and yet the same to all our sense and reason.

But in the name of reason itself, what distress or pressure of misfortune has induced this learned gentleman to appeal to the miracle in Cana of Galilee—to the transubstantiation of water into wine? That was really a transubstantiation. It did not look like water—taste like water, smell like water, nor operate like water. It was real wine, in color, taste, smell, and all its sensible properties. What a refutation has the gentleman found in his own illustration!!

The Bishop's remarks upon "*eating the word*," &c. &c., are equally unhappy, and extravagant. He has not done himself any honor on this occasion. Jesus said, "it is my meat and my drink to do the will of him that sent me." Truth is an aliment of the soul, and doing the will of heaven is a *feast* to every christian. But can the soul feast on literal flesh and blood?! 'Tis an outrage on common sense!

I was glad to hear him even quote the words, "Judge you what I say:" any appeal to reason, any word favorable to examination, coming from that quarter, falls on my ear like the sound of the dulcimer. Jesus says, "Why do you not of yourselves judge what is right;" and Paul says, "Judge what I say;" and John commands, "Believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, for many false prophets are gone forth into the world." Now all these commands are addressed to the common mass of christians. Well, then, says Paul, "The *loaf* for which we give thanks, is it not the communion of the body of Christ," &c.; "and the cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood?" &c.: and the whole is called the Lord's table, the Lord's supper—an institution in remembrance of one that is absent, "TILL HE COME:"—not the eating of one present, but the memorial of one absent. "You then," says Paul, "do show forth the Lord's death *till he come*."

The Corinthian abuses show, that they had no notion of a wafer and no wine—of a mass, a transubstantiation. Paul reproved them for their irregularities, and said this was not to eat the *Lord's supper*, (not to partake of a mass): for some had eaten and even drunk to excess. The rich had brought a large supper, and put the poor to shame, who had no supper to bring. These were abuses which could never have arisen out of the doctrine of transubstantiation. In one word, there was as much transubstantiation in the passover, because it is called the

"Lord's passover," as there is in the institution of the supper, because it is called the "Lord's body:" and he that cannot thus "discern the Lord's body," in this institution, is not to be reasoned with on any religious question.

Next comes the gentleman's splendid episode on the identification of the unfortunate *Scotus*, whose peculiar age and country I am no more bound to remember, or to tell here, than I am to relate the personal or family history of every individual I quote. How many authors are daily quoted, whose age and country, not one in a hundred, may be able to relate with historic accuracy! Are those who cite Copernicus, Zoroaster, Euclid, or even Newton, obliged to tell when or where they were born, lived and died? It is, however, on the authority of Bellarmine I quoted this celebrated Roman Catholic author, and ought I not, on such an endorsement, to regard Scotus as of high authority in the Roman church?

Time is becoming very precious, and as I have only two speeches after to-day, I shall not go farther into the details of the proposition, now under discussion, especially as I have not been met by the Bishop on the two grand errors which nourish and sustain the baseless dream of purgatory and the sacraments of penance, auricular confession, the mass, &c. &c.

Indulgence is not identical with absolution, as my opponent seems to argue. Indulgence, as the term imports, is a licence to sin: absolution is the forgiveness of sin. An indulgence gives licence to sin, because it promises the person prospectively an exemption from the punishment; and even to remain, in full force, in the moment of death!

My seventh proposition says:

"The Roman Catholic religion, if infallible and insusceptible of reformation as alleged, is essentially anti-American, being opposed to the genius of all free institutions, and positively subversive of them, opposing the general reading of the scriptures, and the diffusion of useful knowledge among the whole community, so essential to liberty and the permanency of good government."

"Essentially anti-American."—This I have so far proved, as reference has already been made to those doctrines, which make the Roman Catholic population abject slaves to their priests, bishops, and popes—to that hierarchy, which has always opposed freedom of thought, of speech, and of action, whether in literature, politics, or religion. Such are the laws of mind—such the intellectual and moral constitution of man, that if in religion the mind be enslaved to any superstition, especially in youth, it rarely or ever can be emancipated and invigorated. The benumbing and paralizing influence of Romanism is such, as to disqualify a person for the relish and enjoyment of political liberty. For in all history, civil liberty follows in the wake of religious liberty; insomuch, that it is almost an oracle of philosophy, that religious liberty is the cause, and political liberty an effect of that cause, without which it never has been found. Compare not Protestant America with the republics of Greece or Rome; for there is scarcely any point of coincidence in this respect. There never was on earth so free and so equitable an institution as the Protestant institutions of these United States.

We shall now exemplify the spirit and tendency of Romanism, taken from the five hundred years in which it was most triumphant.

As a specimen of that abject slavery of Romanists to their superiors,

and of the humility of the popes, of which my friend has so often spoken, take the following example.

"According to this doctrine then current at Rome, in the last Lateran great synod, under the Pope's nose, and in his ear, one bishop styled him *Prince of the world;* another orator called him *King* of kings, and Monarch of the earth; another great prelate said of him, that *he had all power above all powers, both of heaven and earth.* And the same roused up Pope Leo X. in these brave terms: "Snatch up therefore the two-edged sword of divine power, committed to thee; and enjoin, command, and charge, that an universal peace and alliance be made among christians for at least ten years; and to that bind kings in fetters of the great king, and constrain nobles by the iron manacles of censures: for to thee is given all power in heaven and in earth."

"This is the doctrine which Barronius, with a Roman confidence, doth so often assert and drive forward, saying, "that there can be no doubt of it, but that the *civil principality* is subject to *the sacerdotal:* and that God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church." Epis. Patrac. Sess. 10, p. 133. Barronius, Annals, 57. 23.

It is Barronius, and not Du Pin, says, "that *God has made the political government subject to the spiritual.*" This is the true doctrine of popery. But we shall hear another great cardinal.

Again Bellarmine says; "By reason of the spiritual power, the pope, at least indirectly, hath a supreme power even in temporal matters."

Concerning which, Dr. Barrow rightly observes, "If the pope may strike princes, it matters not much whether it be by a downright blow or slantingly."

We shall now very hastily run back from A. D. 1585 to 730, and give a few specimens of the true spirit, and tone, and action, of this institution, during its ascendency.

A. D. 1585. "The bull of Pope Sixtus V. against *the two sons of wrath,* Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, beginneth thus: 'The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal king, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes.—It passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all—and if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer.' And then he proceeds to thunder against them, 'We deprive them and their posterity forever of their dominions, and kingdoms;' and accordingly he depriveth those princes of their kingdoms and dominions, absolveth their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbiddeth them to pay any obedience to them. 'By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty and obedience, and do charge and forbid all and every of them that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands." Bulla Sixti V. Contra Henr. Navarre, R. &c.

Is this the genius of our government? Are these the doctrines of the United States? Here you have kings hurled from their thrones and subjects released from their allegiance, without ceremony, by the vicars of Christ and the head of the church! Who is this that sets aside oaths, and religious obligations, in the name of the Lord? "Why," says the modern Roman Catholic, "do you bring up these old things?" Not so very old! But will the bishop mention the council that ever repudiated this doctrine?

The bishop says, 'they have been repudiated.' I thank him for conceding that they once existed! But now for the proof of their repudiation. Nothing is infallible but a general council; and what general council has set since the days of pope Sixtus V.?!! The council of Trent convened Dec. 13, 1545, and all its decrees were confirmed by the pope Jan. 26, 1564; consequently, the bull of pope Sixtus V

is the bull of the Reformed Infallible Roman church after the council of Trent!! If it were orthodox then, it is orthodox now.

We shall now hear pope Pius V. (almost canonized,) excommunicate the queen of England, and for aught I know, we Protestants were all excommunicated at the same time.

A. D. 1570. "He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy, Catholic and Apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power; this one he hath constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build."—And in the same bull he declares, that 'he thereby deprives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity and obedience." [Camp. Hist. anno. 1570.

That this was not peculiar to one individual, but of the spirit of the system, appears from the following facts:

Pope Clement VI. did pretend to depose the Emperor Lewis IV.

Pope Clement V. in the great synod of Vienna, declared the emperor subject to him, or standing obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty. [Clem. lib. ii. tit. 9.

Pope Boniface VIII. hath a decree extant in the canon law running thus 'We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

A. D. 1294. "For one sword, saith he, must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power;—whence, if the earthly power doth go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power." Ibid.

This definition says Dr. Barrow, at the foot of whose pages we have the Latin original of all these decrees, might pass for rant of that boisterous pope (a man above measure, ambitious and arrogant) vented in his passion against king Philip of France, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no papal decree is capable) of being expressly confirmed by one of their general councils; for 'We (saith Pope Leo X. in his bull read and passed in the Lateran council) do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council.' Accordingly Mech Cauns saith, that 'the Lateran council did renew and approve that extravagant (indeed extravagant) constitution:' and Barronius saith of it, that 'all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth who do not by discord fall from the church.'

The truth is, pope Boniface did not invent that proposition, but borrowed it from the school; for Thomas Aquinas in his work against the Greeks, pretendeth to show, that *it is of necessity to salvation to be subject* to the Roman *Pontiff*."

The appendix to Mart Pol saith of pope Boniface VIII. '*Regem se Regum, Mundi Monarcham, unicum in spiritualibus et temporalibus Dominum promulgavit;*' that he openly declared himself to be the king of kings, monarch of the world, and sole lord and governor both in spirituals and temporals.

Before him, pope Innocent IV. did hold and exemplify the same notion; declaring the emperor Frederick II. his vassal, and denouncing in his general council of Lyons, a sentence of deprivation against him in these terms: We having, about the foregoing and many other his wicked miscarriages, had before a careful deliberation with our brethren and the holy council, seeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and that it was said unto us in the person of St. Peter the apostle, whatever thou shalt bind on earth—the said prince (who hath rendered himself unworthy of empire and kingdoms, and of all honor and dignity, and who for his iniquities is cast away by God, and that he should not reign or command, being bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honor and dignity) do show, denounce, and accordingly, by sentence, deprive; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath forever; by apostolical authority firmly prohibiting, that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing,

that whoever shall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favor to him as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the band of excommunication."

Before him, pope Innocent the third, (that true wonder of the world, and changer of the age,) did affirm the pontifical authority so much to exceed the royal power, as the sun doth the moon; "and applieth to the former that of the prophet Jeremiah: *Ecce, constitui te super gentes et regna;*—see, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down," &c.

ARTICLE xxiii. Pope Pius IV. "I do acknowledge the holy Catholic and apostolic Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the bishop of Rome, the successor of Peter, the prince of apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ." [Time expired.]

Half past 4 o'clock, P. M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

My friends, Mr. Kinmont will read, before I close, what Liguori says on the subject of Mr. Smith's charges against the Catholic church. It affords me more pleasure than I can express, to have an opportunity of proving, by a gentleman, who is not a Catholic, and therefore is a disinterested witness, as far as I and my religion are concerned, that it is all a base slander.

We have heard a great deal about the pope's deposing kings, and absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and so on. In your presence and hearing therefore, I am going to put my friend into one of the most terrible dilemmas in which he has ever been placed in his life. Now, sir, (addressing Mr. C.) suppose you had been living at the time of the American Revolution, and were witness to the tyranny, which these colonies had to endure, on the part of his most gracious majesty, king George III. of England: when the spirit of a mighty and a numerous people was roused by excess of wrong, to make one vast effort for freedom. Under these circumstances, the General in chief, the officers, and the army, the revenue department, and postmasters, all of whom had taken an oath of allegiance to that king, appeal to you, inquiring, what is to be done? Asking you if the oath was binding What would be your reply?

MR. CAMPBELL. If they had taken a solemn oath, they should not break it.

BISHOP PURCELL. Then was George Washington a perjurer, and all the officers of the army and navy, all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and all the subjects of the king of Great Britain were perjurers!!

MR. CAMPBELL. That does not follow from my answer to your question.

BISHOP PURCELL. And what would you have persons to do, who had taken the oath of allegiance?

MR. CAMPBELL. "It is better not to vow, than to vow and not pay"—as saith the good Book.

Mr. Campbell rose and said, that for his part, we should always do our duty, and leave consequences to God. When he intends the deliverance of a people, he will effect for them redemption, as he did for his people out of Egypt.

BISHOP PURCELL. There is no oath of artificial contrivance, stronger than the natural tie between the subject and the king, the governed and the government; of whatever form it may be. This is an oath, prior and superior to all other oaths. But if those of the colonists, who had not taken a conventional oath, or an oath of office, to the king of England, had alone rebelled, what could they have done? Were not the army and the civil and military officers bound by their oath to resist rebellion? How then could human rights have been vindicated, or human wrongs redressed? You have repeatedly said "*vox populi*,

vox Dei," in the course of this discussion; in other words that the people's will was the most authentic interpretation of the will of God, that it could give a call to the ministry and give to its choice a right to exercise spiritual powers!! Thus, my friends, you see the dilemma to which the gentleman has been reduced, and that, while Catholics are reproached for their slavish tenets, he himself teaches the whole doctrine of passive obedience, and condemns the very principle of the American Revolution. I leave you to reflect on what the gentleman has uttered. Now mark the difference. Had my friend decided my question, as the Father of his country did similar ones, he would have been sustained by the voice and the spirit of the American people—and of all denominations thereof, both Catholics and Protestants, the contemporaries of a struggle in which, they, who engaged at this side the water, "periled EVERY THING BUT THEIR SACRED HONOR." Whereas, the pope, when he absolved from their oath the English Catholics, whose were the lands, and the houses, the churches and the schools, the hospitals and the glory of England; whose sufferings exceeded those of the American colonists as much as the Alleghanies do a grain of sand, decided upon far better grounds than did the sages of our Revolution, that passive obedience, under such circumstances, ceased to be a virtue. Yet one word more—the absolution was considered by those very Catholics, an exceeding of his powers, and they did not act upon it. His decision was, for them, no article of faith.

My friend's next resort, in the way of documentary evidence, is to the Encyclopædia of religious knowledge, just published. He does not know the author, or the entire title of the work, nor the history of its "getting up." Fessenden is the author of the volume.

MR. CAMPBELL. I do know the author, but bishop Purcell does not.

BISHOP PURCELL. That is Protestant jesuitism. He is the publisher. In the New York Churchman of a recent date, there is a story told of a most egregious imposture practised on the patrons of this same volume. The editors professed to give the views of the different sects, in the very words of their respective standards, or accredited writers, and carefully disguised the fact, that it was to be subservient to the interests of one particular sect, the Baptists. They applied to an Episcopal minister, to write an article on Episcopacy, and to patronize the publication. This looked like fair play—the poor minister was caught in the snare and signed his name recommending the Encyclopædia. But lo! when the work appeared, it was wholly opposed to Episcopalianism; and this flagrant violation of the faith due to the public from the publishers, elicited a most cutting, but at the same time, most merited castigation from the (Episcopal) Churchman. I hope the article will be read, by every sincere enquirer after truth, that he may be able to appreciate, according to its value, this new humbug.

We come back to the Jesuits. It was so notorious to Frederick, the Great, of Prussia, that the Jesuits had been calumniated, and most foully dealt with, that, Protestant, as he was, he received them in his dominions, and placed them in many of his colleges. He told the other kings of Europe that they would soon be sorry for the expulsion of an order that had done so much for literature and science. "The day will come," said he, "when you will be offering me, 300 pounds for a procurator, 400, for a professor, 600, for a Rector, and a *per valorem*, for

inferior officers of the Jesuits, but depend upon it, I will fleece you well. I will make you pay dearly for your folly." Frederick was a great judge of human nature, my friends, and he had a keen sense of the superior claims of the Jesuits, for good scholarship, and morality. Hence his kingdom and his palace were given them, with his own confidence. The celebrated preacher, Bourdaloue, was a Jesuit, and who has ever preached a sounder, or a purer morality?

My worthy friend said, the Jesuits supported kings and monarchs, and were for crushing the people; and most grossly did he contradict himself, by stating almost at the same moment, that they were the most formidable enemies of kings, and it was for their opposition to their measures, that kings banished them from several of the kingdoms of Europe. Thus they were, according to his account, the supporters of kings and the enemies of kings! The infamous Pombal of Portugal began the crusade against the Jesuits. Read his history, and it will be their best vindication—or see them among the savages of PARAGUAY! This word alone reveals to the intelligent reader, a series of wonders performed for God, humanity and virtue, such as the world, perhaps, has never witnessed since the establishment of Christianity.

Next comes the theocracy of the Jews. And is not Jehovah *our* king also? Is he not ever Lord over all? Do we not acknowledge that there is no power but from him? My argument was this. If it be essentially incompatible with liberty, to obey the same ruler in temporal and ecclesiastical things, God could not have established such a government on earth. But, God did establish such an authority; therefore, it is not incompatible with liberty. I do not wish to see it now, unless God should vouchsafe to be as manifestly our king, as he was the king of the Jews; which is not to happen under the Christian dispensation, as it did under the old law. Christ has declared, that his kingdom is not of this world. My worthy opponent said, that the fleshly body and the heavenly body of Christ, were not the same. I ask, then, what became of his fleshly body? Did it rot in the ground? I call on him to answer this question. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," says David, "nor *wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.*" (Ps. xv. 10.) It was spiritualized, but still the same body, according to what he said to his disciples, frighted at this apparition, supposing they had seen a spirit: "*See my hands and my feet: it is myself: handle and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.*" (Luke xxiv. 39.) He is "ever living," (Heb. vii. 25,) to make intercession for us, by the eloquent mouths of his wounds, which he exhibits, for us, to his Father in heaven. He gave them, as he had previously done to Thomas, the signs they asked; while he reprehended them, as he did that apostle, "*for slowness of belief.*" It was thus that, when the Jews murmured for meat in the wilderness, loathing as light food the manna of heaven, God gave them meat to satiety; and afterwards, for their unbelief, not only excluded them from the land of promise, but scattered their carcases in the desert.

My friend told you, how much afraid he was of Catholics. My friends, what a pretty tale he made of it. I was really going to say: "Poor baby, do not be so afraid: do not be such a coward: shake off those old woman's fears about raw head and bloody bones, and be more manly." Washington, though he lived in a less enlightened

age than this, was not afraid of Catholics. They stood by his side in the battles for freedom. They never flinched, even at the cannon's mouth. When he drew his sword for this republic, they followed its beaming to victory or to death. La Fayette, and hosts of others, whose chaplains had said mass for them in the morning before the engagement, bled or conquered in the trenches of liberty. And never was greeting more cordial, or triumph more glorious, than theirs, when they mingled their salutations and tears with those of their American companions in arms, at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, in York-Town. Witness, too, those noble poles, (Kosciusko! may his shade rise up, and rebuke this spirit of intolerance!) the Irish, the South Americans, all fighting for liberty, all Catholics. Look at William Tell, a Roman Catholic. Go to Venice, for five hundred years a republic, though surrounded by absolute governments. Look at the little republic of San Marino, of which John Adams has related the remarkable history. There is not such a people for liberty, on the globe, as the Roman Catholics. Look nearer home, at Maryland, where the CATHOLICS WERE THE FIRST THAT PROCLAIMED FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE!! LET THIS BE OUR ANSWER TO A THOUSAND SLANDERS.

I come now to the oath of bishops. I have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. It was the first I ever took. So have all my brethren in the episcopacy taken it. The head of the Catholic church in the United States, is an American; so is a large number of our clergy. The rest preferred this country, believing there was here, what their own country denies, what our constitution guarantees, liberty of conscience. The oath that the bishops take, is not a recognition of any temporal power of the pope, out of his own territory, called the States of the Church, in Italy. We would never take the oath in the odious sense, which my opponent would force upon it. This solemn and authentic abjuration should, alone, be sufficient to settle this account; for I surely know what I swear to, and that what I here state will be seen and read by those, whom no human fear could deter from denouncing me for error, if I could be guilty of any, on a point with which I ought to be so well informed. The arms of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual. He that takes the sword, we believe with Jesus Christ, will die by the sword. Hence, we assume no obligations by that oath, but such as God imposes; and those to be discharged in his own divine spirit of meekness, charity, and good will. It is cruel to impute to us crimes, and to insist that we hold doctrines, which we disavow. Suppose I were so base, as to suborn two or three wicked men, to calumniate my friend Mr. Campbell, and to pretend that he was in active correspondence, for treasonable purposes, with some foreign king, ought my opponent to be condemned unheard? And, in the absence of proof, should we, in spite of all his protestations to the contrary, condemn him on suspicion? And, if any family had their reputation blasted by some base miscreant, ought this to destroy their estimation in society, where his baseness is known? All the ministers in the world may exert their talents and influence, to preserve and promote peace and love among mankind; but as long as differences in religion are suffered to create jealousy, distrust, and hatred between brethren; and certain men make it their trade, to go from town to town, for the express purpose of fanning these embers

of discord, fomenting this hatred; so long will the purest and best men continue to be the victims of the malevolent, and our religion, and our constitution, prove to be no more than the idlest day-dream. All the kings and states of Europe, Protestant and Catholic, know that the bishops take that oath, and yet, in none of them is a bishop looked upon with distrust. In Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, England, the government never molests a bishop about an oath, which is known to contain nothing at which the most captious statesman could justly take exception. Is not this sufficient proof, that there is in that oath nothing of what my friend attributes to it. I assure him, Catholic bishops are not the enemies that this republic needs to fear.

Every argument my friend employs against the Eucharist, only proves him an inconsistent reasoner, or a deist, as far as the argument goes. The paschal lamb was a figure of the eucharist, and the figure was surely nobler than the reality, if we have nothing better than a bit of bread in the eucharist. But the apostle tells us that the weak and beggarly elements of the Jewish rites, were to obtain their glorious fulfilment in the land of grace—and only in the Catholic church is this verified. We eat the paschal lamb sprinkled with, or in other words, veiled beneath the appearance of bread; and every objection urged against the real presence is equally strong, or weak against the incarnation. Can this paste, says Mr. C. be God? I answer by another question: can this informal embryo in a virgin's womb be God?

We come now to Scotus. The gentleman says he heard or saw him quoted by the Catholics. He says many people quote Zoroaster and Confucius without knowing any thing about them. There is no parallel between them. If a man quotes, as evidence, a writer, like Scotus, he ought to know who he was. I do not blame him for knowing nothing of Chinese theology. But of Christian theology, it is a shame for a man, who pretends to be, himself, a teacher in Israel, and a polemic, who challenges Catholic bishops, to be so grossly ignorant.

My friend says we bow to the pope. In England, Protestants bow to the foot-stool of the throne. I bow to any friend I meet—I do not pay him, nor the pope divine honor. We know the meaning of our own bows, and words, and oaths, and would not pledge them insincerely, much less blasphemously. No wonder that the pope *let himself be persuaded to do good*, in the case cited by my friend. Should he have preferred a contrary course? Have done evil?

Temporal power is inferior to spiritual power, as human power is inferior to divine; just as heaven is superior to earth, in dignity and value, and God superior to creatures, in every divine excellence, but not in the sense that he who has been invested with spiritual power by God, has also been invested by him, in a kingdom which is not of this world, with temporal power. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest scholar of the 13th century, and eminent scholar in the dark ages, read his works, with those of a Kempis, for proofs of Catholic piety, instead of garbled extracts from forgeries, and the works of apostates, whom we discarded from our communion for immoralities, which no Protestant communion would tolerate. They breathe the spirit of devotion, the spirit of God.

My friends, Mr. Kinmont will now tell you whether the pretended quotation of Mr. Smith from Liguori, is correct. You will recollect that Mr. Smith said, that, according to Liguori, the Catholic church

allows priests to keep concubines upon a fine. Upon hearing this I at once said that the charge was an infamous falsehood; and I will now show that Liguori said no such thing; that Liguori says the contrary. If I tell a falsehood Mr. Kinmont will confound me; if I do not, somebody does. Thus truth will triumph and falsehood be confounded.

Mr. Kinmont. I am called on in my professional character simply, and have no part or lot in this debate, (Mr. K. is understood to be a Swedenborgian) I sincerely believe they are disputing about shadows, and that both parties are equally in the wrong; but I will do what I can to assist in clearing up the difficulty *of fact*. I find it stated in Samuel Smith's work and marked as a quotation from Liguori under the article headed "concubines of clergy."

Concubines of the Clergy.—"A bishop however poor he may be, cannot appropriate to himself pecuniary fines without the license of the Apostolical See. But he ought to apply them to pious uses. Much less can he apply those fines to any thing else but pious uses, which the *Council of Trent* has laid upon non-resident clergymen, or upon those *clergymen who keep concubines*."—Ligor. Ep. Doc. Mor. p. 444.

And the following is Smith's commentary.—

How shameful a thing, that the *Apostolical See*, as they call it, that is, that the pope of Rome, should enrich his coffers by the fines which he receives from the profligacy of his Clergy! If they keep *concubines*, they must pay *a fine* for it; but if they *marry*, they must be *excommunicated!* This accounts, at once, for the custom in Spain, and other countries, and especially on the island of Cuba, and in South America; where almost every priest has *concubines*, who are known by the name of *nieces*. These abandoned men are willing to pay the fine rather than forego the gratification of their lustful appetites. The "Narrative of Rosamond," who was once herself one of these concubines, in the island of Cuba, portrays the general licentiousness of the popish clergy, in colors so shocking, that the picture cannot be looked at without a blush. Here we see the doctrine fully exemplified by practice. This keeping of concubines, is a thing so common in the popish West India islands, and in South America, that it is rarely noticed. The offspring of this priestly intercourse are numerous. They are known to be the children of the priests; but, because it is the *general custom, it is lawful;* and it passes off merely with a joke or sarcasm.

This is the text and commentary as I find it in Mr. Smith's book. This is marked as Liguori, p. 444. If taken from Liguori at all, it is taken from a different edition. The present purports to be a complete copy of the works of Liguori. It bears no mark of being an expurgated edition. It is said to be an *edition of what was said and written before with additions*. On turning to the place where he treats of fines and punishments inflicted for concubinage, he says that priests guilty of this offence, were, after two ineffectual reprimands, to be degraded from their functions. He refers to the council of Trent, and states what that council decreed, Smith throws us on Liguori, and Liguori on the council of Trent. There is nothing in Liguori relating to that subject but this. The council was called about the year 1542. This edition of the decrees of the council was edited by the council itself. I have had an abstract taken which I will read. It would take some time to read the original, and I have a translation made by one of my scholars. I will read this.

"In the records of the decrees of the council of Trent, Session 25th, chap. 14th, there is described the method of proceeding in the cases of clergy, who are guilty of concubinage.

After shewing the scandal and enormity of this sin, especially in clergy, whose integrity of life, should recommend and impress the precepts of religion and of

the church; the sacred synod forbids that any individual holding the clerical office shall keep at his house or elsewhere, any mistress or unchaste woman or cohabit with any such, under the penalty of having enforced against him the sacred canons, and ecclesiastical statutes regarding that matter. It is, then, especially enacted that if when admonished by their superiors they shall not desist from all such unlawful and forbidden acts, they shall be deprived of the *third part* of all their revenues and ecclesiastical dues: and if still persevering in their course, they shall not even heed a *second* admonition, they shall be deprived of *all* their ecclesiastical revenue and suspended from the administration of ecclesiastical functions; and if, during this suspension, they shall continue obstinate and *incorrigible*, they shall be declared altogether unfit and incompetent to exercise any spiritual office whatever belonging to the church; unless after a clear and unequivocal amendment of life, the church should think proper to withdraw the disqualification, and allow them to resume their former station of honor and trust. But if after the resumption of the duties of their office, they should resort to those impure practices which they had abandoned, besides the infliction of the above named penalties, an act of excommunication with its sword of justice shall cut them off, as dead branches from the body of the faithful and church of the living God. And it is farther enacted that no appeal, or exemption shall hinder the execution of any of these decrees, but that they shall be summarily executed, at the will of the bishop, after he has ascertained the existence of the enormities. A similar provision in its effects and spirit is made with relation to bishops themselves, but the order of proceeding is different.

This is in substance the provision of the decree of the council of Trent. Ses 25, cap. 14. [Time expired.]

SATURDAY, January 21st, *Half-past 9 o'clock, A. M.*

Mr. Campbell rises—

Under any other circumstances than the present, I should have insisted on being allowed the same number of minutes over my stipulated hour, which my friend has taken with Mr. Kinmont's exposition, over his usual time.

Bishop Purcell.—I have no objection to Mr. Campbell's occupying that much more time. It is right that he should.

Mr. Campbell. I feel obliged to the gentleman for his courtesy, and will therefore proceed. My friends, you will doubtless have observed, that of all the extracts read from Ligori, found on the pages of Smith, but one was challenged by the Bishop, on the ground that it is not found in the page of St. Ligori in the edition now before us. The case is simply this. According to the moral theology of the church of Rome, marriage is a greater sin than concubinage: for, if a priest marry, he is forthwith excommunicated; but if he keep a concubine he only pays a fine. This is the statement that Mr. Smith makes, and translates the passage in Ligori as follows:

"A bishop, however poor he may be, cannot appropriate to himself pecuniary fines without the license of the Apostolical see. But he ought to apply them to pious uses. Much less can he apply those fines to any thing else but pious uses, which the council of Trent has laid upon non-resident clergymen, or upon *those clergymen who keep concubines.*" Ligor. Ep. Doc. Mor. p. 444.

Now, Bishop Purcell denies that there is such a passage in Ligori, or that there is in the council of Trent any such arrangement; and in proof of it, he has brought us an edition of St. Ligori, and the decrees of the council of Trent. But the edition which he has produced, has not, upon the page referred to, the passage quoted. In the passage quoted, the reference to Ligori is to a decree of Trent. But

there are always two ways of quoting a passage: the one *verbatim*; and the other, *substantially*. Whether Ligori quotes the decree of Trent literally, or only quotes the substance, we cannot affirm. The bishop referred this matter to Mr. Kinmont, without consulting me. It was an exparte reference; and therefore, comes not fairly before us. Although I have no objection to Mr. Kinmont; but on the contrary, I think him very competent to decide a matter of this kind, if he had time to examine all these volumes: and perhaps, had I been consulted, I should have agreed in selecting him: yet as the reference is wholly one sided; it can have no authority here. However, so far as the decrees of Trent have been read, they do speak of fines or forfeitures of those who have concubines, and these do substantially sustain all that I have alleged.

I have this morning received a paper of Mr. Smith's, in which I find an article "*on the authority of Ligori*," which I will now read.

"Alphonsus de Ligori was canonized by Pope Pius VII. on the 15th of September, A. D. 1815, under the title of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lord Alphonsus de Ligorio. He has written the Modern Theology of the church of Rome, in nine large volumes, containing 4701 pages, which was published at Mechlin, *Superiorum Permissu*, A. D. 1828.

His Theology is called, in the preface of the work, "The Light." His doctrine after having been explored, was approved of by Pope Pius, VII. on the 18th May, 1803, after the Sacred Congregation of Rites had given it their sanction, and had declared that there was NOTHING IN IT WORTHY OF CENSURE. Ligori was spoken of by the sacred Pontiff, Leo XII. in the highest terms; and his eminence the Serene Cardinal of Castile, the Major Penitentiary, in his letters to the Bishop of Massilien, says, that Saint Ligori is not only an ornament to the Episcopal character by the illustrious splendor of his virtues; but he shines resplendent by his SOUND DOCTRINE, *which is according to God.* Doctrinam sanctam, ac secundum Deum." (Pref. Editoris.)

In his preface to his Synopsis Mr. Smith observes:

"If they deny that we have given a fair translation, we will then challenge them to come forward in a public assembly with the works of St. Ligori, when we promise to meet them, and submit our translation, and the original, to the inspection of a committee, one half of whom to be chosen by ourselves, and the other half by the Roman clergy. Truth never shuns investigation. If we have not given a fair, genuine, and true translation, and if we have not exhibited the doctrines of Ligori, and the church of Rome fairly and correctly, without garbling, or giving an erroneous construction, we will be willing to incur the consequences that we ought to expect, for having deceived the public." Synop. Pref. p. 12.

I will thank the Bishop to inform me the date of his edition of the works of Ligori.

BISHOP PURCELL.—What is the date of Mr. Smith's edition?

MR. CAMPBELL.—1828.

BISHOP PURCELL.—This edition [pointing to his own] was also published in 1828: so that it appears both are the same.

MR. CAMPBELL [here taking up a volume of the Bishop's copy of Ligori read] "*Editio Nova Emendata.*" It hence appears that the Bishop's is *a new amended edition*; so that, probably, this and the one used by Mr. Smith are not the same. Be this, however as it may, nothing is lost by the examination: nothing is proved against Mr. Smith as a translator, and I shall write forthwith to New York to Mr. Smith for the original Latin of this passage in his edition, and have it certified and published among this community.

But were it lawful to read in this assembly, I have before me the decrees of councils, and the words of bishops and cardinals, teaching the very doctrine which the Bishop would represent as a reproach or calumny on his clergy and church. Here is the decree of a coun-

cil at Toledo, and here are references to various councils, such as Bivii Concilia, Tom. I. pp. 737, 739. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 449. Edition of 1551, and Pithou Corp. Ju. Canon. p. 47, as quoted by Dr. Brownlee, which go to prohibit priests "*from keeping more than one concubine*," and declare marriage in a priest to be "a mortal sin." And here is Costerus and cardinal Campygio who taught what I dare not read here; but I will reserve all this for a more convenient season.

[Mr. Campbell here called for the reading again of the seventh proposition, which being read by Mr. Piatt, one of the Moderators, he proceeded.]

About the year 1088, Urban II. decrees:

"That subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a christian prince, who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts.' An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the canons of Tours; 'which,' saith he, 'if any emperor, king, prince, &c. shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honor and power." [Barrow. p. 22.

Again, the council of Toledo still more fully expresses the spirit of the age.

"We the holy council promulge this sentence or decree, pleasing to God, that whosoever hereafter shall succeed to the kingdom, shall not mount the throne, till he has sworn among other oaths, to permit no man to live in his kingdom, *who is not a Catholic*. And if after he has taken the reins of government, he shall violate his promise, let him be anathema maranatha, in the sight of the eternal God, and become fuel of eternal fire—pabulum ignis æterni. [Caranza, p. 404.

Innocent III. (that true wonder of the world and changer of the age) affirms:

"Under Pope Innocent, III. it was ordained, that if any temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops, be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the Pope, that he might from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by Catholics." Barrow, p. 22.

Adrian I. A. D. 772, thus decrees:

"We do by general decree constitute, that whatever king, or bishop, or potentate, shall hereafter believe, or permit, that the censure of the Roman pontiffs may be violated in any case, he shall be an execrable anathema, and shall be guilty before God, as a betrayer of the Catholic faith." P. Had. I. Capit apud Grat. Caus. xxv. qu. I. c. II.

Leo IX. says, that Constantine M. "did think it very unbecoming that they should be subject to an earthly empire, whom the Divine Majesty had set over an heavenly." Of Gregory II. who lived A. D. 730, Barronius says, "He effectually caused both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor." "So," continues this authentic historian,—"he did leave to posterity a worthy example that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the church of Christ, if being warned they should be found pertinacious in error." To consummate the whole, Gregory II. did say to the emperor Isauros: "All the kingdoms of the west did hold St. Peter as an earthly God."

Wishing to crowd as much into this speech as I possibly can in one hour, I shall, with as much rapidity as is consistent with distinctness of enunciation, hasten through many documents. Thus we have seen, that for at least five centuries, the heads of the Roman church clearly and unambiguously taught, that the spiritual sword was above the temporal, and that the vicar of Christ is by a divine right Lord

of thrones and all earthly things. This, I have no doubt, is the true doctrine of the immutable and infallible church of Rome! and certain it is, that it has never been disowned, or renounced, by a general council, the organ of infallibility. If the church of Rome be insusceptible of reformation, or infallible; it is proved to be essentially anti-American, and opposed to the genius of our institutions.

To resume the bishop's oath. The gentleman at length admitted that he had taken the bishop's oath, by saying, that he took the oath of naturalization *first!!* There is but one oath for Roman bishops in all countries, therefore, the Bishop is sworn to "*increase* and *advance* the authority of the pope," and *persecute* and *oppose* (fight against) heretics and schismatics. If he have not taken this oath, he will please refer us to the oath he has sworn, and specify its peculiarities.

The defence is a very singular one. He *first* swore allegiance to the United States, and *then* to that foreign prince the pope. Does he mean, contrary to common usage, that the first oath is more binding than the second; or, that it neutralizes the anti-American attributes of the second. But his explanation is but half given in the first point, that he took the oath of American allegiance *before* he took the oath of Roman allegiance. The other ground of defence was in the query, which, with such a triumphant air, he put to me yesterday evening—viz. whether I would not have been justified in breaking my oath to England, had I been an American colonist or soldier at the time of the revolution, when the king tyrannized over the Americans? I have already answered this question, and have affirmed that in Protestant doctrine, no circumstance or contingency, can ever absolve a person from the obligation of an oath, into which he has intelligently and voluntarily entered. It is in the estimation of christians most impious and daring for any prince or pope to presume to absolve men from the obligations of an oath solemnly taken. If, indeed, an oath has in it the nature of a covenant, then one of the parties failing, so far vacates the covenant as to set the other free from his oath: but this is not absolution for breaking it; it is a simple annulling of its conditions. Now, in the case supposed, the king of England was generally allowed to have receded from the conditions on which that oath was taken by the persons who renounced allegiance to him; he having failed to protect and cherish his American subjects, according to the tenor of the charter given, they were freed from the obligations of allegiance. But I beg my audience to remember that the bishop attempts to defend himself for breaking his oath in certain contingencies: else, why ask me such a question? The bishop's plea is, therefore, that oaths may be broken, and that the pope can absolve men from allegiance on a justifiable emergency, when the church, or some other great interest may demand it! Of what use then is the oath of naturalization?—

That the incompatibility of the bishop's oath with our oath of allegiance may be obvious, I shall quote the oath of naturalization, as proposed to every foreigner by the laws of the United States:

The laws of the U. S. provide; That any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the U. S. or any of them, on the following condition, and not otherwise: That he shall have declared on oath, or affirmation, before the supreme superior, district, or circuit court, of some one of the states, or a court of record, having a clerk and seal—3 years at least before admission.

1st. Oath of Intention.

"That it was *bona fide*, his intention to become a citizen of the U. S. and to renounce forever, all allegiance and fidelity, to any foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty, whatsoever; and particularly, by name, the Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty, whereof he may, at the time be a *citizen* or *subject*.

That he shall, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare, on oath or affirmation, before a court as above.

2d. Oath of Renunciation, Abjuration, &c. and of Fidelity on Admission.

"That he will support the constitution of the U. S. and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty whatever; and particularly by name the Prince, Potentate, State, Sovereignty whereof he was before a citizen or subject.

The court admitting the alien to be satisfied that he has resided five years within the U. S. one year in the state, and that he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the U. S. and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. The residence to be proved by a witness, not by oath of the applicant.

Where a person coming into the United States 3 years before 21 years of age, proving same character, and continued residence 5 years, admitted as before stated on the first application, on taking final oath of abjuration, renunciation, fidelity, &c. without the first oath of intention

Further provided; That in case the alien applying to be admitted to citizenship, shall have borne any hereditary title, or been of any of the orders of Nobility, in the kingdom or state from which he came, he shall in addition to the above requisites, make an express renunciation of his title or order of Nobility, at the time to be recorded, &c.

Further provided—That no alien who shall be a native citizen, denizen, or subject of any country, state or sovereign, with whom the U. S. shall be at war at the time of his application, shall be then admitted to be a citizen of the U. S.' &c. &c.

Such are the oaths and laws of naturalization. Now, as the pope of Rome is a foreign prince—at this very moment a prince temporal as well as spiritual, *exercising political authority over the states of Rome*, and claiming allegiance in temporals as well as spirituals, throughout the whole Roman Catholic world; I ask, can any one who has sworn "to *increase* and *advance his authority*," or feeling himself so bound, as he shall answer for it to the supreme judge of the universe, *take* or *keep* the oath of citizenship in this country without perjury ?! In my most deliberate judgment, it is impossible.

The case is simply this: The oath of naturalization requires the candidate for citizenship to swear that *he does absolutely and entirely renounce all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty*. Now, the pope of Rome is *a sovereign* of Europe—a *foreign potentate*, issuing bulls, laws, or briefs, throughout the world: often to secure, augment and advance his authority, in temporals, as well as spirituals; as the testimony of 500 years now before you, amply demonstrates; and every Roman Catholic layman feeling a paramount obligation to his bishop, and through him to the pope; and all the rulers of the Roman Catholic church, being sworn to the pope absolutely and forever, I ask, can such persons in good faith solemnly swear allegiance to this government? If a person can be sworn to support two antagonist constitutions, governments, powers, —two masters, as opposite as the poles: then may he, without perjury, swear to our government, and to that of papal Rome!

But bishops are sworn "to *persecute* and *oppose (persequar et impugnabo)* heretics and schismatics. Papal Rome is and always has been, a persecuting government. She is essentially so. I intend not now to dwell much on this theme. But I will sustain my proposition

And first, I admit that Protestants have persecuted,—that they have persecuted even to death. I deny it not; and therefore my opponent need not prove it. It is a matter of record indisputable however, that their persecutions have not been as a drop to the ocean, in comparison of papal persecutions. Still they have persecuted, and we frankly own it. But we have an excuse for them. The first Protestants after the Lutheran Reformation, came out from a bloody and cruel mother, who had accustomed them to blood and slaughter, and taught them that the blood of heretics was a sacrifice, most acceptable to God. They were taught that it was just to destroy thieves, robbers, and murderers; and that heretics were the worst of thieves, robbers, and murderers, and ought when incorrigible to be slain: for so the good of society did imperiously demand.—As soon as they got out of the great city, they began to contend among themselves, whether persecution was right. They soon saw it was of the manners and customs of Babylon; and that "all who take the sword must perish by the sword;" therefore they laid it down. They have abjured it in their creeds and remonstrances against the papacy; and we rejoice to state the fact, that there is not in Protestant christendom a single creed that does not repudiate persecution and assert the great principle of christian and religious liberty.

But I have said that papal Rome is essentially a persecuting power —still a persecuting monarchy; because she has it yet written in her infallible and immutable decrees of councils, in the bulls and anathemas of her popes; and in the constitution of her inquisitions, which as a church she still acknowledges and maintains. A few of her infallible decrees must be accepted as a specimen.

"In the fifth council of *Toledo*, Can. 3rd, the holy fathers say, 'We the holy council promulge this sentence, or decree pleasing to God, That whosoever hereafter shall succeed to the kingdom, shall not mount the throne till he has sworn among other oaths, to permit no man to live in his kingdom who is not a Catholic. (Nullum non Catholicum.) And if after he has taken the reins of government, he shall violate this promise, let him be anathema maranatha in the sight of the eternal God, and become fuel for the eternal fire, (Pabulum iguis æterni.) Caranza Sum. Conciliorum, p. 404.

The great Lateran council under Innocent III. who instituted the inquisition and transubstantiation, has still more expressly decreed:

"We excommunicate, and anathematize all heresy, condemning all heretics, by what names soever they are called. * * * * *

These being condemned, must be left to the secular power to be punished. And those who are only suspected of heresy, if they purge not themselves in the appointed way, are to be excommunicated, and if within a year satisfaction is not given, they are to be condemned as heretics.

They must take this oath.—"That they will endeavor, bona fide, and with all their might, to exterminate from every part of their dominions all heretical subjects, universally, that are marked out to them by the church. So that from this time forward, when any one is promoted to any power temporal or spiritual, he shall be obliged to confirm this. But if any temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, shall neglect to purge his land from this heretical filthiness, he shall be tied up in the band of excommunication by the metropolitan and his comprovincial bishops. And if he should neglect to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the pope, that he might from that time pronounce the subjects absolved from allegiance to him, and expose his territories to be seized on by Catholics, who expelling heretics, shall possess them without contradiction.

But Catholics, who having taken the badge of the cross, shall set themselves o extirpate heretics, shall enjoy the same indulgence and be fortified with the same privilege, as is granted to those who go to the recovery of the holy land."

And, to save time, be it emphatically observed, that the council of Trent fully established, adopted, and re-promulged these decrees, and they are, at this moment, in full force at Rome. Until, then, a general council is called, and makes fallible the decisions of the great Lateran council; such is, and must be the dictum and belief of the Roman church; and, as I judge, there never will be another general council this will ever be the doctrine of papal Rome, till the day of her death. Is this, I emphatically ask, the genius and spirit of republican America?

But edicts, canons, and decrees, are not a dead letter. They have been all personified, and acted out to the letter. Who has not heard of that personification of every thing that is diabolically cruel—the HOLY OFFICE OF THE INQUISITION? What abuse of language! Think not, my friends, that I will rake up its ashes; that I will rehearse its horrible racks, and engines, and instruments of torture; that I will describe a single *auto da fe*, one of the horrid tragedies of the acts of faith, whose flagrance language fails to speak. "It was the vice of the age," my opponent has said. Of what age? Of Innocent III.? Of the era of transubstantiation? No, indeed; but of the age of Napoleon; of the age of pope Pius, the saint of 1814! Yes, of the present age! It was got up, indeed, by Innocent (inapposite name!) III., and was fully in operation in Italy, A. D. 1251. Its first officer, Dominic, was afterwards made a *saint*! In Spain and Portugal it was perfected; and its reign of terror, in unfigurative truth, transcends all description My soul sickens at the thought. In Spain alone, from 1481 to 1814, about half a million suffered by it. Lorente (Paris edit. tom. iv. p. 271,) sets down the victims of one department of torment, those burnt, at 33,912; and of other rigorous punishments, at 291,450. He is, by other historians, supposed to be far below the full amount. From the records of the inquisition, the manuscripts taken from the inquisitorial palace at Barcelona, when taken by siege in 1828, one may reckon, that in all Spain, in a little over three centuries, half a million suffered all manner of cruelties from this infernal tribunal.

It was even employed as a means of converting the heathen, in pagan lands. It is said, that 800 persons have been condemned at one session, by one of its tribunals. And, still worse, in Seville, in the year 1481, 2000 persons were condemned to the flames, and 20,000 more to inferior punishments. Such were the tender mercies of these Roman gospel arguments to save men's souls from hell! It was the vice of a dark age, and yet restored by Pius VII. in 1826!! What!

But, this is only one of the tribunals of persecution: it was only one of the means of persecuting and destroying heretics and schismatics. Shall I relate the persecutions of the Waldenses and Albigenses, and other Protestants, sometimes called Lollards, Wickliffites, Hugonots, &c. &c.? Shall I tell of the millions in France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, Ireland, and elsewhere? Shall I tell of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day? of the persecutions consequent upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz? or the Irish massacre? and of all the other deeds of horror? I shall not attempt it. I cannot describe the slaughter of two millions, in the early crusades against Jews and infidels; nor of fifteen millions of Indians and pagans; nor of a million Waldenses, murdered and banished in a single

generation. I say, again, I cannot relate these heart-stirring scenes; and I shall only say, that historians and martyrologists variously give the aggregate from *fifty* to *sixty-eight millions of human beings, that have been sacrificed* and devoured by this Moloch; this insatiable demon of persecution, as taught in theory and carried out in practice, by her who calls herself HOLY MOTHER!!! What a *scarlet, crimsoned, cruel mother* she is! On her will be avenged the blood of all martyrs Even the persecutions of those whom she taught to persecute, lie justly chargeable against her. What guarantee, then, have we that this being the native spirit of the system, it would not again repeat the same tragic scenes, in any country where it obtains an ascendancy? 'Tis true, indeed, that the Protestant powers in Europe hold it now in check. But, were these removed, from what premises would we infer, that the same means would not be resorted to in this and every Protestant country, so soon as this kind mother should feel it a duty, "*to extirpate heresy*" out of the land!!

The doctrine is actually taught in her New Testament, in the notes appended to the Rhemish version. I will give you a passage or two.

"And when his disciples James and John had seen it, they said, Lord wilt thou we say that fire come down from heaven, and consume them? And turning, he rebuked them, saying, you know not of what spirit you are." Luke ix. 54, 55.

"Ver. 55. *He rebuked them.* Not justice nor all rigorous punishment of sinners is here forbidden, Elias' fact reprehended, nor the church or christian princes blamed for putting heretics to death: but that none of these should be done for desire of our particular revenge, or without discretion, and regard to their amendment, and example to others. Therefore, Peter used his power upon Ananias and Sapphira, when he struck them both down to death for *de frauding* the church." Rhem. N. Test. p. 109.

This is a mistake. Peter struck not Ananias and Sapphira for *de frauding* the church, (as these purblind commentators say;) but the Lord himself struck them dead, for *lying* against the Holy Spirit. Christian princes, thus, in reading the Roman Testament, are taught to put heretics to death.

"And many of them that had followed curious things, brought together their books and burnt them before all: and counting the prices of them, they found the money to be fifty thousand pence." Acts xix. 19.

"Ver. 19. *Books.* A christian man is bound to burn or deface all wicked books of what sort soever, especially heretical books. Which though they infect not him always that keepeth them, yet being forth coming, they may be noisome and pernicious to other that shall have them and read them after his death, or otherwise. Therefore hath the church taken order for condemning all such books, and against the reading of them where danger may ensue: and the christian emperors, Constantius, Magnus, Valentinian, Theodosius, Marcian, Justinian, made penal laws for the burning or defacing them." Ib. p. 207.

This proscription of heretical books is of the same spirit, a part of the same system, and explains the march of papistical uniformity and unity!

"As we have said before, so now I say again, if any evangelize to you, beside that which you have received, be he anathema." Gal. i. 9.

——"Hierome useth this place, wherein the apostle giveth the curse, or anathema to all false teachers, not once, but twice, to prove that the zeal of Catholic men ought to be so great toward all heretics, and their doctrines, that they should give them the anathema, though they were never so dear unto them. In which case, saith this holy Doctor, I would not spare mine own parents." Id. p. 292.

This is stronger still. "I WOULD NOT SPARE MINE OWN PARENTS!" This is the spirit, the naked spirit of the system, pure and unmixed. Remember, then, my friends, that children ought to inform against

their own parents, and brother against brother, for the extirpation of heresy!

"And I saw the woman drunken of the blood of the Saints and of the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." Rev. xvii. 6.

Ver. 6. *Drunken of the blood.* It is plain, that this woman signifieth the whole corps of all the persecutors that have and shall shed so much blood of the just: of the prophets, apostles, and other martyrs, from the beginning of the world to the end. The Protestants possibly expound it of Rome, for that they put heretics to death, and allow of their punishment in other countries: But their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of thieves, mankillers, and other malefactors: for the shedding of which by order of justice, *no commonwealth shall answer.*" Id. p. 430.

No commonwealth, consequently no member of it, shall suffer for killing heretics. If I have not sustained this proposition, I can prove nothing. If these facts and documents can be set aside by rhetorical declamation, or reckless denial; then are history, and testimony, and fact, of no value in controversy.

Another specification comes under this proposition. I have too many of them for the occasion. I must be brief. This is the divorcing, repelling, disorganizing, and demoralizing dogma, that "*no faith should be kept with heretics.*"

Gregory VII., in a council at Rome, declares:

"We following the statutes of our predecessors, do, by our *apostolic* authority, *absolve* all those from their *oath* of fidelity, who are bound to *excommunicated persons*, either by duty or oath; and we unloose them from every tie of obedience, till the excommunicated persons have made proper satisfaction." Decret. 2 part. caus. 15. quest. 6.

Urban II. teaches the same doctrine:

"You are to discharge the soldiers who have *sworn fidelity* to count Hugo from paying any obedience while he is *excommunicated:* for they are not obliged to keep that fidelity inviolate, which they have *sworn to a christian prince, who opposes God, and his saints*, and despises their precepts." Ibid.

Gregory IX. has laid down the general principle, with the greatest care and precision:

"Be it known to all who are under the dominion of *heretics*, that they are set free from every *tie of fidelity and duty to them;* all *oaths or solemn agreement to the contrary notwithstanding.*" Decret. Greg. lib. 5, tit. 7.

Hear now the decree of the council of Constance, in the case of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; who appeared there under the solemn pledge of the imperial protection.

"Council of Constance, 1414, did solemnly decree that no faith is to be kept with an heretic. The person who has given them the safe conduct to come thither, shall not *in this case* be obliged to keep his promise by whatever tie he may have been engaged, when he has done all that has been in his power to do." Bruce. Free Thought, p. 120.

The council of Constance then, not only so decided; but caused those men, who appeared before them under an imperial pledge, to be taken and burned. Thus faith was not to be kept with heretics according to said decree, and the practice under it by these "*holy fathers* !"

To confirm the whole with the utmost brevity I would add, the holy, infallible, and last council of Trent formally recognized this decree of the council of Constance. It is then the standing and unrepealed doctrine of the Roman Catholic church, which must be as immutable and infallible as the council of Trent.

Next we must notice the proscription of books as another specification.

The council of Trent in its 25th session, decreed that a council under the pope should draw up and publish an index of books which

were to be prohibited in the church. Thus commenced and keeping pace with the introduction of liberal, or Protestant, or anti-Roman Catholic volumes it has grown into a respectable volume; so that one of the finest libraries might be collected out of these proscribed books. Among these is the bible, which is said to have been the first prohibited in the council of Toloso. In the 4th of the 10 rules concerning prohibited books established by the Holy Fathers of the council of Trent, a license to read the bible is put into the control of bishops and inquisitors. But he that presumes to "read without such license cannot receive absolution of sins." Among these prohibited books also are those of Locke, Milton, Bacon, Grotius, Galileo, Claude, Saurin, Sir Matthew Hale, Jeremy Taylor, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon,—and, indeed, all the standard Protestant authors.

Touching the liberty of the press, a decree of the 10th session of the Lateran council A. D. 1215, even Leo X. presiding expresses the Roman Catholic views of that chief root of the tree of liberty. The decree of the Lateran council was sanctioned by Trent and is now the orthodox faith of Rome.

"By order of the holy council, we, in fine, ordain and decree, that *no* person shall *presume to print, or cause to be printed,* any *book* or *other writing* whatsoever, either in our city (Rome) or in any other cities and dioceses, unless it shall first have been *carefully examined,* if in this city, by our Vicar and the master of the holy palace, or if in *other cities* and dioceses, by the bishop or his deputy, *with the inquisitor* of *heretical pravity* for the diocese, in which the said impression is about to be made; and unless also it shall have received, under their own hand, their written approval, given without price and without delay. Whosoever shall presume to do otherwise, besides the loss of the books, which shall be publicly burned, shall be bound by the sentence of excommunication." Caranza, p. 670.

The council of Trent has also confirmed the doctrine of Leo X. and his Lateran council of 1515. Their first rule concerning proscribed books is: *All books condemned by the supreme pontiffs, or general councils before the year* 1515 *and not comprised in the present index are condemned.*" The creed of this said council of Trent moreover compels every Roman Catholic "to receive undoubtedly, *all things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils and particularly by the Holy council of Trent.*"

This church is as much opposed to the freedom of the press and free discussion, and the circulation of the bible, as ever she was; but she has to yield a little to that irresistible innovator, called custom. Still however a Roman bishop cannot, as a good and liege subject of the pope, but oppose, freedom of thought, speech and action in all matters religious. Listen to the following little bull of the bishop of New York, published the other day against free discussion.

In this document the bishop writes, in his address to the editor of the "Truth Teller,"—"Sir, I consider it my duty to request you to publish the following copy of my letter to the editor of the "Catholic Diary," in order to obviate as soon as possible, the *mischief* which such a Society, if countenanced, might produce. You know my opposition to controversial disputes on religion, particularly in debating societies or newspapers."

From the letter alluded to, we extract the following:

"To the Editor of the Catholic Diary:—

In the Catholic Diary of Saturday last, October 1, I find a notice from you, of a Society, calling itself the New-York Catholic Society, for the promotion of religious knowledge. Of the existence of that Society, I was utterly ignorant, and feel surprised that you, who ought to know better, would think of encouraging and drawing public attention to such a society, without first ascertaining the sentiments of your Ordinary on so important a subject. The Church wisely

ordains that nothing of the nature of this society can be established without the approbation of the Bishop of the Diocese, where it is meant to introduce it, and that permitted, it should be governed by such rules and regulations as to him may seem proper, for it obviously partakes of the nature of a Theological school. Far be it from me to impede the progress of religious knowledge; nothing could be more dear to my heart than to encourage whatever contributes effectually to its promotion; but placed as I am, as a sentinel over the sacred ark of religion, it is my imperative duty to prevent it from being touched by profane or unpractised hands.

So far from viewing this society in the light you see it, it is my decided conviction that it ought not to be sanctioned by me; how can it be supposed that young men, whose education is chiefly mercantile or mechanical, can come with sufficient preparation to the discussion of a question that requires vast erudition, with a degree of research, which they cannot possess; you cannot be ignorant of the severe mental discipline to which students are subjected in our Theological Seminaries, before they are allowed to commence the study of theology. You know also that this study is regulated by experienced and able professors, that young men are not allowed to grope their way with only their own feeble light, through the dark mazes of deceitful cavil, and infidel sophistry.

The members of this society, who thirst so much for religious knowledge, can read our elementary works, and also, the masterly productions of Milner, Fletcher, Bossuet's history of the Variations, lately printed, and others, where they are sure to find the tenets of our faith explained with a precision and elegance that cannot fail to satisfy the sincere inquirer after truth. The precision of ideas, and elegance of expression in the imparting of religious knowledge, their preamble sets forth to be the main objects of this society, and it covers the desire and intention of acquiring that species of tact and dexterity in theological debate, which would enable them to follow into the arena the fanatics of the day. All this I must condemn as well as a publication of the crude essays of tyros among us. Let us dispute less and practice more.

The church in the most positive manner prohibits all laymen from entering into dispute on points of religion with sectarians, "inhibemus," says Pope Alexander IV., "ne unquam Laicæ Personæ liceat publice vel private de fide Catholica disputare; qui vere contradicerit, Excommunicationis laqueo innodetur."* Had you recollected this sentence, I am sure you would be far from calling on the Catholic young men of this city to become members of a debating society on religious subjects, open to so many serious objections.

"† JOHN, Bishop of New-York."

After having read you a *bishop's bull* against "The New York Catholic society for the promotion of religious knowledge," I will, while on this subject, read you also a *bishop's curse* against a refractory priest in Philadelphia. I quote it from one of the News-papers of that day. It happened some twelve or fifteen years ago. I have several such cases in the books around me: but they are some two or three centuries old, and in foreign countries; and therefore, I select this modern one which is almost a copy of them, because a little acclimated.

[*From a Philadelphia Paper.*] We have at length obtained a correct copy of the excommunication of William Hogan, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, of this city. It is as follows:

By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the undefiled Virgin Mary, mother and patroness of our Savior, and of all celestial virtues, Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Cherubims and Seraphims; and of all the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, and of all the Apostles and Evangelists of the Holy Innocents, who, in the sight of the Holy Lamb are found worthy to sing the new song of the Holy Martyrs and Holy Confessors, and of all the Holy Virgins, and of all Saints, together with the Holy Elect of God—may he, William Hogan, be damned.

We excommunicate and anathematize him, and from the threshold of the Holy Church of God Almighty, we sequester him, that he may be tormented, disposed

* The English of which *Bull* is:—"The Church prohibits laymen, either publicly or privately, from arguing on subjects appertaining to the Catholic faith, and whosoever shall violate this prohibition, let him be bound with the cord of Excommunication."

and be delivered over with Athan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord, 'depart from us for we desire none of thy ways;" as a fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out forevermore, unless it shall repent him, and make satisfaction. Amen!

May the Father, who created man, curse him! May the Son, who suffered for us, curse him! May the Holy Ghost, who suffered for us in baptism, curse him! May the Holy Cross which Christ for our salvation, triumphing over his enemies, ascended, curse him!

May the Holy and Eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, curse him! May St. Michael, the Advocate of the Holy Souls, curse him, May all the angels, principalities, and powers, and all heavenly armies, curse him!

May the praiseworthy multitude of Patriarchs, and Prophets, curse him!

May St. John the Precursor, and St. John the Baptist, and St. Peter, and St Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other of Christ's Apostles together, curse him! and may the rest of our Disciples and Evangelists, who by their preaching converted the universe, and the holy and wonderful company of Martyrs and Confessor, who by their holy works are found pleasing to God Almighty. May the holy choir of the Holy Virgins, who for the honor of Christ have despised the things of the world, damn him! May all the saints from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages, who are found to be beloved of God, damn him!

May he be damned wherever he be, whether in the house or in the stable, the garden or the field, or the highways; or in the woods, or in the waters, or in the church; may he be cursed in living and in dying!

May he be cursed in eating and in drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, and in sitting, in living, in working, in resting and blood letting!

May he be cursed in all the faculties of his body.

May he be cursed inwardly and outwardly; may he be cursed in his brains and in his vertex, in his temples, in his eye-brows, in his cheeks, in his jaw bones, in his nostrils, in his teeth and grinders, in his lips in his throat, in his shoulders, in his arms, in his fingers.

May he be damned in his mouth, in his breasts, in his heart and purtenance, down to the very stomach!

May he be cursed in his reins and in his groins; in his thighs, in his genitals and in his hips, and his knees, his legs and feet, and toe nails!

May he be cursed in all his joints, and articulation of the members; from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet, may there be no soundness.

May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him! And may heaven with all the powers that move therein, rise up against him and curse and damn him; unless he repent and make satisfaction!

Amen. So be it. Be it so. Amen.

Ridiculous as this may appear—laughable or profane; it is nevertheless, but the echo of one of the one hundred anathemas commanded in the council of Trent—one of the greater excommunications due to an obstinate heretic.

As still more indicative of the present views and feelings of the Roman see, on the subject of civil and religious liberty, I shall give you a few more extracts. I had laid off several modern documents of much point, and bearing on this proposition; but unfortunately, they were misplaced in my library, and I find them missing among the books I have brought with me. I hold in my hand, however, a little work in which I find some of them. This little volume containing "Dr. Beecher's Plea for the West," ought to be in every family, and read by every adult in the great valley, who feels any interest in the preservation of our free and happy institutions. I wish I had time to read much of it. I can only read a few passages of the documentary *data* which it contains:

I am about to read from Gregory XVI. the present successor of Peter, under date of 1832, the present faith of Roman Catholics on the subject of conscience, and liberty of the press.

"From this polluted fountain of indifference, flows that absurd and erroneous

doctrine, or rather raving, in favor and defence of 'liberty of conscience,' for which most pestilential error, the course is opened for that entire and wild liberty of opinion, which is every where attempting the overthrow of religious and civil institutions; and which the unblushing impudence of some has held forth as an advantage to religion. Hence *that pest, of all others most to be dreaded in a state, unbridled liberty of opinion*, licentiousness of speech, and lust of novelty, which, according to the experience of all ages, portend the downfall of the most powerful and flourishing empires. "Hither tends that worst and never sufficiently to be execrated and detested LIBERTY OF THE PRESS for the diffusion of all manner of writings, which some so loudly contend for, and so actively promote." p. 121.

This so fresh from Rome, stamped with the seal of infallibility, without another word, sustains that specification in my proposition relating to the anti-American spirit and genius of the grand elements of popery.

But continues he on the subject of unlicensed books:

"No means must be here omitted, says *Clement* XIII., our predecessor of happy memory, in the Encyclical Letter on the proscription of bad books—'*no means must be here omitted*,' as the extremity of the case calls for all our exertions, to *exterminate the fatal pest* which spreads through so many works; nor can the materials of error be *otherwise destroyed than by the* flames, which consume the depraved elements of the evil."

The secretary of the court of Vienna and counsellor of legation—I mean Frederick Schlegel, who, in 1828, lectured on the philosophy of history in favor of monarchy and popery—one supreme bishop, and one supreme monarch—who was one of the Austrian *cabinet, the confidential counsellor of Prince Metternich*—whose policy and opinions opened the way for Austrian efforts on the foundation of St. Leopold, to add America to the pope's dominions—I say, of this great man and his opinions, the author of a foreign conspiracy, as quoted by Doctor Beecher, thus speaks:

"In the year 1828 the celebrated Frederick Schlegel, one of the most distinguished literary men of Europe, delivered lectures at Vienna, on the philosophy of history, (which have not been translated into English) a great object of which is to show *the mutual support which popery and monarchy* derive from each other. He commends the two systems in connexion as deserving of universal reception. He attempts to prove that the sciences, and arts, and all the pursuits of man, as an intellectual being, are best promoted under this perfect system of church and state: a pope at the head of the former; an emperor at the head of the latter. He contrasts with this, the system of Protestantism; represents Protestantism as the enemy of good government, as the ally of republicanism, as the parent of the distresses of Europe, as the cause of all the disorders with which legitimate governments are afflicted. In the close of lecture 17th, Vol. II. p. 286, he thus speaks of this country: *The* TRUE NURSERY *of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary school for France and the rest of Europe, has been North America. Thence the evil has spread over many other lands, either by natural contagion, or by arbitrary communication.* Ib. p. 122, 123.

Such are the popular views of our institutions in the best and purest church district in the world: and the emigrants of that country with those opinions are daily crowding to our shores, and filling up this immense valley. These are they who are taught to execrate the liberty of the press, and to consider liberty of conscience pestilential error, and that a spiritual monarch, and a political emperor are the very paragon of all excellence in church and state. Is this compatible with the genius of our institutions? Are not such views and reasonings, *positively subversive of them?*

Let me observe from that book of Fessenden's of which my opponent seemed to know so much yesterday: but the author of which he

cannot now name, as I believe, (if he can, however, he may tell us something about him)—I say from the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, and from some other documents before me, I would wish to read a few statements, to show that this said Roman Catholic Institution, chameleon like, first accommodates itself to the customs of every country, and seems to inhale and exhale the popular atmosphere until it reaches its end; (for well the Jesuit knows the means may be infinitely various, while the end is one and immutable,) and so soon as it gains the fulcrum of popular opinion and the lever of the majority, it builds up an empire, after the model of the Prince Metternich. This has hitherto been its history, in every climate, and country, and age. A single example of this policy, taken from the Encyclopedia, must suffice:

"Various attempts have been made to bring this church under the papal yoke; but without success. The Portuguese having opened a passage into Abyssinia in the fifteenth century, an emissary was sent to extend the influence and authority of the Roman pontiff, clothed with the title of patriarch of the Abyssinians. The same important commission was afterwards given to several Jesuits, when some circumstances seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry; but the Abyssinians stood so firm to the faith of their ancestors, that towards the close of the sixteenth century the Jesuits had lost nearly all hope in that quarter.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the Portuguese Jesuits renewed the mission to Abyssinia, when the emperor created one of them patriarch; and not only swore allegiance to the Roman pontiff, but also obliged his subjects to forsake the rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine and worship of the Romish church. At length the emperor became so exasperated at the arrogant and violent proceedings of the patriarch in subverting the established customs of the empire, for the purpose of confirming the pope's authority, especially in imposing celibacy on some, and requiring divorce of others, who had married more than one wife, that he annulled the orders formerly given in favor of popery, banished the missionaries out of his dominions, and treated with the utmost severity all who had any connexion with the undertaking. From this period the very name of Rome, its religion, and its pontiff, have all along been objects of peculiar aversion among the Abyssinians."—Encyc. Relig. Knowl. p. 22.

Thus have the Jesuits done in every country, and this will they do—first ingratiate themselves with the people, and when they think they are secure of their object, they will proceed to subvert the government: for they are sworn and sold to the pope forever.

The gentleman says, We are both foreigners; indicating that we have equal rights and privileges. I did not use that term in an invidious sense, when speaking of my willingness to receive foreigners. Nor do I oppose the principles of my opponent, because of their hostility to Protestants only: but because of their hostility to Roman Catholics. It is from my views of the political and religious bearings, the temporal and the eternal consequences of the system, that I expose and oppose it. As a philanthropist, I am opposed to the papal empire, whether at home or abroad—in Europe or America.

But although politically considered, in one sense, we both may be called foreigners; yet, we are not foreigners in the same sense. I claim a very intimate relation with the Protestant family. I am one of that family. It was then my family, that first settled this country. The bishop's family settled Roman Catholic America. He is a foreigner here, as I would be a foreigner in Mexico or South America. I belong to the persecuted—he to the persecutors of that family.

In the next place, I never took but one oath of allegiance. I never vowed to support but one political constitution. My opponent first

swore to America and then to Rome. He is bound to a foreign prince: I am not. If that prince should reward him for any service with a Cardinal's cap, he might be commanded away to Rome next week.

Bishop Purcell. No, I will not leave this country.

Mr. Campbell. The gentleman is under the "Holy Lord the pope." I am not a foreigner in this sense.

But still better, I am the father of a family: my children are native Americans: and through these I am more a kin to the great American family than he ever can be. Without perjury or apostacy from his office, he can never have a wife, nor family. He is a stranger to those near and holy relations. He has no country—no home. He lives and he must die under the command of foreign superiors; and they may, by authority or promotion, remove him to Europe or Asia at pleasure. For these and other reasons I am identified with Protestant America, and claim a relation here to which his heart shall ever be a stranger.—[Time expired.]

Half past 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Bishop Purcell rises—

Another instance of the unfairness with which Catholic principles are represented: another occasion for a holy triumph!

That Rhemish Testament, from which the gentleman has just now read, was never sanctioned by the Catholic church. It was published by a caucus of parsons in New York, (whose names are prefixed to it,) for the express purpose of vilifying the faith, and outraging the feelings of Catholics! And this is called a Catholic bible! Good God! whither has justice fled? Archbishop Murray, of Dublin, has lately, in the most solemn manner, condemned these notes. They are not to be found in the Catholic bible, used in this or in any other country. I am laboring to inspire my opponent with sentiments of self-respect; and assure him anew, that "*evil communication corrupts good manners.*" The occasion called for original documents, candid statements, and reputable authorities; but, instead of these, the public are mocked by my friend with spurious, garbled extracts, which a dignified controversialist would have treated with contempt. We repudiate the notes, which Protestants have appended, *for us*, to this bible.

Mr. Campbell.—Produce another.

Bishop Pubcell.—I will. Behold it. Here is the bible to be found in every book-store, where Catholic works are for sale. Here is Luke, chap. ix. 55! Not a word of it there! (Holds it opened, towards the audience, and towards Mr. Campbell.)

You perceive, that I have granted my opponent, all the extra time he chose to occupy, to explain away, if he could, the *mis-translation* (to call it by the very mildest name) of Liguori; and he has just left it where he found it, in the mire of infamy! The edition which I exhibit, was published in the very year and the very place with the edition, from which Mr. Smith pretends to have quoted. You have heard Mr. Kinmont.

The gentleman has cited the words of Christ, "Do this in commemoration of me," against the real presence. This is all I wanted, to complete my argument. Here is the answer:

"After having proposed the sentiments of the church upon these words, "*this is my body*," we must tell what she thinks of these others, which Christ added: "*do this in memory of me.*" It is clear that the intention of the Son of God is to

oblige us by these words to remember the death which he suffered for our sakes: and St. Paul concludes, from these same words, that we announce, in this mystery, the death of the Lord. But it must not be imagined that this remembrance of his death, excludes the *real presence* of his body; on the contrary, by only considering what has been just now explained, it will fully appear that this commemoration is founded upon the real presence. For as the Jews, in eating their peace offerings, remembered that they had been sacrificed for them, so we, in eating the flesh of Jesus Christ, our victim, should remember that he had been immolated for us. It is therefore this same flesh eaten by the faithful, which not only awakes in us the memory of his immolation, but which confirms to us the truth of it. And far from being able to say that this solemn commemoration which Jesus Christ orders us to make, excludes the presence of the flesh, it is visible, on the contrary, that this tender recollection, which he wills we should have of him, in the holy communion, as immolated for us, is founded upon the real receiving of this same flesh; it being surely impossible to forget, that it is for us he hath given his body in sacrifice, when we see that he gives us still every day this victim for our food."

I now come to the subject of purgatory, which my friend calls the lever of the pope, to raise the world. I should be glad to see the pope *raise* the world in any way. If he has not the power to raise mortals to the skies, he, at least, wants the will to pull men or angels down. The doctrine of purgatory can be proved by a few plain texts. The first is from 2d Machabees, xii. 42; where we read, that the valiant Machabeus sent twelve thousand drachmas of silver to Jerusalem, for sacrifice, to be offered for the souls of the dead. "*It is, therefore, says the scripture, a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.*"

My friend will say, the book of Machabees is not canonical. But, is it not, as Du Pin would say, very ill done of him, to reject a book of scripture, because it pinches him. This is a fine way of confuting Catholics: to mutilate the scripture when it favors our doctrine; to believe our enemies, when they misrepresent it; and to attribute to, and force upon us, doctrines which we do not profess.

The books of the Machabees are to be found in the Codex Alexandrinus, and in all the approved bibles of the Catholic church, from the beginning. Why tear them, at this late day, from the canon? Besides, they are, at least, authentic history, and, as such, faithful records of the belief of the only people who, at the time when they were written, professed the true faith.

Jesus Christ says, that there is a blasphemy against the Spirit; which is a sin that will not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come. (Matt. xii. 32.) These words clearly imply that some sins *will* be forgiven in the world to come. Where? Not in heaven, which "nothing defiled can enter;" not in hell, for out of hell there is no redemption. What is that place, called *Abraham's bosom*, on which Lazarus reposed, until heaven was opened to the souls of men, by the death of Jesus Christ? Was it heaven, or hell, or that intermediate place or state, which Catholics call by the name of purgatory? It is necessarily the latter: apart from the suffering of sense by purifying fire, it would be a state of mental or spiritual suffering: as it was one of separation from God, whose beauty the soul, released from the prison of the body, and the darkness of sin and ignorance, so clearly discerns, and so ardently desires to enjoy. The Savior tells us to be reconciled quickly with our adversary, while we are in the way: lest we be delivered over to the judge, and cast into prison, whence we shall not be released, until we shall have paid the

last farthing. (Matt. v. 26.) What prison is this? What place of sorrowful detention *on the way to heavenly glory?* Neither heaven, nor the abode of everlasting torments: consequently, purgatory.

"*Christ died for our sins,*" says St. Peter, (1st Epist. iii. 18,) "*being put to death in the flesh, but enlivened in the spirit: in which also coming, he preached to those spirits that were in prison.*" This is the place, of which it is said, in the apostles' creed, "*He descended into hell;*" which was surely not the hell of the damned, but that temporary hell, or hades, or purgatory, to whose inmates he announced the joyful tidings of their deliverance, where the first and the second Adam met, the type and reality. What is the meaning of the universally prevalent practice, of which St. Paul speaks, of performing pious works, called baptisms for the dead: "*Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all. Why are they then baptized for them?*" (1st Cor. xv. 29.)

"Hence, the council of Trent teaches: "That there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there, are helped by the prayers of the faithful, and particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar."

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and several other ancient fathers and writers, demonstrate, that the doctrine of the church was always, and is now the same, as that which was defined by the council of Trent, with respect both to prayers for the dead, and an intermediate state, which we call purgatory. How express is the authority of the last named father, where he says: "through the prayers and sacrifices of the church and alms-deeds, God deals more mercifully with the departed than their sins deserve." Serm. 172. Enchirid. cap. 109, 110.

St. Chrysostom, who flourished within three hundred years of the age of the apostles, and must be admitted as an unexceptionable witness of their doctrine and practice, writes as follows: "It was not without good reason *ordained by the apostles*, that mention should be made of the dead in the tremendous mysteries, because they knew well that these would receive great benefit from it." In Cap. 1. Philip. Hom. 3. Tertullian, who lived in the age next to that of the apostles, speaking of a pious widow, says: "She prays for the soul of her husband, and begs refreshment for him." L. De Monogam. c. 10. St. Cyprian, who lived in the following age, says: "It is one thing to be waiting for pardon; another to attain to glory: one thing to be sent to prison, not to go from thence till the last farthing is paid; another to receive immediately the reward of faith and virtue: one thing to suffer lengthened torments for sin, and to be chastised and purified for a long time in that fire; another to have cleansed away all sin by suffering." S. Cypr. L. 4. Ep. 2.

The doctrine of the oriental churches agrees with that of the Catholic church, in the only two points defined by her, namely, as to there being a middle state, which we call purgatory, and as to the souls, detained in it, being helped by the prayers of the living faithful. True it is, they do not generally believe, that these souls are punished by a material fire; but neither does the Catholic church require a belief of this opinion. On some occasions, Luther admits of purgatory, s an article founded on scripture. Melancthon confesses that the ancients prayed for the dead, and says that the Lutherans do not find fault with it. Calvin intimates, that the souls of all the just are detained in Abraham's bosom until the day of judgment. In the first liturgy of the church of England, there is an express prayer for the departed, that "God would grant them mercy and everlasting peace." Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 257.

Bishops Andrews, Usher, Montague, Taylor, Forbes, Sheldon, Barrow of St. Asaph's, and Blandford, all believed that the dead ought to be prayed for. To these, I may add, the religious Dr. Johnson, whose published Meditations prove, that he constantly prayed for his deceased wife."

The Universalists make hell a purgatory.

The notion, that this doctrine fills the pope's coffers with gold, is too ridiculous to be refuted! Every Catholic knows its absurdity. As to the intention of the priest, about which the gentleman has found

so much to say, that is no difficulty. How do we judge of the intention? Simply, by the act, the surest evidence of its existence. Can we ask if a man has any intention to eat his dinner, when we see him, sit down to table, take his knife and fork, use them, and eat till he is filled; so when we see the priest does what every priest does, and the faithful people know that he ought to do, we have the best evidence of his intention. Besides, what motive could he have for such a gratuitous violation of the law of God and profanation of a sacrament. *Nemo repente pessimus* is an old and a true maxim. He would fall into other excesses, first, and be suspended—God will not abandon his church; and the sincere christian will always be rewarded by him, according to his deserts. No man goes suddenly, &c. see Secreta Monita. It was placed invidiously among the rubbish by the enemies of the Jesuits, if found amid the ruins of their house, as the whole society repudiated it.

Every learned and sound critic, who is at all honorable, denounces the imposition—It is an old trick.

Ovid in his 13th book, verse 59, 60, suggests the idea, in speaking of Ulysses' treachery, when he first had gold hid in the tent of Palamedes and then denounced him for having been bribed by the enemies of Greece.

"Fictumque probavit
"Crimen, et ostendit quod jam præfoderat aurum."

Shall I invent calumnies, when run out of proof of any man's dishonesty? God forbid! What virtuous and immaculate family may not be thus assailed? And the more virtuous and honorable they are, the more will they be disconcerted and overwhelmed, for the moment; but the more complete will be their own vindication and their slanderers' disgrace in the end.

The gentleman cannot get over what he said of Washington and our Revolutionary heroes, "the *fatal* shaft is sticking in his side."

God has given to the people, neither too much, nor too little power. He has given them no spiritual authority; for as Jesus Christ said to his apostles, so may the priest say to his flock: "*You have not chosen me.*" "No one durst assume the office of priest, but he that is called to it, *as Aaron was*"—and he was not called by the people. In the Catholic church we solemnly appeal to the people for *testimony* for, or against, a candidate for holy orders. God has given the people *reasonable* power, in temporal matters, and revolutions have too often shown their evils and calamities, in the most horrid and brutal excesses and the loss of innumerable lives. This is an awful penalty for the rash exercise of temporal power on the part of the people. Our own revolution was, perhaps, the calmest, the most temperate, the least abused for evil purposes by wicked man, because we had Washington and kindred spirits to direct the storm. These, my worthy friend calls perjurers! As God has restricted the people, he has also restricted their rulers, in their exercise of power. How many terrible lessons have not kings been taught, for its abuse. Why cannot nations unite to select a common umpire; to whom all disputes should be referred, and thus the crimes of kings, and revolution, with all its accompanying horrors, by the people, extinguished in the bud.

I do not undertake to defend the popes in their use of the deposing power—and were my voice, at this moment, ringing in the Vatican,

instead of the Baptist church, Sycamore street, Cincinnati, I should not be reproved. There are in the religious, as well as in the spiritual world, two forces, the centripetal, and the centrifugal. The see of Rome is as the sun and centre of the system, to which all the planets, revolving in beauteous harmony, tend. We bless, we love, we seek with ardor, by a kind of religious instinct, strong as the laws of gravitation, this common centre, which gives us all, our proper impetus and coherency. But like the planets, we are not absorbed by it. We know its excellence, its usefulness, its destination, its limits.

Now, to show you what our sentiments are, with regard to the temporal power of the pope, here is a standard work, the identical textbook of theology, which I studied in Paris many years ago. The author is still living, and instead of being rebuked for what I am going to say, he has, on the contrary, been made bishop of Maus, in France. His name is Bouvier, and he is as pious a christian as he is a sound divine. I read you evidence from scripture, tradition and reason, in favor of the doctrine which is the burden of the proposition, viz. that "the pope has no right, direct, or indirect, by any divine commission, to the temporalities of kings or other Christians." When was the deposing power first claimed by the pope? Ecclesiastical history answers, in the 10th century. Then by the rule which I have already laid down, it is no part of Catholic doctrine. It came a thousand years too late.

"Proposition. That the Roman Pontiff does not possess, by divine right, any power, either direct or indirect, over the temporalities of kings, or other christians." This proposition is proved 1st, from the sacred scripture: "*As the Father sent me, I also send you,* (John xx. 21.) *The Son of man hath not where to lay his head,* (Mat. viii. 20.) *Who hath made me a judge, or a divider over you?*" (Luke xii. 14.) Hence we may reason thus. The sovereign Pontiff can have no authority over the temporal goods of men by divine right, unless it be granted to him by Christ, but he has received no such power from Christ, for Christ gave to no man a power, which, he himself, when on earth, did not possess; but Christ when on earth possessed no such power, relating to temporal matters, as appears both from his poverty, and from these words of his, "*who hath made me a judge or a divider over you.*" Therefore the Roman Pontiff does not possess, by divine authority, any power, &c.

Besides, Christ expressly declared that he was a king, but at the same time, he positively denied that his kingdom was of this world, (John xviii. 36.) *For this purpose I came into the world, he says, that I might bear testimony to the truth:* in another place he ordered *to give to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar,* (Mat. xxii. 21.) By a miracle, he caused the stater to be found in the mouth of a fish, that the tribute might be paid for himself and Peter, (Matt. xvii. 27;) and surely he could not shew, in more express terms, that he did not wish to exercise any temporal authority. Furthermore, when he sent his apostles, he by no means, spoke to them, concerning temporal affairs, or any political authority, but only of *the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* and *the power of binding and loosing;* he ordered that, going through the entire world, they would *teach these things which he commanded them; he announced to them many tribulations of every sort, and even death; he commanded them, to advise and reprove those who transgress, but that they should not punish them, unless by spiritual pains: If he will not hear the church, says he, let him be to thee, as the heathen and the publican,* (Matt. xviii, 17.): *he that believeth not, shall be condemned,* (Mark xvi. 16.) The apostles, in like manner, far from exercising any temporal power, on the contrary, strongly recommended obedience and respect to all Pagan princes and persecutors, and rulers sent by them.

It can be proved, 2nd. from tradition. We would be tedious, were we to rehearse all the testimonies of Fathers, Doctors and chief bishops, who by their word and example clearly taught, that the civil power was entirely independent of the ecclesiastical.

Tertullian in his Apologetic, chap. 30, says: "They, (the christians) know

who hath given power to emperors.....they know that it was God, alone, in whose power they are, to whom, they are second, and after whom they are first .....an emperor has his authority, from him by whom he was created man. before being emperor. He receives power from him, from whom also he received the breath of life.....*We pray for all emperors.*" All christians, imbued with this doctrine, opposed the arms of patience alone, to the most unjust and most cruel tortures, for more than three hundred years.

Osius, bishop of Cordova, writes thus to the emperor Constantius, who favored the Arians. "Do you not interfere with ecclesiastical matters," as already quoted.

Pope Gelasius, in his epistle 8th to Anastasius, a violent enemy of Catholics, says, 'There are two things, O emperor Augustus, by which principally, this world is governed, the sacred authority of the popes, and the authority of kings. (Labbe tom. 4. page 1122.) This pope, therefore, considered that each power was independent of the other.

It can be proved, 3d. By theological reasoning. 1. That opinion ought to be rejected, which was entirely unheard of during the ten first ages; but that opinion which holds that the chief bishop has any just right even indirect, over the temporal possessions of princes, or other christians, was, by no means, heard of during the ten first ages, to wit, down to the time of Gregory VII. who in the year 1080, attempted to depose Henry IV. and disturbed the peace of the entire world, by the assertion of this novel right. Therefore that opinion should be rejected, &c.

2. That opinion should be entirely rejected which would occasion most grievous evils, but the opinion which we oppose, gives, &c. 1. It renders harmony between the priesthood, and the sovereign power, impossible. 2. It would prevent infidel princes from embracing the christian religion, and heretics from returning to the true church. 3. It would afford a necessary occasion for continual wars, if it were practised, which, experience has already too clearly shewn. Therefore, it should be entirely rejected, &c. &c. &c.

Now see here the scholastic method of proving propositions, and an admirable one it is. We say 1st, scripture teaches it,—2nd, antiquity corroborates it,—3d, reason confirms it. That is the method we follow, in all our schools. This is the solid, and irrefutable manner in which this proposition is laid down and established. Does this look like submitting to the dictation of the pope in temporal matters? Did the English Catholics obey the pretended absolution bull? Did not Catholics under arms, and with arms, as in the case of Julius II. resist their acknowledged, and in his proper sphere, respected Pontiff? Did they not tie his hands while they kissed his feet?

Waddington tells us that when Louis XII. of France quarreled with the pope, he called a council of bishops at Tours, and proposed the question, whether he could detain the pope, as his prisoner, on an occasion, which he described. They gave an affirmative answer This, in addition to what I have said, shows how the distinction of power, and of rights, was understood at that period, and every epoch, back to the apostolic ages.

My friend asks for a disclaimer of these pretensions, on the part of the pope.

Mr. Campbell.—Not by the pope, but by the councils.

Bishop Purcell.—The general councils never made the recognition of this power, an article of faith; why, then, should they disclaim it?

Here is what pope Innocent III. said. His account of this affair is very curious. It is, indeed, a strong disclaimer, and every word deserves to be maturely weighed.

Cum rex superiorem in temporalibus minime recognoscat, sine juris alterius læsione in eo se jurisdictioni nostræ subjicere potuit, in quo videretur aliquibus, quod per seipsum, non tanquam pater cum filiis, sed tanquam princeps cum subditis potuit dispensare. Regi igitur gratiam fecimus requisiti:—quod non solum

in Ecclesiæ patrimonio, super quo plenam in temporalibus gerimus potestatem, verum etiam in aliis regionibus, certis causis inspectis, temporalem jurisdictionem *casualiter* exercemus. Non quod alieno juri præjudicare velimus, vel potestatem nobis indebitam usurpare, cum non ignoramus Christum in evangelio respondisse; redite, quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei, Deo. Propter quod postulatus ut hæreditatem divideret inter duos : quis, inquit, constituit me judicem inter vos? Sed quia in Deuteronomio contineter, si difficile et ambiguum apud te judicium esse perspexeris, Surge et ascende ad locum, quem eligit Dominus Deus tuus, &c. Liber V. Epist 12. Innocent III.

Since the King by no means recognizes a superior in temporal authority, he could submit to our jurisdiction without infringing upon the right of another, in which it seems to some, that he could dispense, not as a father with his children but as a prince with his subjects; therefore we granted the King what was requisite, because we not only exercise a temporal power, *in certain cases*, in the patrimony of the church, over which we act with full authority in temporalities, but also in other districts, certain matters being considered on : Not that we wish to determine prematurely of another's right, or usurp a power not due to us : since we are not ignorant of what Christ has said in the gospel. On account of which he was asked to divide an inheritance between two, who, says he, has appointed me judge between ye? But that it is written in Deuteronomy, if you find a difficult and doubtful case, rise and repair to the place, which the Lord your God has chosen, &c. B. V. E. 12. Innocent III.

Here the pope, himself, quotes scripture and precedent, against the assumption of such power. Next—behold the testimony of a particular council, the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, of an eminent divine, the celebrated Arthur O'Leary, on the matter before us, and on persecution for conscience sake.

The Council of Toledo forbids the use of violence to enforce belief: "Because," add the fathers, "God shows mercy to whom he thinks fit; and hardens whom he pleases." "Præcipit sancta synodus nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre. Cui enim Deus vult, miseretur; et quem vult, indurat."* And the council of Lateran, under Pope Alexander the third, acknowledges, that the church rejects bloody executions on the score of religion, which proves to demonstration, that the canon charged to the fourth council of Lateran, under Innocent the third, in which canon, "the secular powers are addressed to take an oath, to exterminate all heretics out of their territories, and in case of refusal, to have their subjects absolved from their allegiance, and the lands of the heretics to be seized by the Catholics," &c. ——is spurious. Collyer, the Protestant historian, in his fifth volume of Ecclesiastical History, acknowledges that it is not found in any copy, coeval with the council. Some hundred years after the council, it was produced to light by a German. And we know full well, that at that time, several spurious pieces were produced, to serve the purposes of rancor.

Were even such a decree, or any other of a similar nature, genuine, the Catholics would reject them, without any breach of faith; because the church has no power over life, limb, the rights of sovereigns, the property of individuals, or any temporal concern whatsoever. Her bishops, then, whether separately, or in a collective body, cannot graft any such power into their spiritual commission. They would act in an extrajudicial manner, and beyond the limits of their sphere. This I have proved in my remarks on Mr. Wesley's letter, and elsewhere.

Far from countenancing cruelty, death and oppression, "the spirit of the church was, in such a manner, the spirit of meekness and charity, that she prevented, as much as in her power, the death, of criminals, and even of her most cruel enemies," says Fleury. "You have seen how the lives of the murderers of the martyrs of Armenia were saved; and St. Austin's effort to preserve the Donatists, (who had exercised such cruelties against the Catholics) from the rigor of the imperial laws. You have seen how much the church detested the indiscreet zeal of those bishops, who prosecuted the heresiarch Priscillian to death.

In general, the church saved the lives of all criminals, as far as she had power. St. Augustine accounts for this conduct, in his letter to Macedonius, where we

* Cap. de Judæis, dist. 45.

read that the church wished there were no pains in this life, but of the healing kind, to destroy, not man, but sin, and to preserve the sinner from eternal tor ments."* If, in after ages, some popes and bishops deviated from this plan of meekness and moderation, their conduct should not involve a consequence injurious to the principles of the Catholic church, which condemns such proceedings. The religion of Catholics and Protestants condemns frauds, fornications, drunkenness, revenge, duelling, perjury, &c. Some of their relaxed and impious writers have even attempted, not only to palliate, but even to apologize for such disorders. The children of the christian religion daily practise them,—is the christian religion accountable for the breach of her own laws?

My friend made some *display*, on the persecuting canon of the council of Lateran, and yet Collyer, a Protestant historian, in the 5th volume of his ecclesiastical history, pronounces it spurious! He acknowledges that it is not found in the copy of the decrees coeval with the council; that it was manufactured by the Germans, hundreds of years afterwards; and that there were several spurious documents manufactured about the same time. Now hear a distinguished prelate of our church, Dr. England, in his speech before congress, in which he leaves nothing important unsaid on this topic. I am happy to incorporate his eloquent remarks in this debate.

"A political difficulty has been sometimes raised here. If this infallible tribunal which you profess yourselves bound to obey, should command you to overturn our government, and tell you that it is the will of God to have it new modeled, will you be bound to obey? And how then can we consider those men to be good citizens, who profess to owe obedience to a foreign authority, to an authority not recognized in our constitution; to an authority which has excommunicated and deposed sovereigns, and which has absolved subjects and citizens from their bond of allegiance.

Our answer to this is extremely simple and very plain, it is, that we would not be bound to obey it; that we recognize no such authority. I would not allow to the pope or to any bishop of our church, outside this Union, the smallest interference with the humblest vote at our most insignificant balloting box. He has no right to such interference. You must, from the view which I have taken, see the plain distinction between spiritual authority, and a right to interfere in the regulation of human government or civil concerns. You have in your constitution wisely kept them distinct and separate. It will be wisdom and prudence and safety to continue the separation. Your constitution says that Congress shall have no power to restrict the free exercise of religion. Suppose your dignified body to-morrow attempted to restrict me in the exercise of that right; though the law, as it would be called, should pass your two houses and obtain the signature of the president, I would not obey it, because it would be no law. it would be an usurpation: for you cannot make a law in violation of your constitution; you have no power in such a case. So, if that tribunal which is established by the Creator to testify to me what he has revealed, and to make the necessary regulations of discipline for the government of the church, shall presume to go beyond that boundary which circumscribes its power, its acts are invalid, my rights are not to be destroyed by its usurpation, and there is no principle of my creed which prevents my using my natural right of proper resistance to any tyrannical usurpation. You have no power to interfere with my religious rights, the tribunal of the church has no power to interfere with my civil rights. It is a duty which every good man ought to discharge for his own, and for the public benefit, to resist any encroachment upon either. We do not believe that God gave to the church any power to interfere with our civil rights or our civil concerns. Christ our Lord refused to interfere in the division of the inheritance between two brothers, one of whom requested that interference. The civil tribunals of Judea were vested with sufficient authority for that purpose, and he did not transfer it to his apostles. It must hence be apparent that any idea of the Roman Catholics of those republics being in any way under the influence of any foreign ecclesiastical power, or indeed of any church authority in the exercise of their civil rights, is a serious mistake. There is no class of our fellow citizens more free to think,

* Fleury, Discours, 2. No 9.

and to act for themselves on the subject of our rights than we are, and I believe there is not any portion of the American family more jealous of foreign influence or more ready to resist it. We have brethren of our church in every part of the globe, under every form of government. This is a subject upon which each of us is free to act as he thinks proper. We know of no tribunal in our church which can interfere in our proceedings as citizens. Our ecclesiastical authority existed before our constitution, is not affected, by it; there is not in the world a constitution which it does not precede, with which it could not co-exist; it has seen nations perish, dynasties decay, empires prostrate; it has co-existed with all, it has survived them all, it is not dependent upon any one of them; they may still change, and it will still continue.

We now come to examine what are called the persecuting laws of our church In the year 1215, at the council of Lateran, certain heresies were condemned by the first canon; and amongst other things this canon recites as Catholic faith in opposition to the errors of those whom it condemned, that there was but one God the Creator of all things, of spirits as well as bodies; the author of the Old Testament and of the Mosaic dispensation, equally as of the New Testament and of the Christian dispensation; that he created not only the good angels but also the devil and the bad angels, originally coming good from his hand, and becoming wicked by their own malice, &c. In its third canon it excommunicates those heretics, and declares them to be separated from the body of the church Then follows a direction, that the heretics so condemned, are to be given up to the secular powers, or to their bailiffs, to be duly punished. This direction continues to require of all bishops and others having authority, to make due search within their several districts for those heretics, and if they will not be induced to retract their errors, desires that they should be delivered over to be punished. There is an injunction then to all temporal lords to cleanse their dominions by exterminating those heretics: and if they will not, within a year from having been so admonished by the church, cleanse their lands of *this heretical filth* they shall be deprived if they have superior lords, and if they be superior lords and be negligent, it shall be the duty of the metropolitan and his provincial bishops to excommunicate them, and if any one of those lords paramount so excommunicated for this negligence shall continue during twelve months under the excommunication, the metropolitan shall certify the same to the pope, who, finding admonition useless, shall depose this prince, and absolve his subjects from their oaths of fealty, and deliver the territory over to Catholics, who having exterminated the heretics shall remain in peaceable possession.

This is the most formidable evidence adduced against the position which I have laid down, that it is not a doctrine of our church, that we are bound to persecute those who differ from us in belief. I trust that I shall not occupy very much of your time in showing, that this enactment does not in any way weaken that assertion. I shall do so, by satisfying you that this is a special law for a particular case; and also by convincing you that it is not a canon of the church respecting any of those points in which we admit her infallibility; nor is it a canon of the church.

The doctrines condemned in this first canon originated in Syria, touched lightly at the islands of the Archipelago, settled down in Bulgaria, and spread into the south of Europe, but were principally received in the vicinity of Albi, in France. The persons condemned held the Manichean principle of there being two creators of the universe; one a good being, the author of the New Testament, the creator of good angels, and generally of spiritual essence; the other an evil being, the creator of bodies, the author of the Mosaic dispensation, and generally of the Old Testament. They stated that marriage was unlawful, and co-operation with the principle of evil was criminal. The consequences to society were of the very worst description, immoral, dismal, and desolating. The church examined the doctrine, condemned it as heretical, and cut off those who held or abetted it, from her communion. Here, according to the principles which I have maintained before you, her power ended. Beyond this we claim no authority: the church, by divine right, we say, infallibly testifies what doctrines Christ has revealed, and by the same right, in the same manner, decides that what contradicts this revelation is erroneous; but she has no divine authority to make a law which shall strip of their property, or consign to the executioner, those whom she convicts of error. The doctrine of our obligation to submit does not extend to force us to submit to an usurpation; and if the church made a law upon a

subject beyond her commission for legislation it would be invalid there would be no proper claim for our obedience: usurpation does not create a right. The council could by right make the doctrinal decision; but it had no right to make the temporal enactment: and where there exists no right to legislate on one side, there is no obligation of obedience on the other. If this was then a canon of the church, it was not one in making which she was acting within her constitutional jurisdiction, it was an usurpation of temporal government, and the doctrine of infallibility does not bear upon it.

Every document respecting this council, the entire of the evidence respecting it, as well as the very mode of framing the enactments, prove that it was a special law regarding a particular case. The only persons whose errors were condemned at that council were those whom I have described. The general principle of legal exposition restraining the application of penal enactments must here have full weight, and will restrain the application of the penalty to the only criminals brought within its view. But the evidence is still more confirmed, by the special words of definite meaning, *this*, and *filth*, which were specially descriptive of only those persons; the first by its very nature, the second by the nature of their crime; and the continued exposition of the enactment restrained its application to the special case, though frequently attempts had been made by individuals to extend its application, not in virtue of the statute, but in virtue of analogy. It would then be improperly forcing its construction to say that its operation was to be general, as it evidently was made only for a particular case.

In viewing the preamble to this council, as well as from our knowledge of history, we discover that this was not merely a council of the church, but it was also a congress of the civilized world. The state of the times rendered such assemblages not only usual but necessary: and each legislative body did its own business by its own authority; and very generally the subjects which were decided upon by one body in one point of view, came under the consideration of the other assembly in a different point of view, and their separate decisions were engrossed upon a joint record.

Sometimes they were preserved distinct and separate, but copyists, for their own convenience, brought together all the articles regarding the same subject, from what source soever they were obtained. Such was precisely the case in the instance before us. There were present on this occasion, by themselves or by their legates, the king of Sicily, emperor elect of the Romans, the emperor of the east, the king of France, the king of England, the king of Arragon, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Cyprus, several other kings, and lords paramount, sovereign states, and princes. Several of the bishops were princes or barons. In the ecclesiastical council, the third canon terminated exactly in one sentence, which was that of the excommunication or separation from the church, of those whom the first canon had condemned, whatever name or names they might assume; because they had in several places several appellations, and were continually dividing off and changing names as they separated. The duty and the jurisdiction of the council came to this; and the ancient records give no more as the portion of its enactments. But the congress of the temporal powers then made the subsequent part as their enactment: and thus this penal and civil regulation was not an act of the council, but an act of the congress: and it is not a canon concerning the doctrine of the church, nor indeed is it by any means a canon, though the copyists have added it to the canon as regarding the very same subject; and as confessedly the excommunication in the third canon regarded only the special case of those particular heretics, the addition of the penal enactment to this particular canon is confirmatory evidence that those who added it knew that the penalty in the one case was only co-extensive with the excommunication in the other.

Having thus seen that this canon of the Council of Lateran was not a doctrinal decision of our church establishing the doctrine of persecution, and commanding to persecute, but that it was a civil enactment by the temporal power against persons whom they looked upon as criminals, it is more the province of the politician or of the jurist than of the divine to decide upon its propriety. I may, however, be permitted to say that in my opinion the existence of civilized society required its enactment, though no good man can approve of several abuses which were committed under the pretext of its execution, nor can any rational man pretend that because of the existence of a special law for a particular pur

pose, every case which may be thought analogous to that for which provision was made is to be illegally subjected to those provisions.

We are now arrived at the place where we may easily find the origin and the extent of the papal power of deposing sovereigns, and of absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance. To judge properly of facts, we must know their special circumstances, not their mere outline. The circumstances of Christendom were then widely different from those in which we now are placed. Europe was then under the feudal system. I have seldom found a writer, not a Catholic, who, in treating of that age and that system, has been accurate, and who has not done us very serious injustice. But a friend of mine, who is a respectable member of your honorable body, has led me to read Hallam's account of it, and I must say that I have seldom met with so much candor, and, what I call, so much truth. From reading his statement of that system it will be plainly seen that there existed amongst the Christian potentates a sort of federation, in which they bound themselves by certain regulations, and to the observance of those they were held not merely by their oaths but by various penalties, sometimes they consented the penalty should be the loss of their station. It was of course necessary to ascertain that the fact existed before its consequences should be declared to follow; it was also necessary to establish some tribunal to examine and to decide as to the existence of the fact itself, and to proclaim that existence. Amongst independent sovereigns there was no superior, and it was natural to fear that mutual jealousy would create great difficulty in selecting a chief; and that what originated in concession might afterwards be claimed as a right. They were however all members of one church, of which the Pope was the head, and, in this respect, their common father: and by universal consent it was regulated that he should examine, ascertain the fact, proclaim it, and declare its consequences. Thus he did in reality possess the power of deposing monarchs, and of absolving their subjects from oaths of fealty, but only those monarchs who were members of that federation, and in the cases legally provided for, and by their concession, not by divine right, and during the term of that federation and the existence of his commission. He governed the church by divine right, he deposed kings and absolved subjects from their allegiance by human concession. I preach the doctrines of my church by divine right, but I preach from this spot not by that right but by the permission of others.

It is not then a doctrine of our church that the pope has been divinely commissioned either to depose kings or to interfere with republics, or to absolve the subjects of the former from their allegiance, or interfere with the civil concerns of the latter. When the persecuted English Catholics, under Elizabeth, found the pope making an unfounded claim to this right, and upon the shadow of that unfounded right making inroads upon their national independence, by declaring who should or who should not be their temporal ruler, they well showed how little they regarded his absolving them from their allegiance, for they volunteered their services to protect their liberties, which their Catholic ancestors had labored to establish. And she well knew that a Catholic might safely be entrusted with the admiralty of her fleet, and that her person was secure amongst her disgraced Catholic nobility and gentry, and their persecuted adherents; although the Court of Rome had issued its bull of absolution, and some divines were found who endeavored to prove that what originated in voluntary concession of states and monarchs was derived from divine institution. If then Elizabeth, of whose character I would not wish in this place to express my opinion, was safe amidst those whom she persecuted for their faith, even when he head of their church absolved them from allegiance, and if at such a moment ey flocked round her standard to repel Catholic invaders who came with consecrated banners, and that it is admitted on all hands that in so doing they violated no principle of doctrine or of discipline of their church, as we all avow surely America need not fear for the fidelity of her Catholic citizens, whom she cherishes and whom she receives to her bosom with affection and shelters from the persecution of others. Neither will any person attempt to establish an analogy between our federation and that of feudalism, to argue that the pope can do amongst us what he did amongst European potentates under circumstances widely different.

My worthy opponent said, that he would only *touch* on persecution. My friends, persecution had marked me for a victim in my native land, and forced me to seek an Asylum in America, when I was young and friendless! Persecution is there, in full operation at this

very hour. Scarcely a breeze comes across the ocean, without bringing on its wings, fresh tidings, of blood, shed under Protestant persecution—by ministers of the Protestant faith.

Widows there kneel in the blood of their own children; and, because excess of grief has made them maniacs, they drink that blood, and curse the authors of their misery. Is not this true? Does not the universe know and shudder at it? And having been compelled to flee from intolerance, having fought against it, must we still see the green-eyed monster, trampling upon the vine and fig tree, here, where we had hoped to sit down under their shade, in safety, and in peace, with our brethren of every denomination? Must we still fear the midnight knock at the door, and the domiciliary visit, by a brutal soldiery? Must the perishing orphans see the bread taken out of their mouths by rapacious parsons, and their mother's cloak (their only covering of a wintry night) *distrained*, to pay the tithe proctor? Where will you find tyranny like this? Would this be a better state of things, than what we, in this free country enjoy? Bigots would blast this glorious prospect. They would proscribe one sect after another. The appetite for blood, they have, even now, evinced, and we know, when once indulged, how hard it is to sate it! But I must call upon Protestant testimony for the wrongs of Ireland—and I will *only touch upon the persecution.* Taylor, a graduate of Trinity College, in his history of Ireland, says:

"It would be a mere waste of words to reprobate this iniquitous law, or rather this violation of all law, human and divine. No Irish Protestant can peruse its enactments without a blush for the shame thus brought on his religion, when it was thus virtually declared that the reformed system should owe its strength and security, not to the purity of its principles, not to the excellence of its doctrines, but to robbery and oppression, to dissention between father and child, to stimulating one neighbor to seize the fruits of another's industry, to the desecration of a solemn sacrament, by making it a test for office. How can we be surprised that the reformed religion is unpopular in Ireland, when by this and similar laws, a Protestant legislature virtually declared that Protestantism could not be secure unless it entered into alliance with Belial, Mammon and Moloch?" Hist. of Ireland, By W. C. Taylor, Esq. A. B. of Trinity college, Dublin, page 108. Vol. 2nd. New York edit. 1833.

Now tell me if the annals of Catholicism can produce any thing like a parallel to this! After enumerating the most tyrannical laws that Draco, or Dioclecian ever enacted, can we discover more proscription—more cruelty?

My friends, I do not blame the Protestant *religion* for this. It is the spirit of the country and government; and the shame is, that when Catholic governments have ceased to persecute, Protestant ones continue to do so.

My friends, were I to consult my own feelings, I should be better pleased to draw a veil over these horrors; but my opponent made allusions to the inquisition, as an argument that, if ever the Catholics became the most numerous, they would make it a part of their system to persecute: as if the same argument, if argument it can be called, would not be equally strong against all the leading churches of Protestantism; and if the gentleman makes any further extracts, I will meet them just in the same way, and condemn both Catholics and Protestants, for that by which they are alike disgraced. Now, as he brings the account of the inquisition before us, and proves it to be the most bloody tyranny, setting aside all forms of legal procedure &c., I will refer you to Hume's history of England, for an inquisi-

tion equally terrible, and more unjust, under Protestant England—the famous Star-Chamber, where, upon the least suspicion, without proof, the officer was sent to the houses of the most distinguished men, nay even to their beds, and forced them in the dead of night to a prison. Sir Thomas Moore, bishop Fisher, the aged countess of Salisbury, &c. are instances with which I could fill up some horrific pages.

As to oaths; the gentleman says that I have taken two which are incompatible with each other. This is not so. My ecclesiastical oath *is of a purely spiritual nature.* The only oath of allegiance, of a temporal character, which I have ever taken, was to the United States. These two oaths cannot be incompatible. The heavens and the earth are not more different from one another, than they are. They cannot possibly interfere with each other. Therefore the bishop's oath is, *by no means*, what the gentleman has represented it. The pope has abjured the odious sense which the document is made to bear. It is no sin surely, to swear that we will not kill the pope. Would my friend make it such? '*Saving my order*' is a clause which the gentleman should have expatiated upon, and our order is forbidden, under the most awful penalties, to shed any one's blood, but our own, if we are called upon to suffer martyrdom, and that of the mystic victim of the altar, as a propitiation for our own sins, and those of the entire world. *Persequar* was never intended to mean persecute. It alludes to moral, not brute force. The weapons of our warfare are spiritual, not carnal. The Latin word means only to follow up with persevering argument, and persuasion, as I am doing this day. Before I took that oath, I read it again and again, and took the decisions of the bishops of America upon it. We all agreed that there was nothing in it contrary to the allegiance due to the United States.

My friend spoke of Catholics violating their oaths. I would ask if there is a nation that has given such splendid testimony of respect for oaths, as Catholic Ireland? For 300 years of the bloodiest persecution that was ever inflicted, they have steadily refused to take an oath which every thing but conscience urged them to take.

My friends, all this ought to be remembered, not for the gratification of hostile feelings, but for justice, and as a fair offset, to balance the Spanish Inquisition, which is all the while not Catholic.—[Time expired.]

Half past 11 *o'clock, A. M.*

MR. CAMPBELL rises—

We have, my friends, had matter of debate thrown before us during the last hour, that would require seven days more to discuss. An ocean instead of a harbor opens to our view. Good policy, however! Instead of concentrating on the main points, which, above all others, it behooved the bishop to clear up, if, indeed, he had any hopes of being able to defend himself, he gives us a little of every thing, great and small; present, past, and future. Thirty minutes would not be enough for me to single out, arrange, and state the contrary propositions, to cover all his last premises. As the gentleman knows what he can best defend, and what he cannot, and as his time is at his own disposal, I have no right to complain. I proceed, therefore, not to recapitulate my argument, as I expected we both would have done in our last

speeches: but to brush the dust off a few of the prominent points, crowded together in his last effort.

The bishop's denial of the genuineness of this Rhemish Testament, at this time, is exceedingly unfair; and still worse, from whatever motive it may proceed, it is wholly reckless of history and fact. I say it is *unfair;* because, when near the beginning of the debate, I showed him the Testament, and challenged him to object to it if he had anything against it, that it might be settled forthwith, he was silent. I went even farther—I asked him for another copy, or edition of it more correct, if he had one: he was still silent. And now, at the close, he has held up the Douay Bible, without these notes, published long since, not pretending to be the same work, either as to time, place, or circumstance, as proof that this edition of the New Testament is not authentic! But my audience, and the public, will appreciate all this. I do assert, then, and my assertion has as much logic in it as his, that the gentleman has misrepresented this affair—that this book is truly what its title page declares it; and that both the text and the notes are as truly Roman Catholic as the Douay Bible. Hear the title:

"The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; translated out of the Latin Vulgate, diligently compared with the original Greek, and first published by the English college of Rheims, Anno 1582: with the Original Preface, Arguments, and Tables, Marginal Notes and Annotations."

Again: hear the recommendation of this work by "ministers of the gospel, and other learned persons of various denominations." They say, "This edition contains *all the notes* of the original edition as published at Rheims, A. D. 1582." Not a new and amended impression, suppressing the more offensive comments, but the original itself. This recommendation is signed by more than a hundred gentlemen of as much literary and religious reputation as can be found in the U. States.

Once more:

CERTIFICATE.—We have compared this New York edition of the Rhemish Testament and Annotations with the first publication of that volume, which was issued at Rheims in 1582; and after examination, we do hereby certify, that the present re-print is an exact and faithful copy of the original work, without abridgment or addition, except that the Latin of a few phrases which were translated by the annotators, and some unimportant expletive words were undesignedly omitted. The orthography also has been modernized.

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE.
WILLIAM C. BROWNLEE, D. D.
THOMAS DE WITT, D. D.
DUNCAN DUNBAR.
ARCHIBALD MACLAY.
WILLIAM PATTON.

To all these certificates there are not less than *one hundred and thirty names.* But the gentleman's calling this authority in question, is in good keeping with his whole course. There is no authority against the church of Rome—neither Protestant nor Catholic to be believed, if they say any thing against her. But infidels, and such Protestants as flatter her in her assumptions, are canonical as holy writ! If the bishop is to be believed, all Protestant historians, theologians, authors, &c. opposed to the Roman assumptions, are *liars.* In proof and demonstration of the super-excellency of Protestant principles, and of the debasing, degrading, and enslaving principles of the papacy, I intended to have drawn a full comparison between the Protestant and Catholic parts of Ireland; the Protestant and Catholic countries of Switzerland—between Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Protestant England—

between the United States and the South American States—between Protestant and Roman Catholic America. But I cannot now attempt it; and much do I regret it: for such a comparison fairly drawn, would amount to the most satisfactory demonstration of the political, literary, and moral tendencies of the two systems. Plain, as proof from holy writ, it would thus have appeared, that this superstition, like the touch of the torpedo, lays a benumbing, paralizing, and blighting hand on all within its grasp.

The gentleman is yet on indulgences and purgatory, when he ought, in reply to my last speech, to have endeavored, if possible, to relieve his cause from imputations the most serious and the most revolting to American ears. I have not thought it important to descant upon the tariff of sins, or to give a tabular view of the prices at which certain sins were rated in gold and silver in the market of indulgences. Nor have I at all inquired why, in this tax-book, for killing a layman a less sum is asked than for simply striking a priest, without breaking the skin. These questions, though capable of solution from authentic documents, are the dreams of purgatory I deem so inferior, and so unblushingly barefaced impositions, that I prefer matters of more grave concern to this community for the time allotted us. That indulgences are bona fide licenses to commit sin, and not simple absolution for past sins, is as susceptible of proof as that Martin Luther began the Protestant reformation.

The gentleman will not defend the popes, he says, in their attempts to exercise supreme political power; but asks, "Did the kings of the nations ever acquiesce in it?" That kings for centuries received and held their crowns at the sovereign pleasure of the popes, is just as obvious a historic fact, as that there were popes at all. Sometimes, indeed, the kings fought against these assumptions, and sometimes they acquiesced. But the ready subordination of the state to the church evinced in the magistrates executing the anathemas of the church, in putting to death those denoted as heretics by the church, shows in what a state of subserviency and pliancy political princes were held by the popes. That is just the very *terror* of church and state—the very supremacy which we fear, and which is so antipodal to our institutions.

It is putting heretics or reformers to death, and supporting a human priesthood by the state according to the dictation of the church, which makes that union, or subserviency, so wicked and odious in our estimation. And will the gentleman ask, what Roman Catholic state, nation, or prince, ever did such a thing?!

In his counter displays of Roman Catholic doctrine, my friend has not given you the trans-Alpine doctrine. The Cis-Alpine, or Gallican doctors, are not of the old Roman Catholic school. They are almost semi-protestant on those very points on which he has introduced them. They are no evidence against the standard doctrines of that church on these questions. The French Catholics began to stand aloof from the high and haughty pretensions of their trans-montane brethren. They are the most liberal portion of the Roman church, and have, consequently, done more for the promotion of science than all the rest of the Catholic world put together. Bishop England gives their views.

I asked for an authentic disclaimer of the attributes of the Roman church, and of those acts and deeds indicative of her tyrannical, oppressive and persecuting spirit which I have detailed. I ask this still

and while I do it in a tone indicative of that earnestness which the occasion requires, I do it in the same benevolence to my opponent and his party which I felt and expressed at the beginning of this discussion. The times and the occasion peremptorily demand it. We know what individual priests and bishops have said against popes and councils, and their proceedings, and against other parts of that system: but these are said for effect *ad captandum vulgus*, and will be unsaid by the same individuals, or by others, when occasion requires. I have brought very serious allegations against the Roman Catholic institution, and authorities for them—all of them authentic, and most of them never disputed by my opponent. He disclaims these principles, acts and movements: but he disproves not one of them. Nor would the disclaiming of them by all the bishops in America, disprove one of them. The council of Trent has ordained and enjoined all these principles of implicit and blind obedience, intolerance, proscription, and persecution. No council has since met, and no power but a general council can define a single article of faith, or rule of manners, according to the declarations of my antagonist. Indeed, the doctrine of the council of Trent must remain immutable and infallible while time endures, according to him: for no other general council can possibly contravene it; and, therefore, while the Roman church exists, she must be, what I have shown she was, before and since the council of Trent.

This council met in a boisterous time. They met to oppose and put down Protestantism. They knew the allegations of Protestants against their doctrine. If then, they could have abandoned those principles for the sake of either reclaiming or defeating the Lutherans, that was the time to do it. They sat long enough, and debated with zeal enough; and yet they dare not discuss the papal authority. The pope forbade them to debate his office, jurisdiction, or authority, and they did not attempt it. The pope signed their decrees, and all that was done there was done irrevocably and forever. The disavowal or the disclaiming of any priest or bishop in the Roman Catholic church, is not worth more, and has no more authority, than mine. It is, therefore, of no value for my learned opponent, or any American prelate to say that he does not approve this or that; or, agree to this or that. They must all submit to, and they will all inculcate on all suitable occasions, every decree of the council of Trent. Thus did the Jesuits in Abyssinia. They first explained away every thing: but finally explained it back again, and had almost saddled the pope and the council of Trent forever on those unfortunate Abyssinians.

I could, had I the time now, from that very history of Ireland from which the gentleman read you an extract, a copy of which I too have lying on the table,—I say, I can from this book show that the ancient christian church of Ireland was subjugated to the church of Rome, by this very species of rhetoric, and that finally the whole island was enslaved to the pope by the same means: for in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, there were Christian churches, ages before the popes of Rome were born. But by this chamelion attribute of becoming all things to all men, for a while, she has made all men become what she pleases.

Thus by degrees under this system, the human spirit is broken, degraded and debased, night ensues, and finally, gross darkness covers

the people. Even in Canada since the papacy has gained the ascendency, laws have been passed in the provincial assemblies, giving to school commissioners and grand jurors the privilege of "*making their mark*, instead *of writing their names!*" Nothing can preserve our republican institutions but a system of intellectual and moral culture, accessible to every child born upon our soil or brought to our shores. Unless we thus benevolently co-operate in this great cause of humanity, this last and best hope of the oppressed of all nations will vanish from the earth, and a new and ghostly despotism shall arise and extend its iron sceptre over this our beloved land. Nothing but intelligence and virtue universally diffused, can save us from this dread catastrophe. In Protestant Prussia, with a Roman Catholic minority, they understand so well the importance and utility of education, and its power to dissipate the darkness of superstition, always tyrannical, that every child is by law compelled to be educated, and that morally as well as intellectually.

There remains an important point or two yet to be noticed. The gentleman is exceedingly squeamish in his avowals of this oath, which forever binds the Roman priesthood to the court of Rome. He admits, however, that after due consultation or meditation had he took the oath, clauses of which constrain him to "increase and advance the authority of the pope," and to "persecute and oppose heretics and schismatics." He says *persequor* means not to persecute.

Bishop Purcell. It means to follow, and nothing more.

Mr. Campbell. It is a generic term, and means to follow with the sword or faggot, or the hand or foot, only in the way of opposition, however. *Sequor* is to follow, but *persequor* is to follow with vengeance.

I have learned this morning that it can be proved under oath that all the bishops in America have taken this oath; and that without equivocation or mental reservation; of which fact, however, I was before apprised; but the gentleman himself has admitted it, and I pursue it no further. I am, however, disappointed to observe that he has been at no pains to reconcile his allegiance to two governments so singularly repugnant to each other in all their elements and tendencies.

My friend fled from persecution in Ireland! From paying *tithes*, I suppose, according to the Levitical law! Well, this tithe system is a falling concern, and will soon pass away. But is not this, his persecution, an ingenious off-set to fifty millions of martyrs sacrificed by the papal power?! Some are whispering that this Roman persecuting spirit is dying away as the tithe system. Let those, however, who think so, in addition to what I have already read from various sources, accept a few words from the "Plea for the West"—from the 2d ed. of M. Aignan, of the French Academy in Paris, A. D. 1818:

"Passing to the 10th article of the *Concordat*, in which it is said that his Most Christian Majesty shall employ, in concert with the Holy Father, all the means in his power to cause to cease, as soon as possible, all the disorders and obstacles which obstruct the welfare of religion and the execution of the laws of the church—were [the Protestants] to ask (although the profuse shedding of their blood might have informed them), What are the laws of the church? The acts of Pius VII. himself, and the writings on which the church rests her authority, would answer, THE EXTERMINATION OF HERETICS, THE CONFISCATION OF THEIR GOODS, AND THEIR PRIVATION OF EVERY CIVIL PRIVILEGE."

To this the author subjoins a note: "Certain portions of real estate which had

belonged to ecclesiastics, had passed into the hands of Protestant princes. Pius VII. in 1805, complained of it to his nuncio residing at Vienna; and reminded him that, according to the laws of the church, not only could not heretics possess ecclesiastical property, but that also they could not possess any property whatever, since the crime of heresy ought to be punished by the confiscation of goods. He added that the subjects of a prince, who is a heretic, should be released from every duty to him, freed from all obligation and all homage. 'In truth,' said he, 'we have fallen on times so calamitous, and so humiliating to the spouse of Jesus Christ, that it is not possible for her to practise, nor expedient to recall so holy maxims; and she is forced to interrupt the course of her just severities against the enemies of the faith. But if she cannot exercise her right to depose the partizans of heresy from their principalities, and declare that they have forfeited all their goods; can she ever permit that, to enrich themselves, they should despoil her of her own proper dominions? What a subject of derision—would she not present to these very heretics and unbelievers, who, while they insulted her grief, would say they had discovered the method of rendering her tolerant?

"The same pontiff in his instructions to his agents in Poland, given in 1808, professes this doctrine, that the laws of the church do not recognize any civil privileges as belonging to persons not Catholic; that their marriages are not valid; that they can live only in concubinage; that their children, being bastards, are incapacitated to inherit; that the Catholics themselves are not validly married, except they are united according to the rules prescribed by the court of Rome; and that, when they are married according to these rules, their marriage is valid, had they in other respects infringed all the laws of their country."—Quarterly Register, vol. 3. p. 89.

Remember then, that according to the acts of Pius VII. the laws of the church *still command the extermination of heretics—the confiscation of their goods, and their deprivation of every privilege—that Protestants have no privileges*; and that the present calm is owing, not to a change of spirit, but of times: for says the pope: "*the times are so calamitous —that the church is forced to interrupt the course of her* JUST SEVERITIES *against* THE ENEMIES OF THE FAITH!" These are truly calamitous times!! Alas for prosperous days!

I am indeed sorry that our debate has been so much out of logical order. An issue has never been fairly and fully formed on one of my propositions. My friend occupied the ground which he chose. He was respondent. How he has responded, it remains for others to judge. He has been positive and declamatory enough, and very scrupulous about "mint, anise and cummin:" but how have the great topics been met? I rejoice, however, that it will go to the public, as it was spoken, and that the public will read and judge.

I have heard a hint that the gentleman is about to disprove the fact of the anathema or bishop's curse by introducing Sterne, turning into ridicule the curses pronounced centuries before he was born. The humor of Sterne found the reality of the curse, or he would not have laughed at it.

The gentleman has now to close the debate. The usages of discussion forbid the introduction of new matter in the last speech. He will robably again tell you of Catholic devotion to American liberty, and f his brother soldiers, that fought in the Revolutionary war. For, by such arguments he has generally met the decrees of councils, the bulls of popes, the records of history, and the precepts of the apostles. But before the devotion of a few Roman Catholic soldiers to the cause of the Revolution can be accepted as proof of Roman Catholic love of either civil or religious liberty, it must be ascertained, whether the hatred of *Protestant* England, rather than the love of rational liberty, instigated those soldiers that served during that war. For my part, I

incline to the opinion that the hatred of England was at least as strong an impulse to their efforts as the love of liberty.—But—[Time expired.]

Twelve o'clock, M.

BISHOP PURCELL rises—

My friends, in order to meet one of the last allegations of the gentleman, namely, that the Catholic church has a law, making Protestant children illegitimate; I know of no law to that effect, which admits of the least practical difficulty; but I will tell you where it is still in force, and imposes civil disabilities and disqualifications of the most odious character. It is in a Protestant country. And, here, let me say, once for all, that I judge too highly of the character of Scotsmen and Englishmen, and know too well that they detest these laws as much as I do, to mean anything disrespectful to them, when I allude to the acts of the British government, or the malpractices of individuals. Scotland has done much for science. Eagle-like she has soared to its sunniest heights. May she battle, like the Bruce, by the side of O'Connell, for human rights. But, facts are facts. Now, a Unitarian minister, Mr. Dewey, whom I have already quoted, says:

"The dissenters are demanding to be relieved from their burdens. Petitions to parliament, either for an entire abolition of the union between church and state, or for an essential modification of that union, have, it is well known, become matters of almost every day occurrence. There is a determination on this point, which must at length succeed; and I must say, indeed, from my own impressions about the *hardships* of the case, that if the dissenters—if those whose *consciences* and *property* and *personal respectability* are alike invaded by the church establishment, will not cause their voice, and the voice of justice to be heard, they deserve to be oppressed.....If the church endowments were a bequest for the benefit of any particular class of christians, it was for the Catholics. The largest portion of them were actually Catholic endowments. If it is proper that they should be diverted from that original design at all, it ought at least to be done in aid and furtherance of the whole religion of the country.....No man I think, can travel through this country without knowing that the dissenters are frequently treated in a manner amounting to absolute indignity! As to the *injustice* of the system, it is well known. The dissenter is excluded from the universities. In fact, he can neither be born, nor baptized, nor married, nor buried, but under the opprobrium of the law. That is to say, there can be no legal registration of his birth; his baptismal certificate does not entitle him to legal marriage: and he can receive neither marriage, nor burial from the hands of his own pastor.

And now what is alleged in defence of this state of things? No principle or pretence of justice that I have ever heard, but only the principle of expediency. It is said that monopoly and exclusion here are necessary. It is said that religion cannot be supported in dignity and honor, without ample endowments and rich benefices." Vol. I. p. 143.

Such is the state of England in the enlightened nineteenth century, and a pretty state it certainly is! Thus, on incontrovertible testimony, that of the nation at large, are monopoly and exclusion necessary to the support of a system which Mr. Campbell has solemnly declared to be the only bulwark of the Protestant religion!!

My friends, for those tremendous curses which you have heard, and at which you have laughed so heartily! I must spoil or heighten the fun by telling you that they are not Catholic curses, nor yet Protestant curses exactly, but that they are the *jeu d'esprit* of a Protestant minister, Lawrence Sterne, all found in this book (exhibiting it,) which I have had brought me, this moment, from a book store, written by that worthy parson himself, and one of the most grossly obscene in the English language!! Verily, my opponent has given me, in this finale, a measure of revenge which I would not, myself, have asked

for. And he had these curses, stowed away for years, on that bit of soiled paper, to be produced as the *coup de grace* to the Catholics, at the close of this debate. I saw these curses, when some waggish wight had them published, in Philadelphia; and the moment he mentioned them, I wrote on my notes, "Sterne," "Tristram Shandy," and sent for the book! Dr. Slop cuts his finger, untying a certain case of instruments: he whistles Lillebulero, to ease the pain; and Uncle Toby, or his nephew, with Cervantic gravity, swears by Juno's beard to the genuineness of these curses, and hands them to Dr. Slop, to read by way of an anodyne! But, seriously, in the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, are to be found curses, as awful as these here pronounced. Must we mock God that inspired, or the scripture that records them? Now the bible itself is turned into ridicule by the gentleman

Christian charity and common sense, truth and justice, require imperatively, that no one should be condemned without a hearing, or charged with holding sentiments which he disavows. Here is the fullest, the clearest, the most unequivocal disavowal, of the doctrine of the pope's deposing power. The Catholics do not believe that he has any such power. We would be among the first to oppose him in its exercise; and we would be neither heretics nor bad Catholics; and we each of us bishops swear the very words of the oath: "*Persequar et impugnabo, salvo meo ordine*," in the sense specified, which is the only true sense, the assumption of any such power by the pope, or the pope for the assumption of any such power. FOR TEN CENTURIES THIS POWER WAS NEVER CLAIMED BY ANY POPE. IT CAN, THEREFORE, BE NO PART OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE. IT HAS NOT GAINED ONE FOOT OF LAND FOR THE POPE. IT IS NOT ANY WHERE BELIEVED, OR ACTED UPON, IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. NOR CAN IT BE, AT THIS LATE DAY, ESTABLISHED, IF ANY MAN COULD BE FOUND MAD ENOUGH TO MAKE THE ATTEMPT. Let these go before the American people, as the real principles of Catholics concerning the power of the pope. And if we must pronounce a judgment on the past, let it be remembered, that when the pope did use this power, it was *when appealed to as a common father*, and in favor of the oppressed! We should go back, in spirit, to former times, when we undertake to judge them. We should understand the condition of society at the period; we should know the circumstances, general and particular, which controlled or influenced the great events recorded in history. We should not quarrel with our ancestors, because they did not possess knowledge which we possess; nor flatter ourselves that we are vastly their betters because of these adventitious advantages; while they manifestly surpass us in others of greater value, to the Christian, the moralist, the artist. They had the substance of good things: we seem to be content with the shadow of them. The very efforts now made by fanatical preachers, and petitioners to congress, to proscribe Roman Catholics, clearly show that we are far behind them in the regard for truth, and the exercise of toleration. Let it never be forgotten, *what the sect was, of what religion the men were, who first petitioned congress, in this free country, to restrict*, or, to use a more appropriate word, *to abolish liberty of conscience, and to form a Christian party in politics.* They were not Roman Catholics.

The Bull of Gregory XVI. censures bad books. He condemns not the liberty, but the licentiousness of the press. And is he not right! Can there be a greater corrupter of morals than bad books? Did not

St. Paul burn bad books to the amount of 5000 pieces of silver, as we read in Acts xix. 19? Is it not actionable in England and the United States to publish books against the existence of God? You see what one-sided views, some *would be* great men can take, of the doings of popes. The gentleman blew up the bible, and all the mysteries of christianity, and himself with them, when he tried to blast the rock of Peter; is it wonderful that he should implicate St. Paul, and English and American common and statute law, when he would blow up the good old pope, Gregory XVI.?

In a rescript addressed by his holiness Pius VII. to the vicars apostolic of Great Britain, dated the 8th of April, 1820, his holiness exhorts them to take care that

"The faithful abstain from reading the wicked books, in which in these calamitous times, our religion is assailed from all sides; and that they should be strengthened in faith and good works, by the reading of pious books, and particularly the holy scriptures, in editions approved by the church—you preceding them by word and example." "Ut a perversorum librorum lectione, quibus, calamitosissimis hisce temporibus sancta nostra Religio undique impetitur, abstineant; ut piorum libro rum, præsertim scripturarum sacrarum lectione, in editionibus ab Ecclesia appro batis in fide et in bonis operibus, vobis verbo et exemplo præuntibus, conforten tur."

"In the reign of Louis XIV. of France, at the suggestion of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, 50,000 copies of the new Testament in the vernacular tongue, were distributed in the provinces." See vindication of religious Orders, No. 40, 3d. vol.

The Index is a book of which I have never had a copy; and no Catholic, that I know of, in the United States, has ever seen it. The law of nature is as much of an "Index" as that volume, for it forbids us to read bad books which the index-finger of conscience points to us as evil, with the word—BEWARE! The gentleman greatly mistakes the Catholic doctrine, the morals of Catholics, the politics, the intellects of Catholics. I trust, as he becomes more enlightened, he will think better of them. I am sure this audience, and the public will. All see by the crowds of Catholics thronging, to the very last moment, to this debate, how free and fearless of the investigation of their faith they are, and feel. They have had the full benefit of all the gentleman's sophistry and extracts; and the effect is infinitely better for Catholicism than any sermon that I, or any Catholic bishop in the union, has ever preached to them. They see that, with all the gentleman's learning and talents, he has utterly failed to establish a single one of his propositions. Hence they will be more attached to their faith than ever.

As to the deposing power, I may recall to your recollection the fact that five great universities of Europe were consulted by William Pitt, and they all, in the most solemn language, reprobated such a doctrine Their decisions may appear in an appendix, if we publish one. I have not time to read them now. In Millner's End of controversy, and Charles Butler's memoirs of English, Irish and Scottish Catholics, we'll find these matters fairly stated and discussed.

There is more liberty in Rome than the gentleman gives it credit for. There is a Protestant church, even in Rome, where service is regularly performed according to the Episcopalian rite. The Jews are not any where more charitably treated, than in the eternal city. Last year, they presented a splendid copy of the Holy Bible, or some other sacred book, to the pope, as a token of their gratitude.

The gentleman calls the system of tithes a dying system. It has

indeed been a dying system. It has slain its thousands, and made the condition of the living worse than that of the dead.

Judge Hall, of this place, has treated the question discussed, more learnedly and eloquently than my worthy opponent or myself. I will give his remarks the place to which they are so well entitled for candor and liberality.

"This question has become so important in the United States, that it is time to begin to inquire into its bearings, and to know whether the public are really interested in the excitement which has been gotten up with unusual industry, and has been kept alive with a pertinacity that has seldom been equaled. For several years past the religious protestant papers of our country, with but few exceptions, have teemed with virulent attacks against the Catholics, and especially with paragraphs charging them substantially with designs hostile to our free institutions, and with a systematic opposition to the spread of all free inquiry and liberal knowledge. These are grave charges, involving consequences of serious import, and such as should not be believed or disbelieved upon mere rumor, or permitted to rest upon any vague hypothesis; because they are of a nature which renders them susceptible of proof. The spirit of our institutions requires that these questions should be thus examined. We profess to guaranty to every inhabitant of our country, certain rights, in the enjoyment of which he shall not be molested, except through the instrumentality of a process of law which is clearly indicated. Life, liberty, property, reputation, are thus guarded—and equally sacred is the right secured to every man, to 'worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.'

But it is idle to talk of these inestimable rights, as having any efficacious existence, if the various checks and sanctions, thrown around them by our constitution and laws, may be evaded, and a lawless majority, with a high hand, ravish them by force from a few individuals who may be effectually outlawed by a perverted public opinion, produced by calumny and clamor. It is worse than idle, it is wicked, to talk of liberty, while a majority, having no other right than that of the strongest, persist in blasting the character of unoffending individuals by calumny, and in oppressing them by direct violence upon their persons and property, not only without evidence of their delinquency, but against evidence; not only without law, but in violation of law—and merely because they belong to an unpopular denomination.

The very fact that the Roman Catholics are, and can be with impunity, thus trampled upon, in a country like ours, affords in itself the most conclusive evidence of the groundlessness of the fears, which are entertained by some respecting them. Without the power to protect themselves, in the enjoyment of the ordinary rights of citizenship, and with a current of prejudice setting so strongly against them, that they find safety only in bending meekly to the storm, how idle, how puerile, how disingenuous is it, to rave as some have done, of the danger of Catholic influence!

We repeat that this is a question which must rest upon testimony. The American people are too intelligent, too just, too magnanimous, to suffer the temporary delusion by which so many have been blinded, to settle down into a permanent national prejudice, and to oppress one christian denomination at the bidding of others without some proof, or some reasonable argument.

We have not yet seen any evidence in the various publications that have reached us, of any unfairness on the part of the Catholics, in the propagation of their religious doctrines. If they are active, persevering, and ingenious in their attempts to gain converts, and if they are successful in securing the countenance and support of those who maintain the same form of belief in other countries, these we imagine, are the legitimate proofs of christian zeal and sincerity. In relation to protestant sects, they are certainly so estimated; and we are yet to learn, why the ordinary laws of evidence are to be set aside in reference to this denomination, and why the missionary spirit which is so praiseworthy in others, should be thought so wicked and so dangerous in them.

Let us inquire into this matter calmly. Why is it that the Catholics are pursued with such pertinacity, with such vindictiveness, with such ruthless malevolence? Why cannot their peculiar opinions be opposed by argument, by persuasion, by remonstrance, as one christian sect should oppose each other? We speak kindly of the Jew, and even of the heathen; there are those that love a

Negro or a Cherokee even better than their own flesh and blood; but a Catholic is an abomination, for whom there is no law, no charity, no bond of christian fraternity.

These reflections rise naturally out of the recent proceedings in relation to the Roman Catholics. A nunnery has been demolished by an infuriated mob—a small community of refined and unprotected females, lawfully and usefully engaged in the tuition of children, whose parents have voluntarily committed them to their care, have been driven from their home—yet the perpetrators have escaped punishment, and the act, if not openly excused, is winked at, by protestant christians. The outrage was public, extensive, and undeniable; and a most respectable committee, who investigated all the facts, have shown that it was unprovoked—a mere wanton ebullition of savage malignity. Yet the sympathies of a large portion of the protestant community are untouched.

Is another instance required, of the pervading character of this prejudice? How common has been the expedient, employed by missionaries from the west, in the eastern states, of raising money for education or for religion upon the allegation that it was necessary to prevent the ascendency of the catholics. How often has it been asserted, throughout the last ten years, that this was the chosen field on which the papists had erected their standard, and where the battle must be fought for civil and religious liberty. What tales of horror have been poured into the ears of the confiding children of the pilgrims—of young men emigrating to the west, marrying catholic ladies, and collapsing without a struggle into the arms of Romanism—of splendid edifices undermined by profound dungeons, prepared for the reception of heretic republicans—of boxes of firearms secretly transported into hidden receptacles, in the very bosoms of our flourishing cities of vast and widely ramified European conspiracies by which Irish catholics are suddenly converted into lovers of monarchy, and obedient instruments of kings!

A prejudice so indomitable and so blind, could not fail, in an ingenious and enterprising land like ours, to be made the subject of pecuniary speculation; accordingly we find such works as the 'Master Key to Popery,' 'Secrets of Female Convents,' and 'Six Months in a Convent,' manufactured with a distinct view to making a profit out of this diseased state of the public mind. The abuse of the catholics therefore is not merely matter of party rancor, but, is a regular trade, and the compilation of anti-catholic books of the character alluded to, has become a part of the regular industry of the country, as much as the making of nutmegs, or the construction of clocks.

Philosophy sanctions the belief, that power held by any set of men without restraint or competition, is liable to abuse; and history teaches the humiliating fact that power thus held has always been abused. To inquire who has been the greatest aggressor against the rights of human nature, when all who have been tempted have evinced a common propensity to trample upon the laws of justice and benevolence, would be an unprofitable procedure. The reformers punished heresy by death as well as the catholics; and the murders perpetrated by intolerance, in the reign of Elizabeth, were not less atrocious than those which occurred under 'the bloody Mary.' We might even come nearer home, and point to colonies on our own continent, planted by men professing to have fled from religious persecution, who not only excluded from all civil and political rights those who were separated from them by only slight shades of religious belief, but persecuted many even to death, for heresy and witchcraft. Yet these things are not taken into the calculation, and the catholics are assumed, without examination, to be exclusively and especially prone to the sins of oppression and cruelty.

The French catholics, at a very early period, commenced a system of missions for the conversion of the Indians, and were remarkably successful in gaining converts, and conciliating the confidence and affections of the tribes. While the Pequods and other northern tribes were becoming exterminated, or sold into slavery, the more fortunate savage of the Mississippi was listening to the pious counsels of the catholic missionary.—This is another fact, which deserves to be remembered, and which should be weighed in the examination of the testimony It shews that the catholic appetite for cruelty is not quite so keen as is usually imagined, and that they exercised, of choice, an expansive benevolence, at a period when protestants, similarly situated, were blood-thirsty and rapacious.

Advancing a little further in point of time, we find a number of colonies advancing rapidly towards prosperity, on our Atlantic sea board. In point of civil

government they were somewhat detached, each making its own municipal laws, and there being in each a predominance of the influence of one religious denomination. We might therefore expect to see the political bias of each sect carried out into practice, and it is curious to examine how far such was the fact. It is the more curious, because the writers and orators of one branch of this family of republics, are in the habit of attributing to their own fathers, the principles of religious and political toleration, which became established throughout the whole, and are now the boast and pride of our nation. The impartial record of history affords on this subject a proof alike honorable to all, but which rebukes alike the sectional or sectarian vanity of each. New-England was settled by English puritans, New-York by Dutch protestants, Pennsylvania by Quakers, Maryland by Catholics, Virginia by the Episcopalian adherents of the Stuarts and South Carolina by a mingled population of roundheads and cavaliers fror England, and of French huguenots—yet the same broad foundations of civil and political liberty were laid simultaneously in them all, and the same spirit of resistance animated each community, when the oppressions of the mother country became intolerable. Religious intolerance prevailed in early times only in the eastern colonies, but the witchcraft superstition, though most strongly developed there, pervaded some other portions of the new settlements. We shall not amplify our remarks on this topic; it is enough to say, that if the love of monarchy was a component principle of the catholic faith, it was not developed in our country when a fair opportunity was offered for its exercise; and that in the glorious struggle for liberty, for civil and religious emancipation—when our fathers arrayed themselves in defence of the sacred principles involving the whole broad ground of contest between liberty and despotism, the catholic and the protestant stood side by side on the battle field, and in the council, and pledged to their common country, with equal devotedness, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Nor should it be forgotten, that in a conflict thus peculiarly marked, a catholic king was our ally, when the most powerful of protestant governments was our enemy."

Now, my friends and fellow citizens, let me have permission to close this debate by the language of the illustrious Washington, in his answer to the patriotic address of the U. S. Catholics. I disclaim all unkind feelings towards Mr. Campbell or any of his friends, and acknowledge my gratitude to him for enabling me to place my religion, in its proper light, before the public. I also beg leave respectfully to tender to this audience my thanks for the dignity of their deportment during this debate. Instead of quarreling about religion we ought to be engaged in our vocation of love and peace, as its faithful ministers, and sincere professors. We have all, a great deal to do to improve the morals of the age, to elevate the standard of literature, to promote by such means as all christians approve, the welfare of our common country, and to obtain for our green state, the fertile and flourishing, Ohio, a distinguished rank for knowledge, virtue and patriotism, among her elder and her younger sisters in this fair republic. These are legitimate pursuits, alike pleasing to God, and useful to man. The world is large enough for us all. Some can, in the Abraham and Lot way of settling their difficulties, feed their flocks in one field, and some in another; and, as Joseph said to his brethren going home to their father, from Egypt, as we are going to one heavenly Father, "see that ye fall not out by the way" (Reads from Washington's letter as follows:)

TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Gentlemen—While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by an unanimous vote, to the first station in my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness, in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity, enhances the

pleasure, which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel that my conduct, in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could have reasonably been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree, resulting from the able support, and extraordinary candor, of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us, is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men, to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of divine providence, the protection of a good government, and the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that *all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government.* I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow citizens *will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government,* or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavor to justify the favorable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

March, 1790.

[END OF THE DEBATE.]

The following are the extracts referred to on page 224 :—

ENGLISH DIVINES.

"*Confession to a priest, the minister of pardon and reconciliation, the curate of souls, and the guide of consciences, is of so great use and benefit, to all that are heavy laden with their sins, that they who carelessly and causelessly neglect it, are neither lovers of the peace of consciences, nor careful for the advantage of their souls.*" (*Ep. Jer. Taylor, of the doctrine and practice of repentance, chap. x. sec. 4.*) "*For the publication of our sins to the minister of holy things,* τουτον ἐχει τον λογον, ὃν ἐχει ἡ ἐπιδειξις τῶν σωματικων παθων, *said Basil,* (*Regul. Brev.* 229,) *is just like the manifestation of the diseases of our body to the physician, for God hath appointed them, as spiritual physicians.*" (*Taylor, ut supra.*)

P. S. It has startled many an honest independent, who by chance has got hold of an original work of sturdy John Calvin, or Martin Luther, when in some well-prized "commentaries;" some latent passage of "The Institutions," he has encountered sly admissions, well guarded by cautious 'ifs,' and left to their own fate without defence or apology, yet savoring much of ancient heresy. Ana in the honesty of his ignorance, he has exclaimed, as he returned the dusty volume to its shelf,—Great Calvin! much learning hath made thee mad. The bible, and the bible alone, is the religion of Protestants. Where have been Protestants as consistent as the Covenanters and the Puritans? Assigning to Rome the whole body of christian testimony, experience, and wisdom; outspreading, in one hand, the broad banner of private opinion; coolly hanging and burning their brother-democrats with the other; extolling Protestantism as the religion of the enlightened; fairly proving it the religion of the ignorant.....And who are they that the bigoted "no bigot" points at, "Romanists," "Papishers," "near neighbors to the Babylon of abominations!" They are men who have devoted their lives to the study of the legitimate authorities of doctrine and rite."

This was exhibited and the names read at the close of debate on apostolic succession.

Tabular view of the order of the Episcopal succession in the prominent (Gentile) Dioceses mentioned by Eusebius.

BISHOPS OF ROME.

Peter and Paul, according to Eusebius, died as martyrs at Rome; after these followed,

1 Linus,	9 Pius,	16 Urbanus,	23 Xystus or Sixtus II
2 Anencletus,	10 Anicetus,	17 Pontianus,	24 Dionysius,
3 Clement,	11 Soter,	18 Anteros,	25 Felix,
4 Euarestus,	12 Eleutherus,	19 Fabianus,	26 Eutychianus,
5 Alexander,	13 Victor,	20 Cornelius,	27 Caius,
6 Xystus or Sixtus,	14 Zephyrinus,	21 Lucius,	28 Marcellinus,
7 Telesphorus,	15 Callisthus,	22 Stephanus,	29 Miltiades.
8 Hyginus,			

BISHOPS OF ANTIOCH.

1 Evodius,	6 Theophilus,	11 Zebinas,	16 Domnus,
2 Ignatius,	7 Maximinus,	12 Babylas,	17 Timœus,
3 Heron,	8 Serapion,	13 Fabius,	18 Cyrillus,
4 Cornelius,	9 Asclepiades,	14 Demetrianus,	19 Tyrannus,
5 Eros,	10 Philetus,	15 Paul of Samosata.	

BISHOPS OF ALEXANDRIA.

The evangelist Mark, established the church there, and after him came,

1 Annianus,	6 Eumenes,	11 Demetrius,	16 Peter,
2 Avilius,	7 Marcus,	12 Heraclas,	17 Achillas,
3 Cerdo,	8 Celadion,	13 Dionysius,	18 Alexander,
4 Primus,	9 Agrippinus,	14 Maximus,	
5 Justus,	10 Julianus,	15 Theonas,	

BISHOPS OF LAODICEA.

Thelymedres,	Socrates,	Anatolius,	Theodotus,
Heliodorus,	Eusebius of Alexandria,	Stephen,	

BISHOPS OF CESAREA.

Theophilus	Domnus,	Agapius,	Eusebius.
Theoctistus,	Theotecnus,		

Having revised some three hundred pages of *proof* of this debate, before I left Cincinnati for New Orleans, on the 2nd of March, 1837, I am willing to consider and approve the report, as being substantially correct. I have the utmost confidence in the honor and honesty of the publishers, Messrs. J. A. James & Co., that the balance of the discussion will be fairly presented to the public.

✝ JOHN B. PURCELL, Bishop of Cincinnati.

THE DISPUTED PASSAGE OF ST. LIGORI.—MR. CAMPBELL'S DOCUMENTARY SUBSTANTIATION.

The reader, who looks back to pages 219, 253, will there see with what solemn and strong asseverations the Bishop declared that no such passage as that quoted from page 294 was ever written by Saint Ligori.*

MR. SMITH, in reply to my letter per Mr. Emmons, wrote as follows—

"The obnoxious passage, then, which the Romish Bishop of Cincinnati calls heaven and earth to witness is not to be found in the works of Ligori, is the following:

"A Bishop, however poor he may be, cannot appropriate to himself pecuniary fines, without the licence of the Apostolical See. But he ought to apply them to pious uses. Much less can he apply those fines to any thing else but pious uses, which the *Council of Trent* has laid upon non-resident Clergymen, or upon those *Clergymen who keep Concubines*."—Ligor. Ep. Doc. Mor. p. 444.

This passage, I will now give in the Latin, as it stands on the 444th page of the 8th volume of the "MORAL THEOLOGY OF ALPHONSUS DE LIGORIO," from whose Work the extract was made. The words are as follows:

"Mulctas pecuniarias Episcopus sibi addicere non potest, quantumvis pauper

* See pages 269, 319, 320.

at, sine licentia Sedis Apostolicæ. [ut ex pluribus argumentis S. Congregat. evincitur in Tract. De Syn. Diœc. L. 10. C. 10. N. 2.] Sed debent in usus pios expendi. Multo magis non possunt nisi in pios usus applicari illæ mulctæ, quas Tridentinum infixit Clericis non residentibus, aut concubinariis."—Ligor. Epit. Doc. Mor. p. 444.

The words included in the brackets, were not translated, merely because I did not wish to encumber the "SYNOPSIS," (as I have observed in the "PREFACE OF THE SYNOPSIS,") with too many of the authorities quoted by Ligori. I shall now, however, translate the above words in the brackets, much, I know, to the discomfiture of his Reverence the Romish Bishop of Cincinnati. The words in the brackets, therefore, translated, are as follows · ["as is evident from many arguments of the Holy Congregation, in the Treatise respecting the Diocesan Synods, Book 10, Chapter 10, Number 2."]

Here we have, not only the authority of St. Ligori, but also that of the "*Holy Congregation of Rites.*"

Since this subject is now to be probed to the bottom, we will also translate the contracted words which I transferred into the "*Synopsis*," as I found them in the original. The words to which I allude are the terminating ones of the disputed passage, as follows:—"Ligor. Ep. Doc. Mor. p. 444."—which, translated, stand thus:—"From the Work of Ligori, under the head of 'An Epitome of the Moral Doctrine,' page 444."

In order to render the testimony still more striking, it is important to observe that this "Epitome of the Moral Doctrine," to which Ligori alludes, is an Epitome compiled by no less a personage than Pope Benedict XIV. as we are informed by Ligori himself, in the 301st page of the 8th volume of his "MORAL THEOLOGY."

That the previous Latin words are truly and faithfully the words of St. Ligori and fairly extracted from 8th volume, p. 444. is duly certified by the following learned gentlemen.

We, the undersigned, have carefully examined the foregoing extracts from the Moral Theology of St. Ligori; and having compared them with the original Latin copy of that Work, now before us, we do hereby certify that the said extracts are *verbatim*, truly and correctly given by Mr. Smith.

In this certificate, we include, particularly, the passage disputed by Bishop Purcell, which is contained in Mr. Smith's "SYNOPSIS," p. 294, par. 7, headed "CONCUBINES of the CLERGY."

DUNCAN DUNBAR, *Pastor of the M'Dougal-st. Bapt. Church.*
JNO. KENNADAY, *Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*
SPENCER H. CONE, *Pastor of the Oliver-street Baptist Church.*
SAM'L F. B. MORSE, *Prof. &c. in the University of the City of New York.*
WM. GREEN, JR. *Deacon in the 6th Free Cong. Church, N. Y.*
C. G. FINNEY, *Pastor of the Church in the Broadway Tabernacle.*

New-York, Feb'y 23, 1837.

On receiving the above communication from Mr. Smith I asked from bishop Purcell the loan of the works of St. Ligori. He politely complied with my request. Turning to the page, 444, volume 8, I found every word in his own edition as above reported. I carried it and the Synopsis of Mr. Smith to our mutual friend Mr. Kinmont, to whom it was now my time to appeal. Mr. Kinmont read both the original and the translation: and then certified as follows.

The above (version of Smith p. 294) I regard to be a *faithful* translation of the passage as it stands in the 8th volume of Ligori page 444.

Cincinnati, Feb'y 3, 1837. ALEXANDER KINMONT.

Having read all the proofs of this discussion, I certify, that the reader has substantially, as correctly, as under all the circumstances could have been expected, a fair representation of the whole discussion.

MARCH 7, 1837. A. CAMPBELL.

THE END

THE

BATTLE OF THE GIANTS:

THE VATICAN DECREES

IN THEIR BEARING ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE,

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P.

WITH THE

REPLIES OF DR. NEWMAN, ARCHBISHOP MANNING, THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR CAPEL, LORD ACTON, AND LORD CAMOYS,

AND A FULL ABSTRACT OF

GLADSTONE'S REJOINDER.

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THE VATICAN DECREES

IN THEIR BEARING ON

CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.

I. The Occasion and Scope of this Tract.

In the prosecution of a purpose not polemical but pacific, I have been led to employ words which belong, more or less, to the region of religious controversy; and which, though they were themselves few, seem to require, from the various feelings they have aroused, that I should carefully define, elucidate, and defend them. The task is not of a kind agreeable to me; but I proceed to perform it.

Among the causes which have tended to disturb and perplex the public mind in the consideration of our own religious difficulties, one has been a certain alarm at the aggressive activity and imagined growth of the Roman Church in this country. All are aware of our susceptibility on this side; and it was not, I think, improper for one who desires to remove every thing that can interfere with a calm and judicial temper, and who believes the alarm to be groundless, to state, pointedly though briefly, some reasons for that belief.

Accordingly, I did not scruple to use the following language, in a paper inserted in the number of the 'Contemporary Review' for the month of October. I was speaking of "the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the Church and people of England."

"At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth: when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; when she has refurbished, and paraded anew, every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history."*

Had I been, when I wrote this passage, as I now am, address-

* 'Contemporary Review,' Oct., 1874, p. 674.

ing myself in considerable measure to my Roman Catholic fellow countrymen, I should have striven to avoid the seeming roughness of some of these expressions; but as the question is now about their substance, from which I am not in any particular disposed to recede, any attempt to recast their general form would probably mislead. I proceed, then, to deal with them on their merits.

More than one friend of mine, among those who have been led to join the Roman Catholic communion, has made this passage the subject, more or less, of expostulation. Now, in my opinion, the assertions which it makes are, as coming from a layman who has spent most and the best years of his life in the observation and practice of politics, not aggressive, but defensive.

It is neither the abettors of the Papal Chair, nor any one who, however far from being an abettor of the Papal Chair, actually writes from a Papal point of view, that has a right to remonstrate with the world at large; but it is the world at large, on the contrary, that has the fullest right to remonstrate, first with His Holiness, secondly with those who share his proceedings, thirdly even with such as passively allow and accept them.

I therefore, as one of the world at large, propose to expostulate in my turn. I shall strive to show to such of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as may kindly give me a hearing that, after the singular steps which the authorities of their Church have in these last years thought fit to take, the people of this country, who fully believe in their loyalty, are entitled, on purely civil grounds, to expect from them some declaration or manifestation of opinion, in reply to that ecclesiastical party in their Church who have laid down, in their name, principles adverse to the purity and integrity of civil allegiance.

Undoubtedly my allegations are of great breadth. Such broad allegations require a broad and a deep foundation. The first question which they raise is, Are they, as to the material part of them, true? But even their truth might not suffice to show that their publication was opportune. The second question, then, which they raise is, Are they, for any practical purpose, material? And there is yet a third, though a minor, question, which arises out of the propositions in connection with their authorship, Were they suitable to be set forth by the present writer?

To these three questions I will now set myself to reply. And the matter of my reply will, as I conceive, constitute and convey an appeal to the understandings of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, which I trust that, at the least, some among them may deem not altogether unworthy of their consideration.

From the language used by some of the organs of Roman Catholic opinion, it is, I am afraid, plain that in some quarters they have given deep offense. Displeasure, indignation, even fury, might be said to mark the language which in the heat of the moment has been expressed here and there. They have been hastily treated as an attack made upon Roman Catholics generally, nay, as an insult offered them. It is obvious to reply, that of Roman Catholics generally they state nothing. Together with

a reference to "converts," of which I shall say more, they constitute generally a free and strong animadversion on the conduct of the Papal Chair, and of its advisers and abettors. If I am told that he who animadverts upon these assails thereby, or insults, Roman Catholics at large, who do not choose their ecclesiastical rulers, and are not recognized as having any voice in the government of their Church, I can not be bound by or accept a proposition which seems to me to be so little in accordance with reason.

Before all things, however, I should desire it to be understood that, in the remarks now offered, I desire to eschew not only religious bigotry, but likewise theological controversy. Indeed, with theology, except in its civil bearing, with theology as such, I have here nothing whatever to do. But it is the peculiarity of Roman theology that, by thrusting itself into the temporal domain, it naturally, and even necessarily, comes to be a frequent theme of political discussion. To quiet-minded Roman Catholics, it must be a subject of infinite annoyance, that their religion is, on this ground more than any other, the subject of criticism; more than any other, the occasion of conflicts with the State and of civil disquietude. I feel sincerely how much hardship their case entails. But this hardship is brought upon them altogether by the conduct of the authorities of their own Church. Why did theology enter so largely into the debates of Parliament on Roman Catholic Emancipation? Certainly not because our statesmen and debaters of fifty years ago had an abstract love of such controversies, but because it was extensively believed that the Pope of Rome had been and was a trespasser upon ground which belonged to the civil authority, and that he affected to determine by spiritual prerogative questions of the civil sphere. This fact, if fact it be, and not the truth or falsehood, the reasonableness or unreasonableness, of any article of purely religious belief, is the whole and sole cause of the mischief. To this fact, and to this fact alone, my language is referable: but for this fact, it would have been neither my duty nor my desire to use it. All other Christian bodies are content with freedom in their own religious domain. Orientals, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Nonconformists, one and all, in the present day, contentedly and thankfully accept the benefits of civil order; never pretend that the State is not its own master; make no religious claims to temporal possessions or advantages; and, consequently, never are in perilous collision with the State. Nay, more, even so I believe it is with the mass of Roman Catholics individually. But not so with the leaders of their Church, or with those who take pride in following the leaders. Indeed, this has been made matter of boast:—

"There is not another Church so called" (than the Roman), "nor any community professing to be a Church, which does not submit, or obey, or hold its peace, when the civil governors of the world command."—'The Present Crisis of the Holy See,' by H. E. Manning, D. D. London, 1861, p. 75.

The Rome of the Middle Ages claimed universal monarchy.

The modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing. Is that all? Far from it. By condemning (as will be seen) those who, like Bishop Doyle in 1826,* charge the mediæval Popes with aggression, she unconditionally, even if covertly, maintains what the mediæval Popes maintained. But even this is not the worst. The worst by far is that whereas, in the national Churches and communities of the Middle Ages, there was a brisk, vigorous, and constant opposition to these outrageous claims, an opposition which stoutly asserted its own orthodoxy, which always caused itself to be respected, and which even sometimes gained the upper hand; now, in this nineteenth century of ours, and while it is growing old, this same opposition has been put out of court, and judicially extinguished within the Papal Church, by the recent decrees of the Vatican. And it is impossible for persons accepting those decrees justly to complain, when such documents are subjected in good faith to a strict examination as respects their compatibility with civil right and the obedience of subjects.

In defending my language, I shall carefully mark its limits. But all defense is re-assertion, which properly requires a deliberate reconsideration; and no man who thus reconsiders should scruple, if he find so much as a word that may convey a false impression, to amend it. Exactness in stating truth according to the measure of our intelligence, is an indispensable condition of justice, and of a title to be heard.

My propositions, then, as they stood, are these:—

1. That "Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem*, a policy of violence and change in faith."

2. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.

3. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.

4. That she ("Rome") has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.

II. The First and the Fourth Propositions.

Of the first and fourth of these propositions I shall dispose rather summarily, as they appear to belong to the theological domain. They refer to a fact, and they record an opinion. One fact to which they refer is this: that, in days within my memory, the constant, favorite, and imposing argument of Roman controversialists was the unbroken and absolute identity in belief of the Roman Church from the days of our Savior until now. No one, who has at all followed the course of this literature during the last forty years, can fail to be sensible of the change in its present tenor. More and more have the assertions of continuous uniformity of doctrine receded into scarcely penetrable shadow.

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* Lords' Committee, March 18, 1826. Report, p. 190.

More and more have another series of assertions, of a living authority, ever ready to open, adopt, and shape Christian doctrine according to the times, taken their place. Without discussing the abstract compatibility of these lines of argument, I note two of the immense practical differences between them. In the first, the office claimed by the Church is principally that of a witness to facts; in the second, principally that of a judge, if not a revealer, of doctrine. In the first, the processes which the Church undertakes are subject to a constant challenge and appeal to history; in the second, no amount of historical testimony can avail against the unmeasured power of the theory of development. Most important, most pregnant considerations, these, at least for two classes of persons: for those who think that exaggerated doctrines of Church power are among the real and serious dangers of the age; and for those who think that against all forms, both of superstition and of unbelief, one main preservative is to be found in maintaining the truth and authority of history, and the inestimable value of the historic spirit.

So much for the fact; as for the opinion that the recent Papal decrees are at war with modern thought, and that, purporting to enlarge the necessary creed of Christendom, they involve a violent breach with history, this is a matter unfit for me to discuss, as it is a question of Divinity; but not unfit for me to have mentioned in my article, since the opinion given there is the opinion of those with whom I was endeavoring to reason, namely, the great majority of the British public.

If it is thought that the word violence is open to exception, I regret I can not give it up. The justification of the ancient definitions of the Church, which have endured the storms of 1,500 years, was to be found in this, that they were not arbitrary or willful, but that they wholly sprang from, and related to, theories rampant at the time, and regarded as menacing to Christian belief. 'Even the canons of the Council of Trent have, in the main, this amount, apart from their matter, of presumptive warrant. But the decrees of the present perilous Pontificate have been passed to favor and precipitate prevailing currents of opinion in the ecclesiastical world of Rome. The growth of what is often termed among Protestants Mariolatry, and of belief in Papal Infallibility, was notoriously advancing, but it seems not fast enough to satisfy the dominant party. To aim the deadly blows of 1854* and 1870 at the old historic, scientific, and moderate school, was surely an act of violence; and with this censure the proceeding of 1870 has actually been visited by the first living theologian now within the Roman communion; I mean Dr. John Henry Newman, who has used these significant words, among others: "Why should an aggressive and insolent faction be allowed to make the heart of the just sad, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful?"†

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*Decree of the Immaculate Conception.

†See the remarkable letter of Dr. Newman to Bishop Ullathorne, in the 'Guardian' of April 6, 1870.

III. The Second Proposition.

I take next my second proposition: that Rome has refurbished, and paraded anew, every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.

Is this, then, a fact, or is it not?

I must assume that it is denied; and therefore I can not wholly pass by the work of proof. But I will state in the fewest possible words, and with references, a few propositions, all the holders of which have been *condemned* by the See of Rome during my own generation, and especially within the last twelve or fifteen years. And, in order that I may do nothing toward importing passion into what is matter of pure argument, I will avoid citing any of the fearfully energetic epithets in which the condemnations are sometimes clothed:

1. Those who maintain the liberty of the press. Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI., in 1831, and of Pope Pius IX., in 1864.

2. Or the liberty of conscience and of worship. Encyclical of Pius IX., December 8, 1864.

3. Or the liberty of speech. 'Syllabus' of March 18, 1861. Prop. lxxix. Encyclical of Pope Pius IX., December 8, 1864.

4. Or who contend that Papal judgments and decrees may, without sin, be disobeyed, or differed from, unless they treat of the rules (*dogmata*) of faith or morals. Ibid.

5. Or who assign to the State the power of defining the civil rights (*jura*) and province of the Church. 'Syllabus' of Pope Pius IX., March 8, 1861. Ibid. Prop. xix.

6. Or who hold that Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils have transgressed the limits of their power, and usurped the rights of princes. Ibid. Prop. xxiii.

(*It must be borne in mind, that "Ecumenical Councils" here mean Roman Councils not recognized by the rest of the Church. The Councils of the early Church did not interfere with the jurisdiction of the civil power.*)

7. Or that the Church may not employ force. (*Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet.*) 'Syllabus,' Prop. xxiv.

8. Or that power, not inherent in the office of the Episcopate, but granted to it by the civil authority, may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority. Ibid. Prop. xxv.

9. Or that the (*immunitas*) civil immunity of the Church and its ministers depends upon civil right. Ibid. Prop. xxx.

10. Or that in the conflict of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, the civil law should prevail. Ibid. Prop. xlii.

11. Or that any method of instruction of youth, solely secular, may be approved. Ibid. Prop. xlviii.

12. Or that knowledge of things, philosophical and civil, may and should decline to be guided by Divine *and Ecclesiastical* authority. Ibid. Prop. lvii.

13. Or that marriage is not in its essence a Sacrament. Ibid. Prop. lxvi.

14. Or that marriage, not sacramentally contracted (*si sacramentum excludatur*), has a binding force. Ibid. Prop. lxxiii.

15. Or that the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Popedom would be highly advantageous to the Church. Ibid. Prop. lxxvi. Also lxx.

16. Or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by a State. Ibid. Prop. lxxvii.

17. Or that in "Countries called Catholic," the free exercise of other religions may laudably be allowed. 'Syllabus,' Prop. lxxviii.

18. Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization. Ibid Prop. lxxx.*

This list is now perhaps sufficiently extended, although I have as yet not touched the decrees of 1870. But, before quitting it, I must offer three observations on what it contains.

Firstly. I do not place all the Propositions in one and the same category; for there are a portion of them which, as far as I can judge, might, by the combined aid of favorable construction and vigorous explanation, be brought within bounds. And I hold that favorable construction of the terms used in controversies is the right general rule. But this can only be so when construction is an open question. When the author of certain propositions claims, as in the case before us, a sole and unlimited power to interpret them in such manner and by such rules as he may from time to time think fit, the only defense for all others concerned is at once to judge for themselves, how much of unreason or of mischief the words, naturally understood, may contain.

Secondly. It may appear, upon a hasty perusal, that neither the infliction of penalty in life, limb, liberty, or goods, on disobedient members of the Christian Church, nor the title to depose sovereigns, and release subjects from their allegiance, with all its revolting consequences, has been here re-affirmed. In terms, there is no mention of them; but in the substance of the propositions, I grieve to say, they are beyond doubt included. For it is notorious that they have been declared and decreed by "Rome," that is to say, by Popes and Papal Councils; and the stringent condemnations of the Syllabus include all those who hold that Popes and Papal Councils (declared ecumenical) have transgressed the just limits of their power, or usurped the rights of princes. What have been their opinions and decrees about persecution I need hardly say; and indeed the right to employ physical force is even here undisguisedly claimed (No. 7).

Even while I am writing, I am reminded, from an unquestionable source, of the words of Pope Pius IX. himself on the deposing power. I add only a few italics; the words appear as given in a translation, without the original:

"The present Pontiff used these words in replying to the address from the Academia of the Catholic Religion (July 21, 1873):—

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*For the original passages from the Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX., see Appendix A.

"'There are many errors regarding the Infallibility: but the most malicious of all is that which includes, in that dogma, the *right* of deposing sovereigns, and declaring the people no longer bound by the obligation of fidelity. This *right* has now and again, in critical circumstances, been exercised by the Pontiffs: but it has nothing to do with Papal Infallibility. Its origin was not the infallibility, but the authority of the Pope. This authority, in accordance with the public right, which was then vigorous, and with the acquiescence of all Christian nations, who reverenced in the Pope the supreme Judge of the Christian Commonwealth, *extended so far as to pass judgment, even in civil affairs, on the acts of Princes and of Nations.*'" *

Lastly, I must observe that these are not mere opinions of the Pope himself, nor even are they opinions which he might paternally recommend to the pious consideration of the faithful. With the promulgation of his opinions is unhappily combined, in the Encyclical Letter, which virtually, though not expressly, includes the whole, a command to all his spiritual children (from which command we the disobedient children are in no way excluded) to hold them:

"Itaque omnes et singulas pravas opiniones et doctrinas singillatim hisce literis commemoratas auctoritate nostrâ Apostolicâ reprobamus, proscribimus, atque damnamus; easque ab omnibus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ filiis, veluti reprobatas, proscriptas, atque damnatas omnino haberi volumus et mandamus." Encycl. Dec. 8, 1864.

And the decrees of 1870 will presently show us, what they establish as the binding force of the *mandate* thus conveyed to the Christian world.

IV. The Third Proposition.

I now pass to the operation of these extraordinary declarations on personal and private duty.

When the cup of endurance, which had so long been filling, began, with the counsel of the Vatican in 1870, to overflow, the most famous and learned living theologian of the Roman Communion, Dr. von Döllinger, long the foremost champion of his Church, refused compliance, and submitted, with his temper undisturbed and his freedom unimpaired, to the extreme and most painful penalty of excommunication. With him, many of the most learned and respected theologians of the Roman Communion in Germany underwent the same sentence. The very few, who elsewhere (I do not speak of Switzerland) suffered in like manner, deserve an admiration rising in proportion to their fewness. It seems as though Germany, from which Luther blew the

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*'Civilization and the See of Rome.' By Lord Robert Montagu. Dublin, 1874. A Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Catholic Union of Ireland. I have a little misgiving about the version: but not of a nature to affect the substance.

mighty trumpet that even now echoes through the land, still retained her primacy in the domain of conscience, still supplied the *centuria prærogativa* of the great *comitia* of the world.

But let no man wonder or complain. Without imputing to any one the moral murder, for such it is, of stifling conscience and conviction, I for one can not be surprised that the fermentation, which is working through the mind of the Latin Church, has as yet (elsewhere than in Germany) but in few instances come to the surface. By the mass of mankind, it is morally impossible that questions such as these can be adequately examined; so it ever has been, and so in the main it will continue, until the principles of manufacturing machinery shall have been applied, and with analogous results, to intellectual and moral processes. Followers they are and must be, and in a certain sense ought to be. But what as to the leaders of society, the men of education and of leisure? I will try to suggest some answer in few words. A change of religious profession is under all circumstances a great and awful thing. Much more is the question, however, between conflicting, or apparently conflicting, duties arduous, when the religion of a man has been changed for him, over his head, and without the very least of his participation. Far be it then from me to make any Roman Catholic, except the great Hierarchic Power, and those who have egged it on, responsible for the portentous proceedings which we have witnessed. My conviction is that, even of those who may not shake off the yoke, multitudes will vindicate at any rate their loyalty at the expense of the consistency, which perhaps in difficult matters of religion few among us perfectly maintain. But this belongs to the future; for the present, nothing could in my opinion be more unjust than to hold the members of the Roman Church in general already responsible for the recent innovations. The duty of observers, who think the claims involved in these decrees arrogant and false, and such as not even impotence real or supposed ought to shield from criticism, is frankly to state the case, and, by way of friendly challenge, to entreat their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen to replace themselves in the position which five-and-forty years ago this nation, by the voice and action of its Parliament, declared its belief that they held.

Upon a strict re-examination of the language, as apart from the substance of my fourth Proposition, I find it faulty, inasmuch as it seems to imply that a "convert" now joining the Papal Church, not only gives up certain rights and duties of freedom, but surrenders them by a conscious and deliberate act. What I have less accurately said that he renounced, I might have more accurately said that he forfeited. To speak strictly, the claim now made upon him by the authority, which he solemnly and with the highest responsibility acknowledges, requires him to surrender his mental and moral freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another. There may have been, and may be, persons who in their sanguine trust will not shrink from this result, and will console themselves with the notion that their loyalty and civil duty are to be committed to the custody of one

much wiser than themselves. But I am sure that there are also "converts" who, when they perceive, will by word and act reject the consequence which relentless logic draws for them. If, however, my proposition be true, there is no escape from the dilemma. Is it then true, or is it not true, that Rome requires a convert, who now joins her, to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another?

In order to place this matter in as clear a light as I can, it will be necessary to go back a little upon our recent history.

A century ago we began to relax that system of penal laws against Roman Catholics, at once pettifogging, base, and cruel, which Mr. Burke has scathed and blasted with his immortal eloquence.

When this process had reached the point, at which the question was whether they should be admitted into Parliament, there arose a great and prolonged national controversy; and some men, who at no time of their lives were narrow-minded, such as Sir Robert Peel, the Minister, resisted the concession. The arguments in its favor were obvious and strong, and they ultimately prevailed. But the strength of the opposing party had lain in the allegation that, from the nature and claims of the Papal power, it was not possible for the consistent Roman Catholic to pay to the crown of this country an entire allegiance, and that the admission of persons, thus self-disabled, to Parliament was inconsistent with the safety of the State and nation; which had not very long before, it may be observed, emerged from a struggle for existence.

An answer to this argument was indispensable; and it was supplied mainly from two sources. The Josephine Laws,* then still subsisting in the Austrian Empire, and the arrangements which had been made after the peace of 1815 by Prussia and the German States with Pius VII. and Gonsalvi, proved that the Papal Court could submit to circumstances, and could allow material restraints even upon the exercise of its ecclesiastical prerogatives. Here, then, was a reply in the sense of the phrase *solvitur ambulando*. Much information of this class was collected for the information of Parliament and the country.† But there were also measures taken to learn, from the highest Roman Catholic authorities of this country, what was the exact situation of the members of that communion with respect to some of the better known exorbitancies of Papal assumption. Did the Pope claim any temporal jurisdiction? Did he still pretend to the exercise of a power to depose kings, release subjects from their al-

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* See the work of Count dal Pozzo on the 'Austrian Ecclesiastical Law.' London: Murray, 1827. The Leopoldine Laws in Tuscany may also be mentioned.

† See 'Report from the Select Committee appointed to report the nature and substance of the Laws and Ordinances existing in Foreign States, respecting the regulation of their Roman Catholic subjects in Ecclesiastical matters, and their intercourse with the See of Rome, or any other Foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.' Printed for the House of Commons in 1816 and 1817. Reprinted 1851.

legiance, and incite them to revolt? Was faith to be kept with heretics? Did the Church still teach the doctrines of persecution? Now, to no one of these questions could the answer really be of the smallest immediate moment to this powerful and solidly compacted kingdom. They were topics selected by way of sample; and the intention was to elicit declarations showing generally that the fangs of mediæval Popedom had been drawn, and its claws torn away; that the Roman system, however strict in its dogma, was perfectly compatible with civil liberty, and with the institutions of a free State molded on a different religious basis from its own.

Answers in abundance were obtained, tending to show that the doctrines of deposition and persecution, of keeping no faith with heretics, and of universal dominion, were obsolete beyond revival; that every assurance could be given respecting them, except such as required the shame of a formal retractation; that they were in effect mere bugbears, unworthy to be taken into account by a nation which prided itself on being made up of practical men.

But it was unquestionably felt that something more than the renunciation of these particular opinions was necessary in order to secure the full concession of civil rights to Roman Catholics. As to their individual loyalty, a State disposed to generous or candid interpretation had no reason to be uneasy. It was only with regard to requisitions, which might be made on them from another quarter, that apprehension could exist. It was reasonable that England should desire to know not only what the Pope* might do for himself, but to what demands, by the constitution of their Church, they were liable; and how far it was possible that such demands could touch their civil duty. The theory which placed every human being, in things spiritual and things temporal, at the feet of the Roman Pontiff, had not been an *idolum specûs*, a mere theory of the chamber. Brain-power never surpassed in the political history of the world had been devoted for centuries to the single purpose of working it into the practice of Christendom; had in the West achieved for an impossible problem a partial success; and had in the East punished the obstinate independence of the Church by that Latin conquest of Constantinople which effectually prepared the way for the downfall of the Eastern Empire, and the establishment of the Turks in Europe. What was really material therefore was, not whether the Papal Chair laid claim to this or that particular power, but whether it laid claim to some power that included them all, and whether that claim had received such sanction from the authorities of the Latin Church, that there remained within her borders absolutely no tenable standing-ground from which war against it

*At that period the eminent and able Bishop Doyle did not scruple to write as follows: "We are taunted with the proceedings of Popes. What, my Lord, have we Catholics to do with the proceedings of Popes, or why should we be made accountable for them?"—'Essay on the Catholic Claims.' To Lord Liverpool, 1826, p. 111.

could be maintained. Did the Pope then claim infallibility? Or did he, either without infallibility or with it (and if with it, so much the worse), claim an universal obedience from his flock? And were these claims, either or both, affirmed in his Church by authority which even the least Papal of the members of that Church must admit to be binding upon conscience?

The two first of these questions were covered by the third. And well it was that they were so covered. For to them no satisfactory answer could even then be given. The Popes had kept up, with comparatively little intermission, for well-nigh a thousand years their claim to dogmatic infallibility; and had, at periods within the same tract of time, often enough made, and never retracted, that other claim which is theoretically less but practically larger; their claim to an obedience virtually universal from the baptized members of the Church. To the third question it was fortunately more practicable to prescribe a satisfactory reply. It was well known that, in the days of its glory and intellectual power, the great Gallican Church had not only not admitted, but had denied Papal infallibility, and had declared that the local laws and usages of the Church could not be set aside by the will of the Pontiff. Nay, further, it was believed that in the main these had been, down to the close of the last century, the prevailing opinions of the Cisalpine Churches in communion with Rome. The Council of Constance had in act as well as word shown that the Pope's judgments, and the Pope himself, were triable by the assembled representatives of the Christian world. And the Council of Trent, notwithstanding the predominance in it of Italian and Roman influences, if it had not denied, yet had not affirmed either proposition.

All that remained was, to know what were the sentiments entertained on these vital points by the leaders and guides of Roman Catholic opinion nearest to our own doors. And here testimony was offered, which must not, and can not, be forgotten. In part, this was the testimony of witnesses before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1825. I need quote two answers only, given by the Prelate, who more than any other represented his Church, and influenced the mind of this country in favor of concession at the time, namely, Bishop Doyle. He was asked,*

"In what, and how far, does the Roman Catholic profess to obey the Pope?"

He replied:

"The Catholic professes to obey the Pope in matters which regard his religious faith; and in those matters of ecclesiastical discipline which have already been defined by the competent authorities."

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* Committees of both Lords and Commons sat; the former in 1825, the latter in 1824–5. The References were identical, and ran as follows: "To inquire into the state of Ireland, more particularly with reference to the circumstances which may have led to disturbances in that part of the United Kingdom." Bishop Doyle was examined March 21, 1825, and April 21, 1825, before the Lords.

And again:

"Does that justify the objection that is made to Catholics, that their allegiance is divided?"

"I do not think it does in any way. We are bound to obey the Pope in those things that I have already mentioned. But our obedience to the law, and the allegiance which we owe the sovereign, are complete, and full, and perfect, and undivided, inasmuch as they extend to all political, legal, and civil rights of the king or his subjects. I think the allegiance due to the king, and the allegiance due to the Pope, are as distinct and as divided in their nature as any two things can possibly be."

Such is the opinion of the dead Prelate. We shall presently hear the opinion of a living one. But the sentiments of the dead man powerfully operated on the open and trustful temper of this people to induce them to grant, at the cost of so much popular feeling and national tradition, the great and just concession of 1829. That concession, without such declarations, it would, to say the least, have been far more difficult to obtain.

Now, bodies are usually held to be bound by the evidence of their own selected and typical witnesses. But in this instance the colleagues of those witnesses thought fit also to speak collectively.

First let us quote from the collective "Declaration," in the year 1826, of the Vicars Apostolic, who, with Episcopal authority, governed the Roman Catholics of Great Britain:

"The allegiance which Catholics hold to be due, and are bound to pay, to their Sovereign, and to the civil authority of the State, is perfect and undivided. . . . .

"They declare that neither the Pope, nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic Church . . . . has any right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the Civil Government, ... nor to oppose in any manner the performance of the civil duties which are due to the king."

Not less explicit was the Hierarchy of the Roman Communion in its 'Pastoral Address to the Clergy and Laity of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland,' dated January 25, 1826. This address contains a Declaration, from which I extract the following words:

"It is a duty which they owe to themselves, *as well as to their Protestant fellow-subjects*, whose good opinion they value, to endeavor once more to remove the false imputations that have been frequently cast upon the faith and discipline of that Church which is intrusted to their care, *that all may be enabled to know with accuracy their genuine principles*."

In Article 11:—

"They declare on oath their belief that it is not an article of the Catholic Faith, neither are they thereby required to believe, that the Pope is infallible."

And, after various recitals, they set forth—

"After this full, explicit, and sworn declaration, we are utterly at a loss to conceive on what possible ground we could be justly charged with bearing towards our most gracious Sovereign only a divided allegiance."

Thus, besides much else that I will not stop to quote, Papal infallibility was most solemnly declared to be a matter on which each man might think as he pleased; the Pope's power to claim obedience was strictly and narrowly limited: it was expressly denied that he had any title, direct or indirect, to interfere in civil government. Of the right of the Pope to define the limits which divide the civil from the spiritual by his own authority, not one word is said by the Prelates of either country.

Since that time, all these propositions have been reversed. The Pope's infallibility, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* on faith and morals, has been declared, with the assent of the Bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding on the conscience of every Christian; his claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include every thing which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines, we now know on the highest authority, it is of necessity for salvation to believe.

Independently, however, of the Vatican Decrees themselves, it is necessary for all who wish to understand what has been the amount of the wonderful change now consummated in the constitution of the Latin Church, and what is the present degradation of its Episcopal order, to observe also the change, amounting to revolution, of form in the present, as compared with other conciliatory decrees. Indeed, that spirit of centralization, the excesses of which are as fatal to vigorous life in the Church as in the State, seems now nearly to have reached the last and furthest point of possible advancement and exaltation.

When, in fact, we speak of the decrees of the Council of the Vatican, we use a phrase which will not bear strict examination. The Canons of the Council of Trent were, at least, the real Canons of a real Council: and the strain in which they are promulgated is this: *Hæc sacrosancta, ecumenica, et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata, in eâ præsidentibus eisdem tribus apostolicis Legatis, hortatur*, or *docet*, or *statuit*, or *decernit*, and the like: and its canons, as published in Rome, are "*Canones et decreta Sacrosancti ecumenici Concilii Tridentini*,"* and so forth. But what we have now to do with is the *Constitutio Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesiâ Christi, edita in Sessione tertiâ* of the Vatican Council. It is not a constitution made by the Council, but one promulgated in the Council.† And who is it that legislates and decrees? It is *Pius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei:* and the seductive plural of his *docemus et declaramus* is simply the dignified and ceremonious

* 'Romæ: in Collegio urbano de Propagandâ Fide.' 1833.

† I am aware that, as some hold, this was the case with the Council of the Lateran in A. D. 1215. But, first, this has not been established; secondly, the very gist of the evil we are dealing with consists in following (and enforcing) precedents from the age of Pope Innocent III.

"We" of Royal declarations. The document is dated *Pontificatûs nostri Anno XXV.* and the humble share of the assembled Episcopate in the transaction is represented by *sacro approbante concilio.* And now for the propositions themselves.

First comes the Pope's infallibility:—

"Docemus, et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus, Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedrâ loquitur, id est cum, omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro supremâ suâ Apostolicâ auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universâ Ecclesiâ tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in Beato Petro promissam, eâ infallibilitate pollere, quâ Divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definiendâ doctrinâ de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit: ideoque ejus Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse."*

Will it, then, be said that the infallibility of the Pope accrues only when he speaks *ex cathedrâ?* No doubt this is a very material consideration for those who have been told that the private conscience is to derive comfort and assurance from the emanations of the Papal Chair: for there is no established or accepted definition of the phrase *ex cathedrâ,* and he has no power to obtain one, and no guide to direct him in his choice among some twelve theories on the subject, which, it is said, are bandied to and fro among Roman theologians, except the despised and discarded agency of his private judgment. But while thus sorely tantalized, he is not one whit protected. For there is still one person, and one only, who can unquestionably declare *ex cathedrâ* what is *ex cathedrâ* and what is not, and who can declare it when and as he pleases. That person is the Pope himself. The provision is, that no document he issues shall be valid without a seal; but the seal remains under his own sole lock and key.

Again, it may be sought to plead, that the Pope is, after all, only operating by sanctions which unquestionably belong to the religious domain. He does not propose to invade the country, to seize Woolwich, or burn Portsmouth. He will only, at the worst, excommunicate opponents, as he has excommunicated Dr. von Döllinger and others. Is this a good answer? After all, even in the Middle Ages, it was not by the direct action of fleets and armies of their own that the Popes contended with kings who were refractory; it was mainly by interdicts, and by the refusal, which they entailed when the Bishops were not brave enough to refuse their publication, of religious offices to the people. It was thus that England suffered under John, France under Philip Augustus, Leon under Alphonso the Noble, and every country in its turn. But the inference may be drawn that they who, while using spiritual weapons for such an end, do not employ temporal means, only fail to employ them because they have them not. A religious society, which delivers volleys of spiritual censures in order to impede the performance of civil duties, does all the mischief that is in its power to do, and brings

* 'Constitutio de Ecclesiâ,' c. iv.

into question, in the face of the State, its title to civil protection.

Will it be said, finally, that the Infallibility touches only matter of faith and morals? Only matter of morals! Will any of the Roman casuists kindly acquaint us what are the departments and functions of human life which do not and can not fall within the domain of morals? If they will not tell us, we must look elsewhere. In his work entitled 'Literature and Dogma,'* Mr. Matthew Arnold quaintly informs us — as they tell us nowadays how many parts of our poor bodies are solid, and how many aqueous — that about seventy-five per cent. of all we do belongs to the department of "conduct." Conduct and morals, we may suppose, are nearly co-extensive. Three-fourths, then, of life are thus handed over. But who will guarantee to us the other fourth? Certainly not St. Paul; who says, "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do *all* to the glory of God." And "Whatsoever ye do, in word or in deed, do *all* in the name of the Lord Jesus."† No! Such a distinction would be the unworthy device of a shallow policy, vainly used to hide the daring of that wild ambition which at Rome, not from the throne but from behind the throne, prompts the movements of the Vatican. I care not to ask if there be dregs or tatters of human life, such as can escape from the description and boundary of morals. I submit that Duty is a power which rises with us in the morning, and goes to rest with us at night. It is co-extensive with the action of our intelligence. It is the shadow which cleaves to us, go where we will, and which only leaves us when we leave the light of life. So, then, it is the supreme direction of us in respect to all Duty, which the Pontiff declares to belong to him, *sacro approbante concilio:* and this declaration he makes, not as an otiose opinion of the schools, but *cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam.*

But we shall now see that, even if a loop-hole had at this point been left unclosed, the void is supplied by another provision of the Decrees. While the reach of the Infallibility is as wide as it may please the Pope, or those who may prompt the Pope, to make it, there is something wider still, and that is the claim to an absolute and entire Obedience. This Obedience is to be rendered to his orders in the cases I shall proceed to point out, without any qualifying condition, such as the *ex cathedrâ*. The sounding name of Infallibility has so fascinated the public mind, and riveted it on the Fourth Chapter of the Constitution *de Ecclesiâ*, that its near neighbor, the Third Chapter, has, at least in my opinion, received very much less than justice. Let us turn to it:

"Cujuscunque ritûs et dignitatis pastores atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchicæ subordinationis veræque obedientiæ obstringuntur, non solum in rebus, quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent. . . .

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* Pages 15, 44.

† 1 Cor. x. 31; Col. iii. 7.

Hæc est Catholicæ veritatis doctrina, a quâ deviare, salvâ fide atque salute, nemo potest. . . .

"Docemus etiam et declaramus eum esse judicem supremum fidelium, et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse judicium recurri: Sedis vero Apostolicæ, cujus auctoritate major non est, judicium a nemine fore retractandum. Neque cuiquam de ejus licere judicare judicio."*

Even, therefore, where the judgments of the Pope do not present the credentials of infallibility, they are unappealable and irreversible: no person may pass judgment upon them; and all men, clerical and lay, dispersedly or in the aggregate, are bound truly to obey them; and from this rule of Catholic truth no man can depart, save at the peril of his salvation. Surely, it is allowable to say that this Third Chapter on universal obedience is a formidable rival to the Fourth Chapter on Infallibility. Indeed, to an observer from without, it seems to leave the dignity to the other, but to reserve the stringency and efficiency to itself. The Third Chapter is the Merovingian Monarch; the fourth is the Carolingian Mayor of the Palace. The third has an overawing splendor; the fourth, an iron gripe. Little does it matter to me whether my superior claims infallibility, so long as he is entitled to demand and exact conformity. This, it will be observed, he demands even in cases not covered by his infallibility; cases, therefore, in which he admits it to be possible that he may be wrong, but finds it intolerable to be told so. As he must be obeyed in all his judgments though not *ex cathedrâ*, it seems a pity he could not likewise give the comforting assurance that they are all certain to be right.

But why this ostensible reduplication, this apparent surplusage? Why did the astute contrivers of this tangled scheme conclude that they could not afford to rest content with pledging the Council to Infallibility in terms which are not only wide to a high degree, but elastic beyond all measure?

Though they must have known perfectly well that "faith and morals" carried every thing, or every thing worth having, in the purely individual sphere, they also knew just as well that, even where the individual was subjugated, they might and would still have to deal with the State.

In mediæval history, this distinction is not only clear but glaring. Outside the borders of some narrow and proscribed sect, now and then emerging, we never, or scarcely ever, hear of private and personal resistance to the Pope. The manful "Protestantism" of mediæval times had its activity almost entirely in the sphere of public, national, and state rights. Too much attention, in my opinion, can not be fastened on this point. It is the very root and kernel of the matter. Individual servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Latin Church: the State must also be a slave.

Our Savior had recognized as distinct the two provinces of the civil rule and the Church: had nowhere intimated that the

* 'Dogmatic Constitutions,' etc., c. iii. Dublin, 1870, pp. 30–32.

spiritual authority was to claim the disposal of physical force, and to control in its own domain the authority which is alone responsible for external peace, order, and safety among civilized communities of men. It has been alike the peculiarity, the pride, and the misfortune of the Roman Church, among Christian communities, to allow to itself an unbounded use, as far as its power would go, of earthly instruments for spiritual ends. We have seen with what ample assurances * this nation and Parliament were fed in 1826; how well and roundly the full and undivided rights of the civil power, and the separation of the two jurisdictions, were affirmed. All this had at length been undone, as far as Popes could undo it, in the Syllabus and the Encyclical. It remained to complete the undoing, through the subserviency or pliability of the Council.

And the work is now truly complete. Lest it should be said that supremacy in faith and morals, full dominion over personal belief and conduct, did not cover the collective action of men in States, a third province was opened, not indeed to the abstract assertion of Infallibility, but to the far more practical and decisive demand of absolute Obedience. And this is the proper work of the Third Chapter, to which I am endeavoring to do a tardy justice. Let us listen again to its few but pregnant words on the point:

"Non solum in rebus, quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent."

Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the Church. Thus are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country of the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between Church and State is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the State, but also undeniably affecting the government of the Church; such as, by way of example, marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider, the points of contact and of interlacing almost innumerable. But on all matters, respecting which any Pope may think proper to declare that they concern either faith, or morals, or the government or discipline of the Church, he claims, with the approval of a Council undoubtedly Ecumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion.

It seems not as yet to have been thought wise to pledge the Council in terms to the Syllabus and the Encyclical. That achievement is probably reserved for some one of its sittings yet to come. In the meantime it is well to remember, that this claim

* See further, Appendix B.

in respect of all things affecting the discipline and government of the Church, as well as faith and conduct, is lodged in open day by and in the reign of a Pontiff, who has condemned free speech, free writing, a free press, toleration of non-conformity, liberty of conscience, the study of civil and philosophical matters in independence of the ecclesiastical authority, marriage unless sacramentally contracted, and the definition by the State of the civil rights (*jura*) of the Church; who has demanded for the Church, therefore, the title to define its own civil rights, together with a divine right to civil immunities, and a right to use physical force; and who has also proudly asserted that the Popes of the Middle Ages with their councils did not invade the rights of princes: as for example, Gregory VII., of the Emperor Henry IV.; Innocent III., of Raymond of Toulouse; Paul III., in deposing Henry VIII.; or Pius V., in performing the like paternal office for Elizabeth.

I submit, then, that my fourth proposition is true: and that England is entitled to ask, and to know, in what way the obedience required by the Pope and the Council of the Vatican is to be reconciled with the integrity of civil allegiance?

It has been shown that the Head of their Church, so supported as undoubtedly to speak with its highest authority, claims from Roman Catholics a plenary obedience to whatever he may desire in relation not to faith but to morals, and not only to these, but to all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church: that, of this, much lies within the domain of the State: that, to obviate all misapprehension, the Pope demands for himself the right to determine the province of his own rights, and has so defined it in formal documents, as to warrant any and every invasion of the civil sphere; and that this new version of the principles of the Papal Church inexorably binds its members to the admission of these exorbitant claims, without any refuge or reservation on behalf of their duty to the Crown.

Under circumstances such as these, it seems not too much to ask of them to confirm the opinion which we, as fellow-countrymen, entertain of them, by sweeping away, in such manner and terms as they may think best, the presumptive imputations which their ecclesiastical rulers at Rome, acting autocratically, appear to have brought upon their capacity to pay a solid and undivided allegiance; and to fulfill the engagement which their bishops, as political sponsors, promised and declared for them in 1825.

It would be impertinent, as well as needless, to suggest what should be said. All that is requisite is to indicate in substance that which (if the foregoing argument be sound) is not wanted, and that which is. What is not wanted is vague and general assertion, of whatever kind, and however sincere. What is wanted, and that in the most specific form and the clearest terms, I take to be one of two things; that is to say, either—

1. A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any

claim upon those who adhere to his communion, of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else,

II. That, if and when such claim is made, it will, even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected; just as Bishop Doyle, when he was asked what the Roman Catholic clergy would do if the Pope intermeddled with their religion, replied frankly, "The consequence would be, that we should oppose him by every means in our power, even by the exercise of our spiritual authority." *

In the absence of explicit assurances to this effect, we should appear to be led, nay, driven, by just reasoning upon that documentary evidence, to the conclusions:—

1. That the Pope, authorized by his Council, claims for himself the domain (*a*) of faith, (*b*) of morals, (*c*) of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church.

2. That he in like manner claims the power of determining the limits of those domains.

3. That he does not sever them, by any acknowledged or intelligible line, from the domains of civil duty and allegiance.

4. That he therefore claims, and claims from the month of July, 1870, onward with plenary authority, from every convert and member of his Church, that he shall "place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another:" that other being himself.

V. Being True, are the Propositions Material?

But next, if these propositions be true, are they also material? The claims can not, as I much fear, be denied to have been made. It can not be denied that the Bishops, who govern in things spiritual more than five millions (or nearly one-sixth) of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, have in some cases promoted, in all cases accepted, these claims. It has been a favorite purpose of my life not to conjure up, but to conjure down, public alarms. I am not now going to pretend that either foreign foe or domestic treason can, at the bidding of the Court of Rome, disturb these peaceful shores. But though such fears may be visionary, it is more visionary still to suppose for one moment that the claims of Gregory VII., of Innocent III., and of Boniface VIII., have been disinterred, in the nineteenth century, like hideous mummies picked out of Egyptian sarcophagi, in the interests of archæology, or without a definite and practical aim. As rational beings, we must rest assured that only with a very clearly conceived and foregone purpose have these astonishing re-assertions been paraded before the world. What is that purpose?

I can well believe that it is in part theological. There have always been, and there still are, no small proportion of our race, and those by no means in all respects the worst, who are sorely open to the temptation, especially in times of religious disturb-

* 'Report,' March 18, 1826, p. 191.

ance, to discharge their spiritual responsibilities by *power of attorney*. As advertising Houses find custom in proportion, not so much to the solidity of their resources as to the magniloquence of their premises and assurances, so theological boldness in the extension of such claims is sure to pay, by widening certain circles of devoted adherents, however it may repel the mass of mankind. There were two special encouragements to this enterprise at the present day: one of them the perhaps unconscious but manifest leaning of some, outside the Roman precinct, to undue exaltation of Church power; the other the reaction, which is and must be brought about in favor of superstition, by the levity of the destructive speculations so widely current, and the notable hardihood of the antichristian writing of the day.

But it is impossible to account sufficiently in this manner for the particular course which has been actually pursued by the Roman Court. All morbid spiritual appetites would have been amply satisfied by claims to infallibility in creed, to the prerogative of miracle, to dominion over the unseen world. In truth there was occasion, in this view, for nothing, except a liberal supply of Salmonean thunder:—"Dum flammas Jovis, et sonitus imitatur Olympi." * All this could have been managed by a few Tetzels, judiciously distributed over Europe. Therefore the question still remains, Why did that Court, with policy forever in its eye, lodge such formidable demands for power of the vulgar kind in that sphere which is visible, and where hard knocks can undoubtedly be given as well as received?

It must be for some political object, of a very tangible kind, that the risks of so daring a raid upon the civil sphere have been deliberately run.

A daring raid it is. For it is most evident that the very assertion of principles which establish an exemption from allegiance, or which impair its completeness, goes, in many other countries of Europe, far more directly than with us, to the creation of political strife; and to dangers of the most material and tangible kind. The struggle, now proceeding in Germany, at once occurs to the mind as a palmary instance. I am not competent to give any opinion upon the particulars of that struggle. The institutions of Germany, and the relative estimate of State power and individual freedom, are materially different from ours. But I must say as much as this. Firstly, it is not Prussia alone that is touched; elsewhere, too, the bone lies ready, though the contention may be delayed. In other States, in Austria particularly, there are recent laws in force, raising much the same issues as the Falck laws have raised. But the Roman Court possesses in perfection one art, the art of waiting; and it is her wise maxim to fight but one enemy at a time. Secondly, if I have truly represented the claims promulgated from the Vatican, it is difficult to deny that those claims, and the power which has made them, are primarily responsible for the pains and perils, whatever they may be, of the present conflict between German and Roman enact-

* Æn. vi. 586.

ments. And that which was once truly said of France, may now also be said with not less truth of Germany: when Germany is disquieted, Europe can not be at rest.

I should feel less anxiety on this subject had the Supreme Pontiff frankly recognized his altered position since the events of 1870; and, in language as clear, if not as emphatic, as that in which he has proscribed modern civilization, given to Europe the assurance that he would be no party to the re-establishment by blood and violence of the Temporal Power of the Church. It is easy to conceive that his personal benevolence, no less than his feelings as an Italian, must have inclined him individually towards a course so humane; and I should add, if I might do it without presumption, so prudent. With what appears to an English eye a lavish prodigality, successive Italian governments have made over the ecclesiastical powers and privileges of the Monarchy, not to the Church of the country for the revival of the ancient, popular, and self-governing elements of its constitution, but to the Papal Chair, for the establishment of ecclesiastical despotism, and the suppression of the last vestiges of independence. This course, so difficult for a foreigner to appreciate, or even to justify, has been met, not by reciprocal conciliation, but by a constant fire of denunciations and complaints. When the tone of these denunciations and complaints is compared with the language of the authorized and favored Papal organs in the press, and of the Ultramontane party (now the sole legitimate party of the Latin Church) throughout Europe, it leads many to the painful and revolting conclusion that there is a fixed purpose among the secret inspirers of Roman policy to pursue, by the road of force, upon the arrival of any favorable opportunity, the favorite project of re-erecting the terrestrial throne of the Popedom, even if it can only be re-erected on the ashes of the city, and amidst the whitening bones of the people.*

It is difficult to conceive or contemplate the effects of such an endeavor. But the existence at this day of the policy, even in bare idea, is itself a portentous evil. I do not hesitate to say that it is an incentive to general disturbance, a premium upon European wars. It is in my opinion not sanguine only, but almost ridiculous to imagine that such a project could eventually succeed; but it is difficult to overestimate the effect which it might produce in generating and exasperating strife. It might even, to some extent, disturb and paralyze the action of such Governments as might interpose for no separate purpose of their own, but only with a view to the maintenance or restoration of the general peace. If the baleful Power which is expressed by the phrase *Curia Romana*, and not at all adequately rendered in its historic force by the usual English equivalent "Court of Rome," really entertains the scheme, it doubtless counts on the support in every country of an organized and devoted party; which, when it can command the scales of political power, will promote interference, and, when it is in a minority, will work for securing neutrality.

* Appendix C.

As the peace of Europe may be in jeopardy, and as the duties even of England, as one (so to speak) of its constabulary authorities, might come to be in question, it would be most interesting to know the mental attitude of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in England and Ireland with reference to the subject; and it seems to be one on which we are entitled to solicit information.

For there can not be the smallest doubt that the temporal power of the Popedom comes within the true meaning of the words used at the Vatican to describe the subjects on which the Pope is authorized to claim, under awful sanctions, the obedience of the "faithful." It is even possible that we have here the key to the enlargement of the province of Obedience beyond the limits of Infallibility, and to the introduction of the remarkable phrase *ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ.* No impartial person can deny that the question of the temporal power very evidently concerns the discipline and government of the Church — concerns it, and most mischievously as I should venture to think; but in the opinion, up to a late date, of many Roman Catholics, not only most beneficially, but even essentially. Let it be remembered, that such a man as the late Count Montalembert, who in his general politics was of the Liberal party, did not scruple to hold that the millions of Roman Catholics throughout the world were copartners with the inhabitants of the States of the Church in regard to their civil government; and, as constituting the vast majority, were of course entitled to override them. It was also rather commonly held, a quarter of a century ago, that the question of the States of the Church was one with which none but Roman Catholic powers could have any thing to do. This doctrine, I must own, was to me at all times unintelligible. It is now, to say the least, hopelessly and irrecoverably obsolete.

Archbishop Manning, who is the head of the Papal Church in England, and whose ecclesiastical tone is supposed to be in the closest accordance with that of his headquarters, has not thought it too much to say that the civil order of all Christendom is the offspring of the Temporal Power, and has the Temporal Power for its key-stone; that on the destruction of the Temporal Power "the laws of nations would at once fall in ruins;" that (our old friend) the deposing Power "taught subjects obedience and princes clemency."* Nay, this high authority has proceeded further; and has elevated the Temporal Power to the rank of necessary doctrine:

"The Catholic Church can not be silent, it can not hold its peace; it can not cease to preach the doctrines of Revelation, not only of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, but likewise of the Seven Sacraments, and of the Infallibility of the Church of God, and of the necessity of Unity, and of the Sovereignty, both spiritual and temporal, of the Holy See."†

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*'Three Lectures on the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes,' 1860, pp. 34, 46, 47, 58–9, 63.

†'The Present Crisis of the Holy See.' By H. E. Manning, D. D. London, 1861, p. 73.

I never, for my own part, heard that the work containing this remarkable passage was placed in the 'Index Prohibitorum Librorum.' On the contrary, its distinguished author was elevated, on the first opportunity, to the headship of the Roman Episcopacy in England, and to the guidance of the million or thereabouts of souls in its communion. And the more recent utterances of the oracle have not descended from the high level of those already cited. They have, indeed, the recommendation of a comment, not without fair claims to authority, on the recent declarations of the Pope and the Council; and of one which goes to prove how far I am from having exaggerated or strained in the foregoing pages the meaning of those declarations. Especially does this hold good on the one point, the most vital of the whole — the title to define the border line of the two provinces, which the Archbishop not unfairly takes to be the true criterion of the supremacy, as between rival powers like the Church and the State.

"If, then, the civil power be not competent to decide the limits of the spiritual power, and if the spiritual power can define, with a divine certainty, its own limits, it is evidently supreme. Or, in other words, the spiritual power knows, with divine certainty, the limits of its own jurisdiction: and it knows therefore the limits and the competence of the civil power. It is thereby, in matters of religion and conscience, supreme. I do not see how this can be denied without denying Christianity. And if this be so, this is the doctrine of the Bull *Unam Sanctam*,* and of the Syllabus, and of the Vatican Council. It is, in fact, Ultramontanism, for this term means neither less nor more. The Church, therefore, is separate and supreme

"Let us then ascertain somewhat further what is the meaning of supreme. Any power which is independent, *and can alone fix the limits of its own jurisdiction, and can thereby fix the limits of all other jurisdictions, is,* ipso facto, *supreme.*† But the Church of Jesus Christ, within the sphere of revelation, of faith and morals, is all this, or is nothing, or worse than nothing, an imposture and an usurpation — that is, it is Christ or Antichrist."‡

But the whole pamphlet should be read by those who desire to know the true sense of the Papal declarations and Vatican decrees, as they are understood by the most favored ecclesiastics; understood, I am bound to own, so far as I can see, in their natural, legitimate, and inevitable sense. Such readers will be assisted by the treatise in seeing clearly, and in admitting frankly that, whatever demands may hereafter, and in whatever circumstances, be made upon us, we shall be unable to advance with any fairness the plea that it has been done without due notice.

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* On the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, "of a most odious kind;" see Bishop Doyle's Essay, already cited. He thus describes it.

† The italics are not in the original.

‡ 'Cæsarism and Ultramontanism.' By Archbishop Manning, 1874, pp. 35–6.

There are millions upon millions of the Protestants of this country who would agree with Archbishop Manning, if he were simply telling us that Divine truth is not to be sought from the lips of the State, nor to be sacrificed at its command. But those millions would tell him, in return, that the State, as the power which is alone responsible for the external order of the world, can alone conclusively and finally be competent to determine what is to take place in the sphere of that external order.

I have shown, then, that the Propositions, especially that which has been felt to be the chief one among them, being true, are also material; material to be generally known, and clearly understood, and well considered on civil grounds; inasmuch as they invade, at a multitude of points, the civil sphere, and seem even to have no very remote or shadowy connection with the future peace and security of Christendom.

VI. Were the Propositions proper to be set forth by the present Writer?

There remains yet before us only the shortest and least significant portion of the inquiry, namely, whether these things, being true, and being material to be said, were also proper to be said by me. I must ask pardon, if a tone of egotism be detected in this necessarily subordinate portion of my remarks.

For thirty years, and in a great variety of circumstances, in office and as an independent Member of Parliament, in majorities and in small minorities, and during the larger portion of the time * as the representative of a great constituency, mainly clerical, I have, with others, labored to maintain and extend the civil rights of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The Liberal party of this country, with which I have been commonly associated, has suffered, and sometimes suffered heavily, in public favor and in influence, from the belief that it was too ardent in the pursuit of that policy; while at the same time it has always been in the worst odor with the Court of Rome, in consequence of its (I hope) unalterable attachment to Italian liberty and independence. I have sometimes been the spokesman of that party in recommendations which have tended to foster in fact the imputation I have mentioned, though not to warrant it as a matter of reason. But it has existed in fact. So that while (as I think) general justice to society required that these things which I have now set forth should be written, special justice, as toward the party to which I am loyally attached, and which I may have had a share in thus placing at a disadvantage before our countrymen, made it, to say the least, becoming that I should not shrink from writing them.

In discharging that office, I have sought to perform the part not of a theological partisan, but simply of a good citizen; of

* From 1847 to 1865 I sat for the University of Oxford.

one hopeful that many of his Roman Catholic friends and fellow-countrymen, who are, to say the least of it, as good citizens as himself, may perceive that the case is not a frivolous case, but one that merits their attention.

I will next proceed to give the reason why, up to a recent date, I have thought it right in the main to leave to any others, who might feel it, the duty of dealing in detail with this question.

The great change, which seems to me to have been brought about in the position of Roman Catholic Christians as citizens, reached its consummation, and came into full operation in July, 1870, by the proceedings or so-called decrees of the Vatican Council.

Up to that time, opinion in the Roman Church on all matters involving civil liberty, though partially and sometimes widely intimidated, was free wherever it was resolute. During the Middle Ages, heresy was often extinguished in blood, but in every Cisalpine country a principle of liberty, to a great extent, held its own, and national life refused to be put down. Nay, more, these precious and inestimable gifts had not infrequently for their champions a local prelacy and clergy. The Constitutions of Clarendon, cursed from the Papal throne, were the work of the English Bishops. Stephen Langton, appointed directly, through an extraordinary stretch of power, by Innocent III., to the See of Canterbury, headed the Barons of England in extorting from the Papal minion John, the worst and basest of all our Sovereigns, that Magna Charta which the Pope at once visited with his anathemas. In the reign of Henry VIII., it was Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, who first wrote against the Papal domination. Tunstal was followed by Gardiner; and even the recognition of the Royal Headship was voted by the clergy, not under Cranmer, but under his unsuspected predecessor Warham. Strong and domineering as was the high Papal party in those centuries, the resistance was manful. Thrice in history, it seemed as if what we may call the Constitutional party in the Church was about to triumph: first, at the epoch of the Council of Constance; secondly, when the French Episcopate was in conflict with Pope Innocent XI.; thirdly, when Clement XIV. leveled with the dust the deadliest foes that mental and moral liberty have ever known. But from July, 1870, this state of things has passed away, and the death-warrant of that Constitutional party has been signed, and sealed, and promulgated in form.

Before that time arrived, although I had used expressions sufficiently indicative as to the tendency of things in the great Latin Communion, yet I had for very many years felt it to be the first and paramount duty of the British Legislature, whatever Rome might say or do, to give to Ireland all that justice could demand, in regard to matters of conscience and of civil equality, and thus to set herself right in the opinion of the civilized world. So far from seeing, what some believed they saw, a spirit of unworthy compliance in such a course, it appeared to me the only one which suited either the dignity or the duty of my country. While this debt remained unpaid, both before and

after 1870, I did not think it my province to open formally a line of argument on a question of prospective rather than immediate moment, which might have prejudiced the matter of duty lying nearest our hand, and morally injured Great Britain not less than Ireland, Churchmen and Nonconformists not less than adherents of the Papal Communion, by slackening the disposition to pay the debt of justice. When Parliament had passed the Church Act of 1869 and the Land Act of 1870, there remained only, under the great head of Imperial equity, one serious question to be dealt with—that of the higher education. I consider that the Liberal majority in the House of Commons, and the Government to which I had the honor and satisfaction to belong, formally tendered payment in full of this portion of the debt by the Irish University Bill of February, 1873. Some indeed think that it was overpaid; a question into which this is manifestly not the place to enter. But the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland thought fit to procure the rejection of that measure, by the direct influence which they exercised over a certain number of Irish Members of Parliament, and by the temptation which they thus offered—the bid, in effect, which (to use a homely phrase) they made, to attract the support of the Tory Opposition. Their efforts were crowned with a complete success. From that time forward I have felt that the situation was changed, and that important matters would have to be cleared by suitable explanations. The debt to Ireland had been paid: a debt to the country at large had still to be disposed of, and this has come to be the duty of the hour. So long, indeed, as I continued to be Prime Minister, I should not have considered a broad political discussion on a general question suitable to proceed from me; while neither I nor (I am certain) my colleagues would have been disposed to run the risk of stirring popular passions by a vulgar and unexplained appeal. But every difficulty, arising from the necessary limitations of an official position, has now been removed.

VII. On the Home Policy of the Future.

I could not, however, conclude these observations without anticipating and answering an inquiry they suggest. "Are they, then," it will be asked, "a recantation and a regret; and what are they meant to recommend as the policy of the future?" My reply shall be succinct and plain. Of what the Liberal party has accomplished, by word or deed, in establishing the full civil equality of Roman Catholics, I regret nothing, and I recant nothing.

It is certainly a political misfortune that, during the last thirty years, a Church so tainted in its views of civil obedience, and so unduly capable of changing its front and language after Emancipation from what it had been before, like an actor who has to perform several characters in one piece, should have acquired an extension of its hold upon the highest classes of this country.

The conquests have been chiefly, as might have been expected, among women; but the number of male converts, or captives (as I might prefer to call them), has not been inconsiderable. There is no doubt, that every one of these secessions is in the nature of a considerable moral and social severance. The breadth of this gap varies, according to varieties of individual character. But it is too commonly a wide one. Too commonly, the spirit of the neophyte is expressed by the words which have become notorious: "a Catholic first, an Englishman afterward." Words which properly convey no more than a truism; for every Christian must seek to place his religion even before his country in his inner heart. But very far from a truism in the sense in which we have been led to construe them. We take them to mean that the "convert" intends, in case of any conflict between the Queen and the Pope, to follow the Pope, and let the Queen shift for herself; which, happily, she can well do.

Usually, in this country, a movement in the highest class would raise a presumption of a similar movement in the mass. It is not so here. Rumors have gone about that the proportion of members of the Papal Church to the population has increased, especially in England. But these rumors would seem to be confuted by authentic figures. The Roman Catholic Marriages, which supply a competent test, and which were 4·89 per cent. of the whole in 1854, and 4·62 per cent. in 1859, were 4·09 per cent. in 1869, and 4·02 per cent. in 1871.

There is something at the least abnormal in such a partial growth, taking effect as it does among the wealthy and noble, while the people can not be charmed, by any incantation, into the Roman camp. The original Gospel was supposed to be meant especially for the poor; but the gospel of the nineteenth century from Rome courts another and less modest destination. If the Pope does not control more souls among us, he certainly controls more acres.

The severance, however, of a certain number of lords of the soil from those who till it, can be borne. And so I trust will in like manner be endured the new and very real "aggression" of the principles promulgated by Papal authority, whether they are or are not loyally disclaimed. In this matter, each man is his own judge and his own guide: I can speak for myself. I am no longer able to say, as I would have said before 1870, "There is nothing in the necessary belief of the Roman Catholic which can appear to impeach his full civil title; for, whatsoever be the follies of ecclesiastical power in his Church, his Church itself has not required of him, with binding authority, to assent to any principles inconsistent with his civil duty." That ground is now, for the present at least, cut from under my feet. What then is to be our course of policy hereafter? First let me say that, as regards the great Imperial settlement, achieved by slow degrees, which has admitted men of all creeds subsisting among us to Parliament, that I conceive to be so determined beyond all doubt or question, as to have become one of the deep foundation-stones of the existing Constitution. But inasmuch as, short of this great

charter of public liberty, and independently of all that has been done, there are pending matters of comparatively minor moment which have been, or may be, subjects of discussion, not without interest attaching to them, I can suppose a question to arise in the minds of some. My own views and intentions in the future are of the smallest significance. But, if the arguments I have here offered make it my duty to declare them, I say at once the future will be exactly as the past: in the little that depends on me, I shall be guided hereafter, as heretofore, by the rule of maintaining equal civil rights irrespectively of religious differences; and shall resist all attempts to exclude the members of the Roman Church from the benefit of that rule. Indeed I may say that I have already given conclusive indications of this view, by supporting in Parliament, as a Minister, since 1870, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, for what I think ample reasons. Not only because the time has not yet come when we can assume the consequences of the revolutionary measures of 1870 to have been thoroughly weighed and digested by all capable men in the Roman Communion. Not only because so great a numerical proportion are, as I have before observed, necessarily incapable of mastering, and forming their personal judgment upon, the case. Quite irrespectively even of these considerations, I hold that our onward even course should not be changed by follies, the consequences of which, if the worst come to the worst, this country will have alike the power and, in case of need, the will to control. The State will, I trust, be ever careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain; and to allow neither private caprice nor, above all, foreign arrogance to dictate to it in the discharge of its proper office. "England expects every man to do his duty;" and none can be so well prepared under all circumstances to exact its performance as that Liberal party which has done the work of justice alike for Nonconformists and for Papal dissidents, and whose members have so often, for the sake of that work, hazarded their credit with the markedly Protestant constituencies of the country. Strong the State of the United Kingdom has always been in material strength; and its moral panoply is now, we may hope, pretty complete.

It is not then for the dignity of the Crown and people of the United Kingdom to be diverted from a path which they have deliberately chosen, and which it does not rest with all the myrmidons of the Apostolic Chamber either openly to obstruct, or secretly to undermine. It is rightfully to be expected, it is greatly to be desired, that the Roman Catholics of this country should do in the Nineteenth century what their forefathers of England, except a handful of emissaries, did in the Sixteenth, when they were marshaled in resistance to the Armada, and in the Seventeenth when, in despite of the Papal Chair, they sat in the House of Lords under the Oath of Allegiance. That which we are entitled to desire, we are entitled also to expect: indeed, to say we did not expect it, would, in my judgment, be the true way of conveying an "insult" to those concerned. In this expectation we may be par-

tially disappointed. Should those to whom I appeal, thus unhappily come to bear witness in their own persons to the decay of sound, manly, true life in their Church, it will be their loss more than ours. The inhabitants of these islands, as a whole, are stable, though sometimes credulous and excitable; resolute, though sometimes boastful: and a strong-headed and sound-hearted race will not be hindered, either by latent or by avowed dissents, due to the foreign influence of a caste, from the accomplishment of its mission in the world.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

The numbers here given correspond with those of the Eighteen Propositions given in the text, where it would have been less convenient to cite the originals.

1, 2, 3. "Ex quâ omnino falsâ socialis regiminis ideâ haud timent erroneam illam fovere opinionem, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, animarumque saluti maxime exitialem, a rec. mem. Gregorio XIV. prædecessore Nostro *deliramentum* appellatam (eâdem Encycl. mirari), nimirum, libertatem conscientiæ et cultuum esse proprium cujuscunque hominis jus, quod lege proclamari, et asseri debet in omni recte constitutâ societate, et jus civibus inesse ad omnimodam libertatem nullâ vel ecclesiasticâ, vel civili auctoritate coarctandam, quo suos conceptus quoscumque sive voce sive typis, sive aliâ ratione palam publicequc manifestare ac declarare valeant."—*Encyclical Letter.*

4. "Atque silentio præterire non possumus eorum audaciam, qui sanam non sustinentes doctrinam 'illis Apostolicæ Sedis judiciis, et decretis, quorum objectum ad bonum generale Ecclesiæ, ejusdemque jura, ac disciplinam spectare declaratur, dummodo fidei morumque dogmata non attingat, posse assensum et obedientiam detrectari absque peccato, et absque ullâ Catholicæ professionis jacturâ.'"—*Ibid.*

5. "Ecclesia non est vera perfectaque societas plane libera, nec pollet suis propriis et constantibus juribus sibi a divino suo Fundatore collatis, sed civilis potestatis est definire quæ sint Ecclesiæ jura, ac limites, intra quos eadem jura exercere qucat."—*Syllabus* v.

6. "Romani Pontifices et Concilia œcumenica a limitibus suæ potestatis recesserunt, jura Principum usurpârunt, atque etiam in rebus fidei et morum definiendis errârunt."—*Ibid.* xxiii.

7. "Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet, neque potestatem ullam temporalem directam vel indirectam."—*Ibid.* xxiv.

8. "Præter potestatem episcopatui inhærentem, alia est attributa temporalis potestas a civili imperio vel expressè vel tacitè concessa, revocanda propterea, cum libuerit, a civili imperio."—*Ibid.* xxv.

9. "Ecclesiæ et personarum ecclesiasticarum immunitas a jure civili ortum habuit."—*Ibid.* xxx.

10. "In conflictu legum utriusque potestatis, jus civile prævalet."—*Ibid.* xlii.

11. "Catholicis viris probari potest ea juventutis instituendæ ratio, quæ sit a Catholicâ fide et ab Ecclesiæ potestate sejuncta, quæque rerum dumtaxat, naturalium scientiam ac terrenæ socialis vitæ fines tantummodo vel saltem primarium spectet."—*Ibid.* xlviii.

12. "Philosophicarum rerum morumque scientia, itemque civiles leges possunt et debent a divinâ et ecclesiasticâ auctoritate declinare."—*Ibid.* lvii.

13. "Matrimonii sacramentum non est nisi contractui accessorium ab eoque separabile, ipsumque sacramentum in unâ tantum nuptiali benedictione situm est."—*Ibid.* lxvi.

"Vi contractûs mere civilis potest inter Christianos constare veri nominis matrimonium; falsumque est, aut contractum matrimonii inter Christianos semper esse sacramentum, aut nullum esse contractum, si sacramentum excludatur."—*Ibid.* lxxiii.

14. "De temporalis regni cum spirituali compatibilitate disputant inter se Christianæ et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ filii."—*Syllabus* lxxv.

15. "Abrogatio civilis imperii, quo Apostolica Sedes potitur, ad Ecclesiæ libertatem felicitatemque vel maxime conduceret."—*Ibid.* lxxvi.

16. "Ætate hac nostra non amplius expedit religionem Catholicam haberi tanquam unicam status religionem, cæteris quibuscumque cultibus exclusis."—*Ibid.* lxxvii.

17. "Hinc laudabiliter in quibusdam Catholici nominis regionibus lege cautum est, ut hominibus illuc immigrantibus liceat publicum proprii cujusque cultus exercitium habere."—*Ibid.* lxxviii.

18. "Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere."—*Ibid.* lxxx.

APPENDIX B.

I have contented myself with a minimum of citation from the documents of the period before Emancipation. Their full effect can only be gathered by such as are acquainted with, or will take the trouble to refer largely to, the originals. It is worth while, however, to cite the following passage from Bishop Doyle,

as it may convey, through the indignation it expresses, an idea of the amplitude of the assurances which had been (as I believe most honestly and sincerely) given.

"There is no justice, my Lord, in thus condemning us. Such conduct on the part of our opponents creates in our bosoms a sense of wrong being done to us; it exhausts our patience, it provokes our indignation, and prevents us from reiterating our efforts to obtain a more impartial hearing. We are tempted, in such cases as these, to attribute unfair motives to those who differ from us, as we can not conceive how men gifted with intelligence can fail to discover truths so plainly demonstrated as,

"That our faith or our allegiance is not regulated by any such doctrines as those imputed to us;

"That our duties to the Government of our country are not influenced nor affected by any Bulls or practices of Popes;

"That these duties are to be learned by us, as by every other class of His Majesty's subjects, from the Gospel, from the reason given to us by God, from that love of country which Nature has implanted in our hearts, and from those constitutional maxims, which are as well understood, and as highly appreciated, by Catholics of the present day, as by their ancestors, who founded them with Alfred, or secured them at Runnymede."—*Doyle's 'Essay on the Catholic Claims,'* London, 1826, p. 38.

The same general tone, as in 1826, was maintained in the answers of the witnesses from Maynooth College before the Commission of 1855. See, for example, pp. 132, 161–4, 272–3, 275, 361, 370–5, 381–2, 394–6, 405. The Commission reported (p. 64), "We see no reason to believe that there has been any disloyalty in the teaching of the college, or any disposition to impair the obligations of an unreserved allegiance to your Majesty."

APPENDIX C.

Compare the recent and ominous forecasting of the future European policy of the British Crown, in an Article from a Romish Periodical for the current month, which has direct relation to these matters, and which has every appearance of proceeding from authority:

"Surely, in any European complication, such as may any day arise, nay, such as must ere long arise, from the natural gravitation of the forces, which are for the moment kept in check and truce by the necessity of preparation for their inevitable collision, it may very well be that the future prosperity of England may be staked in the struggle, and that the side which she may take may be determined, not either by justice or interest, but *by a passionate resolve to keep up the Italian kingdom at any hazard.*"—The '*Month*' for November, 1874: 'Mr. Gladstone's Durham Letter,' p. 265.

This is a remarkable disclosure. With *whom* could England be brought into conflict by any disposition she might feel to keep up the Italian kingdom? Considered as States, both Austria and France are in complete harmony with Italy. But it is plain that Italy has some enemy; and the writers of the 'Month' appear to know who it is.

APPENDIX D.

Notice has been taken, both in this country and abroad, of the apparent inertness of public men, and of at least one British Administration, with respect to the subject of these pages. See Friedberg, 'Gränzen zwischen Staat und Kirche,' Abtheilung iii. pp. 755–6; and the Preface to the Fifth Volume of Mr. Greenwood's elaborate, able, and judicial work, entitled 'Cathedra Petri,' p. iv.:

"If there be any chance of such a revival, it would become our political leaders to look more closely into the peculiarities of a system, which denies the right of the subject to freedom of thought and action upon matters most material to his civil and religious welfare. There is no mode of ascertaining the spirit and tendency of great institutions but in a careful study of their history. The writer is profoundly impressed with the conviction that our political instructors have wholly neglected this important duty: or, which is perhaps worse, left it in the hands of a class of persons whose zeal has outrun their discretion, and who have sought rather to engage the prejudices than the judgment of their hearers in the cause they have, no doubt sincerely, at heart."

DR. NEWMAN'S LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF NORFOLK,

IN REPLY TO GLADSTONE.

My Dear Duke of Norfolk:

When I yielded to the earnest wish which you, together with many others, urged upon me, that I should reply to Mr. Gladstone's recent Expostulation, a friend suggested that I ought to ask your Grace's permission to address my remarks to you. Not that for a moment he or I thought of implicating you, in any sense or measure, in a responsibility which is solely and entirely my own; but on a very serious occasion, when such heavy charges had been made against the Catholics of England by so powerful and so earnest an adversary, it seemed my duty, in meeting his challenge, to gain the support, if I could, of a name which is the special representative and the fitting sample of a laity, as zealous for the Catholic religion as it is patriotic.

You consented with something of the reluctance which I had felt myself when called upon to write; for it was hard to be summoned at any age, early or late, from a peaceful course of life and the duties of one's station, to a scene of war. Still, you consented; and, for myself, it is the compensation for a very unpleasant task, that I, who belong to a generation that is fast flitting away, am thus enabled, in what is likely to be my last publication, to associate myself with one, on many accounts so dear to me,—so full of young promise—whose career is before him.

I deeply grieve that Mr. Gladstone has felt it his duty to speak with such extraordinary severity of our Religion and of ourselves. I consider he has committed himself to a representation of ecclesiastical documents which will not hold, and to a view of our position in the country which we have neither deserved nor can be patient under. None but the *Schola Theologorum* is competent to determine the force of Papal and Synodal utterances, and the exact interpretation of them is a work of time. But so much may be safely said of the decrees which have lately been promulgated, and of the faithful who have received them, that Mr. Gladstone's account, both of them and of us, is neither trustworthy nor charitable.

Yet not a little may be said in explanation of a step, which so

many of his admirers and well-wishers deplore. I own to a deep feeling, that Catholics may in good measure thank themselves, and no one else, for having alienated from them so religious a mind. There are those among us, as it must be confessed, who for years past have conducted themselves as if no responsibility attached to wild words and overbearing deeds; who have stated truths in the most paradoxical form, and stretched principles till they were close upon snapping; and who at length, having done their best to set the house on fire, leave to others the task of putting out the flame. The English people are sufficiently sensitive of the claims of the Pope, without having them, as if in defiance, flourished in their faces. Those claims most certainly I am not going to deny; I have never denied them. I have no intention, now that I have to write upon them, to conceal any part of them. And I uphold them as heartily as I recognize my duty of loyalty to the constitution, the laws, and the government of England. I see no inconsistency in my being at once a good Catholic and a good Englishman. Yet it is one thing to be able to satisfy myself as to my consistency, quite another to satisfy others; and, undisturbed as I am in my own conscience, I have great difficulties in the task before me. I have one difficulty to overcome in the present excitement of the public mind against our Religion, caused partly by the chronic extravagances of knots of Catholics here and there, partly by the vehement rhetoric which is the occasion of my writing to you. A worse difficulty lies in getting people, as they are commonly found, to put off the modes of speech and language which are usual with them, and to enter into scientific distinctions and traditionary rules of interpretation, which, as being new to them, appear evasive and unnatural. And a third difficulty, as I may call it, is this—that in so very wide a subject, opening so great a variety of questions, and of opinions upon them, while it will be simply necessary to take the objections made against us and our faith, one by one, readers may think me trifling with their patience, because they do not find those points first dealt with, on which they lay most stress themselves.

But I have said enough by way of preface; and without more delay turn to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet.

§ 1. Introductory Remarks.

The main question which Mr. Gladstone has started I consider to be this:—Can Catholics be trustworthy subjects of the State? has not a foreign Power a hold over their consciences such, that it may at any time be used to the serious perplexity and injury of the civil government under which they live? Not that Mr. Gladstone confines himself to these questions, for he goes out of his way, I am sorry to say, to taunt us with our loss of mental and moral freedom, a vituperation which is not necessary for his purpose at all. He informs us too that we have "repudiated ancient history," and are rejecting "modern thought," and that our

Church has been "refurbishing her rusty tools," and has been lately aggravating, and is likely still more to aggravate, our state of bondage. I think it unworthy of Mr. Gladstone's high character thus to have inveighed against us; what intellectual manliness is left to us, according to him? yet his circle of acquaintance is too wide, and his knowledge of his countrymen on the other hand too accurate, for him not to know that he is bringing a great amount of odium and bad feeling upon excellent men, whose only offense is their religion. The more intense is the prejudice with which we are regarded by whole classes of men, the less is there of generosity in his pouring upon us superfluous reproaches. The graver the charge, which is the direct occasion of his writing against us, the more careful should he be not to prejudice judge and jury to our disadvantage. No rhetoric is needed in England against an unfortunate Catholic at any time; but so little is Mr. Gladstone conscious of his treatment of us that in one place of his Pamphlet, strange as it may seem, he makes it his boast that he has been careful to "do nothing towards importing passion into what is matter of pure argument," pp. 15, 16. I venture to think he will one day be sorry for what he has said.

However, we must take things as we find them; and what I propose to do is this: to put aside, unless it comes directly in my way, his accusation against us of repudiating ancient history, rejecting modern thought, and renouncing our mental freedom, and to confine myself for the most part to what he principally insists upon, that Catholics, if they act consistently with their principles, can not be loyal subjects. I shall not, however, omit notice of his attack upon our moral uprightness.

The occasion and the grounds of Mr. Gladstone's impeachment of us, if I understand him, are as follows:—He was alarmed, as a statesman, ten years ago by the Pope's Encyclical of December 8, and by the Syllabus of Erroneous Propositions which, by the Pope's authority, accompanied its transmission to the Bishops. Then came the Definitions of the Vatican Council in 1870, upon the universal jurisdiction and doctrinal infallibility of the Pope. And, lastly, as the event which turned alarm into indignation, and into the duty of public remonstrance, "the Roman Catholic Prelacy of Ireland thought fit to procure the rejection of" the Irish University Bill of February, 1873, "by the direct influence which they exercised over a certain number of Irish Members of Parliament," etc., p. 60. This step on the part of the Bishops showed, if I understand him, the new and mischievous force which had been acquired at Rome by the late acts there, or at least left him at liberty, by causing his loss of power, to denounce it. "From that time forward the situation was changed," and an opening was made for a "broad political discussion" on the subject of the Catholic Religion and its professors, and "a debt to the country had to be disposed of." That debt, if I am right, will be paid, if he can ascertain, on behalf of the country, that there is nothing in the Catholic Religion to hinder its professors from being as loyal as other subjects of the State, and that the See of Rome can not interfere with their civil duties so as to give

the civil power trouble or alarm. The main ground on which he relies for the necessity of some such inquiry is, first, the text of the authoritative documents of 1864 and 1870; next, and still more, the *animus* which they breathe, and the sustained aggressive spirit which they disclose; and, thirdly, the daring deed of aggression in 1873, when the Pope, acting (as it is alleged) upon the Irish Members of Parliament, succeeded in ousting from their seats a ministry who, besides past benefits, were at that very time doing for Irish Catholics, and therefore ousted for doing, a special service.

Now, it would be preposterous and officious in me to put myself forward as champion for the Venerable Prelacy of Ireland, or to take upon myself the part of advocate and representative of the Holy See. "Non tali auxilio;" in neither character could I come forward without great presumption; not the least for this reason, because I can not know the exact points which are really the *gist* of the affront, which Mr. Gladstone conceives he has sustained, whether from the one quarter or from the other; yet in a question so nearly interesting myself as that February bill, which he brought into the House, in great sincerity and kindness, for the benefit of the Catholic University in Ireland, I may be allowed to say thus much—that I, who now have no official relation to the Irish Bishops, and am not in any sense in the councils of Rome, felt at once, when I first saw the outline of that bill, the greatest astonishment on reading one of its provisions, and a dread which painfully affected me, lest Mr. Gladstone perhaps was acting on an understanding with the Catholic Prelacy. I did not see how in honor they could accept it. It was possible, did the question come over again, to decide in favor of the Queen's Colleges, and to leave the project of a Catholic University alone. The Holy See might so have decided in 1847. But at or about that date, three rescripts had come from Rome in favor of a distinctively Catholic Institution; a National Council had decided in its favor; large offers of the government had been rejected; great commotions had been caused in the political world; munificent contributions had been made, all on the sole principle that Catholic teaching was to be upheld in the country inviolate. If, then, for the sake of a money grant, or other secular advantage, this ground of principle was deserted, and Catholic youths after all were allowed to attend the lectures of men of no religion, or of the Protestant, the contest of thirty years would have been stultified, and the Pope and the Bishops would seem to have been playing a game, while putting forward the plea of conscience and religious duty. I hoped that the clause in the Bill, which gave me such uneasiness, could have been omitted from it; but, anyhow, it was an extreme relief to me when the papers announced that the Bishops had expressed their formal dissatisfaction with it.

They determined to decline a gift laden with such a condition, and who can blame them for so doing? who can be surprised that they should now do what they did in 1847? what new move in politics was it, if they so determined? what was there in it of a

factious character? Is the Catholic Irish interest the only one which is not to be represented in the House of Commons? Why is not that interest as much a matter of right as any other? I fear to expose my own ignorance of Parliamentary rules and proceedings, but I had supposed that the railway interest, and what is called the publican interest, were very powerful there; in Scotland, too, I believe, a government has a formidable party to deal with; and, to revert to Ireland, there are the Home-rulers, who have objects in view quite distinct from, or contrary to, those of the Catholic hierarchy. As to the Pope, looking at the surface of things, there is nothing to suggest that he interfered; there was no necessity of interference on so plain a point; and, when an act can be sufficiently accounted for without introducing an hypothetical cause, it is bad logic to introduce it. Speaking according to my lights, I altogether disbelieve the interposition of Rome in the matter. In the proceedings which they adopted, the Bishops were only using civil rights, common to all, which others also used and in their own way. Why might it not be their duty to promote the interests of their religion by means of their political opportunities? Is there no Exeter Hall interest? I thought it was a received theory of our Reformed Constitution that Members of Parliament were representatives, and in some sort delegates, of their constituents, and that the strength of each interest was shown, and the course of the nation determined, by the divisions in the House of Commons. I recollect the *Times* intimating its regret, after one general election, that there was no English Catholic in the new House, on the ground that every class and party should be represented there. Surely the Catholic Religion has not a small party in Ireland; why, then, should it not have a corresponding number of exponents and defenders at Westminster? So clear does this seem to me, that I think there must be some defect in my knowledge of facts to explain Mr. Gladstone's surprise and displeasure at the conduct of the Irish Prelacy in 1873; yet I suspect none; and, if there be none, then his unreasonableness in this instance of Ireland makes it not unlikely that he is unreasonable also in his judgment of the Encyclical, Syllabus, and Vatican Decrees.

However, the Bishops, I believe, not only opposed Mr. Gladstone's bill, but, instead of it they asked for some money grant towards the expenses of their University. If so, their obvious argument was this—that Catholics formed the great majority of the population of Ireland, and it was not fair that the Protestant minority should have all that was bestowed in endowment or otherwise upon Education. To this the reply, I suppose, would be, that it was not Protestantism, but liberal education, that had the money, and that, if the Bishops chose to give up their own principles and act as Liberals, they might have the benefit of it too. I am not concerned here with these arguments, but I wish to notice the position which the Bishops would occupy in urging such a request:—I must not say that they were Irishmen first and Catholics afterwards; but I do say that in such a demand they spoke, not simply as Catholic Bishops, but as the Bishops of

a Catholic nation. They did not speak from any promptings of the Encyclical, Syllabus, or Vatican Decrees. They claimed as Irishmen a share in the endowments of the country; and has not Ireland surely a right to speak in such a matter, and might not her Bishops fairly represent her? It seems to me a great mistake to think that every thing that is done by the Irish Bishops and clergy is done on an ecclesiastical motive; why not on a national? but if so, such acts have nothing to do with Rome. I know well what simple firm faith the great body of the Irish people have, and how they put the Catholic Religion before any thing else in the world. It is their comfort, their joy, their treasure, their boast, their compensation for a hundred worldly disadvantages; but who can deny that in politics their conduct at times—nay, more than at times—has had a flavor rather of their nation than of their Church? Only in the last general election this was said, when they were so earnest for Home Rule. Why, then, must Mr. Gladstone come down upon the Catholic Religion, because the Irish love dearly the Green Island and its interests? Ireland is not the only country in which politics, or patriotism, or party has been so closely associated with religion in the nation or a class, that it is difficult to say which of the various motive principles was uppermost. "The Puritan," says Macaulay, "prostrated himself in the dust before his Maker, but he set his foot on the neck of his king." I am not accusing such a man of hypocrisy on account of this; having great wrongs, as he considered, both in religious and temporal matters, and the authors of these distinct wrongs being the same persons, he did not nicely discriminate between the acts which he did as a patriot and the acts which he did as a Puritan. And so as regards Irishmen, they do not, can not, distinguish between their love of Ireland and their love of religion; their patriotism is religious, and their religion is strongly tinctured with patriotism; and it is hard to recognize the abstract and ideal Ultramontane, pure and simple, in the concrete exhibition of him in flesh and blood as found in the polling booth or in his chapel. I do not see how the Pope can be made answerable for him in any of his political acts during the last fifty years.

This leads me to a subject, of which Mr. Gladstone makes a good deal in his Pamphlet. I will say of a great man, whom he quotes, and for whose memory I have a great respect—I mean Bishop Doyle—that there was just a little tinge of patriotism in the way in which, on one occasion, he speaks of the Pope. I dare say any of us would have done the same in the heat of a great struggle for national liberty; for he said nothing but what was true and honest; I only mean that the energetic language which he used was not exactly such as would have suited the atmosphere of Rome. He says to Lord Liverpool, "We are taunted with the proceedings of Popes. What, my Lord, have we Catholics to do with the proceedings of Popes, or why should we be made accountable for them?" p. 27. Now, with some proceedings of Popes, we Catholics have very much to do indeed; but, if the context of his words is consulted, I make no doubt it

will be found that he was referring to certain proceedings of certain Popes when he said that Catholics had no part of their responsibility. Assuredly, there are certain acts of Popes in which no one would like to have part. Then, again, his words require some pious interpretation when he says that "the allegiance due to the king and the allegiance due to the Pope are as distinct and as divided in their nature as any two things can possibly be," p. 30. Yes, in their nature, in the abstract, but not in the particular case; for a heathen State might bid me throw incense upon the altar of Jupiter, and the Pope would bid me not to do so. I venture to make the same remark on the Address of the Irish Bishops to their clergy and laity, quoted at p. 31, and on the Declaration of the Vicars Apostolic in England, *ibid.*

But I must not be supposed for an instant to mean, in what I have said, that the venerable men, to whom I have referred, were aware of any ambiguity either in such statements as the above, or in others which were denials of the Pope's infallibility. Indeed, one of them at an earlier date, 1793, Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, had introduced into one of his Pastorals the subject which Mr. Gladstone considers they so summarily disposed of. The Archbishop says:—"Many Catholics contend that the Pope, when teaching the universal Church, as their supreme visible head and pastor, as successor to St. Peter, and heir to the promises of special assistance made to him by Jesus Christ, is infallible; and that his decrees and decisions in that capacity are to be respected as rules of faith, when they are dogmatical or confined to doctrinal points of faith and morals. Others deny this, and require the expressed or tacit acquiescence of the Church, assembled or dispersed, to stamp infallibility on his dogmatical decrees. Until the Church shall decide upon this question of the Schools, either opinion may be adopted by individual Catholics, without any breach of Catholic communion or peace. The Catholics of Ireland have lately declared, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith; nor are they thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible, without adopting or abjuring either of the recited opinions which are open to discussion, while the Church continues silent about them." The Archbishop thus addressed his flock, at the time when he was informing them that the Pope had altered the oath which was taken by the Catholic Bishops.

As to the language of the Bishops in 1826, we must recollect that at that time the clergy, both of Ireland and England, were educated in Gallican opinions. They took those opinions for granted, and they thought, if they went so far as to ask themselves the question, that the definition of Papal Infallibility was simply impossible. Even among those at the Vatican Council, who themselves personally believed in it, I believe there were Bishops who, until the actual definition had been passed, thought that such a definition could not be made. Perhaps they would argue that, though the historical evidence was sufficient for their own personal conviction, it was not sufficiently clear of difficulties to make it safe to impose it on Catholics as a dogma. Much more would this be the feeling of the Bishops in 1826. "How," they

would ask, "can it ever come to pass that a majority of our order should find it their duty to relinquish their prime prerogative, and to make the Church take the shape of a pure monarchy?" They would think its definition as much out of the question as that, in twenty-five years after their time, there would be a hierarchy of thirteen Bishops in England, with a Cardinal for Archbishop.

But, all this while, such modes of thinking were foreign altogether to the minds of the *entourage* of the Holy See. Mr. Gladstone himself says, and the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel must have known it as well as he, "The Popes have kept up, with comparatively little intermission, for well nigh a thousand years, their claim to dogmatic infallibility," p. 28. Then, if the Pope's claim to infallibility was so patent a fact, could they ever suppose that he could be brought to admit that it was hopeless to turn that claim into a dogma? In truth, those ministers were very little interested in that question; as was said in a Petition or Declaration, signed among others by Dr. Troy, it was "immaterial in a political light;" but, even if they thought it material, or if there were other questions they wanted to ask, why go to Bishop Doyle? If they wanted to obtain some real information about the probabilities of the future, why did they not go to headquarters? Why did they potter about the halls of Universities in this matter of Papal exorbitances, or rely upon the pamphlets or examinations of Bishops whom they never asked for their credentials? Why not go at once to Rome?

The reason is plain: it was a most notable instance, with a grave consequence, of what is a fixed tradition with us the English people, and a great embarrassment to every administration in their dealings with Catholics. I recollect, years ago, Dr. Griffiths, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, giving me an account of an interview he had with the late Lord Derby, then, I suppose, Colonial Secretary. I understood him to say that Lord Derby was in perplexity at the time, on some West India matter, in which Catholics were concerned, because he could not find their responsible representative. He wanted Dr. Griffiths to undertake the office, and expressed something of disappointment when the Bishop felt obliged to decline it. A chronic malady has from time to time its paroxysms, and the history on which I am now engaged is a serious instance of it. I think it is impossible that the British Government could have entered into formal negotiations with the Pope, without its transpiring in the course of them, and its becoming perfectly clear, that Rome could never be a party to such a pledge as England wanted, and that no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party.

But no; they persisted in an enterprise which was hopeless in its first principle, for they thought to break the indissoluble tie which bound together the head and the members,—and doubtless Rome felt the insult, though she might think it prudent not to notice it. France was not the keystone of the œcumenical power, though her Church was so great and so famous; nor could the

hierarchy of Ireland, in spite of its fidelity to the Catholic faith, give any pledge of the future to the statesmen who required one; there was but one See, whose word was worth any thing in the matter, "that church" (to use the language of the earliest of our Doctors) "to which the faithful all round about are bound to have recourse." Yet for three hundred years it has been the official rule with England to ignore the existence of the Pope, and to deal with Catholics in England, not as his children, but as sectaries of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Napoleon said to his envoy, "Treat with the Pope as if he was master of 100,000 men." So clearly did he, from mere worldly sagacity, comprehend the Pope's place in the then state of European affairs, as to say that, "if the Pope had not existed, it would have been well to have created him for that occasion, as the Roman consuls created a dictator in difficult circumstances." (Alison's *Hist.* ch. 35.) But we, in the instance of the greatest, the oldest power in Europe, a Church whose grandeur in past history demanded, one would think, some reverence in our treatment of her, the mother of English Christianity, who, whether her subsequent conduct had always been motherly or not, had been a true friend to us in the beginnings of our history, her we have not only renounced, but, to use a familiar word, we have absolutely cut. Time has gone on and we have no relentings; to-day, as little as yesterday, do we understand that pride was not made for man, nor the cuddling of resentments for a great people. I am entering into no theological question: I am speaking all along of mere decent secular intercourse between England and Rome. A hundred grievances would have been set right on their first uprising, had there been a frank diplomatic understanding between the two great powers; but, on the contrary, even within the last few weeks, the present Ministry has destroyed any hope of a better state of things by withdrawing from the Vatican the make-shift channel of intercourse which had of late years been permitted there.

The world's politics has its laws; and such abnormal courses as England has pursued have their *Nemesis*. An event has taken place which, alas! already makes itself felt in issues, unfortunate for English Catholics certainly, but also, as I think, for our country. A great council has been called; and, as England has for so long a time ignored Rome, Rome, I suppose, it must be said, has in turn ignored England. I do not mean of set purpose ignored, but as the natural consequence of our act. Bishops brought from the corners of the earth in 1870, what could they know of English blue books and Parliamentary debates in the years 1826 and 1829? It was an extraordinary gathering, and its possibility, its purpose, and its issue, were alike marvelous, as depending on a coincidence of strange conditions, which, as might be said beforehand, never could take place. Such was the long reign of the Pope, in itself a marvel, as being the sole exception to a recognized ecclesiastical tradition. Only a Pontiff so unfortunate, so revered, so largely loved, so popular even with Protestants, with such a prestige of long sovereignty, with such claims on the Bishops around him, both of age and of paternal

gracious acts, only such a man could have harmonized and guided to the conclusion, which he pointed out, an assembly so variously composed. And, considering the state of theological opinion seventy years before, not less marvelous was the concurrence of all but a few out of so many hundred Bishops in the theological judgment, so long desired at Rome; the protest made by some eighty or ninety, at the termination of the Council, against the proceedings of the vast majority lying, not against the truth of the doctrine then defined, but against its opportuneness. Nor less to be noted is the neglect of the Catholic powers to send representatives to the Council, who might have laid before the Fathers its political bearings. For myself, I did not call it inopportune, for times and seasons are known to God alone, and persecution may be as opportune, though not so pleasant as peace; nor, in accepting as a dogma what I had ever held as a truth, could I be doing violence to any theological view or conclusion of my own: nor has the acceptance of it any logical or practical effect whatever, as I consider, in weakening my allegiance to Queen Victoria; but there are few Catholics, I think, who will not deeply regret, though no one be in fault, that the English and Irish Prelacies of 1826 did not foresee the possibility of the Synodal determinations of 1870, nor will they wonder that Statesmen should feel themselves aggrieved, that stipulations, which they considered necessary for Catholic emancipation, should have been, as they may think, rudely cast to the winds.

And now I must pass from the mere accidents of the controversy to its essential points, and I can not treat them to the satisfaction of Mr. Gladstone, unless I go back a great way, and be allowed to speak of the ancient Catholic Church.

§ 2. The Ancient Church.

When Mr. Gladstone accuses us of "repudiating ancient history," he means the ancient history of the Church; also, I understand him to be viewing that history under a particular aspect. There are many aspects in which Christianity presents itself to us; for instance, the aspect of social usefulness, or of devotion, or again of theology; but, though he in one place glances at the last of these aspects, his own view of it is its relation towards the civil power. He writes "as one of the world at large;" as a "layman who has spent most and the best years of his life in the observation and practice of politics;" p. 7, and, as a statesman, he naturally looks at the Church on its political side. Accordingly, in his title-page, in which he professes to be expostulating with us for accepting the Vatican Decrees, he does so, not for any reason whatever, but because of their incompatibility with our civil allegiance. This is the key-note of his impeachment of us. As a public man, he has only to do with the public action and effect of our Religion, its aspect upon national affairs, on our civil duties, on our foreign interests; and he tells us that our Religion has a bearing and behavior towards the State utterly unlike that

of ancient Christianity, so unlike that we may be said to repudiate what Christianity was in its first centuries, so unlike to what it was then, that we have actually forfeited the proud boast of being "Ever one and the same;" unlike, I say, in this, that our action is so antagonistic to the State's action, and our claims so menacing to civil peace and prosperity. Indeed! then I suppose our Lord and His Apostles, that St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and St. Cyprian of Carthage, and St. Laurence of Rome, that St. Alexander and St. Paul of Constantinople, that St. Ambrose of Milan, that Popes Leo, John, Sylverian, Gregory, and Martin, all members of the "undivided Church," cared supremely, and labored successfully, to cultivate peaceful relations with the government of Rome. They had no doctrines and precepts, no rules of life, no isolation and aggressiveness, which caused them to be considered, in spite of themselves, the enemies of the human race! May I not, without disrespect, submit to Mr. Gladstone that this is very paradoxical? Surely it is our fidelity to the history of our forefathers, and not its repudiation, which Mr. Gladstone dislikes in us. When, indeed, was it in ancient times that the State did not show jealously of the Church? Was it when Decius and Dioclesian slaughtered their thousands who had abjured the religion of old Rome? or, was it when Athanasius was banished to Treves? or when Basil, on the Imperial Prefect's crying out, "Never before did any man make so free with me," answered, "Perhaps you never before fell in with a Bishop?" or when Chrysostom was sent off to Cucusus, to be worried to death by an Empress? Go through the long annals of Church History, century after century, and say, was there ever a time when her Bishops, and notably the Bishop of Rome, were slow to give their testimony in behalf of the moral and revealed law and to suffer for their obedience to it, or forgot that they had a message to deliver to the world? not the task merely of administering spiritual consolation, or of making the sick-bed easy, or of training up good members of society, and of "serving tables," (though all this was included in their range of duty); but specially and directly to deliver a message to the world, a definite message to high and low, from the world's Maker, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear? The history surely of the Church in all past times, ancient as well as medieval, is the very embodiment of that tradition of Apostolical independence and freedom of speech which in the eyes of man is her great offense now.

Nay, that independence, I may say, is even one of her notes or credentials; for where shall we find it except in the Catholic Church? "I spoke of Thy testimonies," says the Psalmist, "even before kings, and I was not ashamed." This verse, I think Dr. Arnold used to say, rose up in judgment against the Anglican Church, in spite of its real excellences. As to the Oriental Churches, every one knows in what bondage they lie, whether they are under the rule of the Czar or of the Sultan. Such is the actual fact that, whereas it is the very mission of Christianity to bear witness to the Creed and Ten Commandments in a world

which is averse to them, Rome is now the one faithful representative, and thereby is heir and successor of that freespoken dauntless Church of old, whose traditions Mr. Gladstone says the said Rome has repudiated.

I have one thing more to say on the subject of the "semper eadem." In truth, this fidelity to the ancient Christian system, seen in modern Rome, was the luminous fact which more than any other turned men's minds at Oxford forty years ago to look towards her with reverence, interest, and love. It affected individual minds variously, of course; some it even brought on eventually to conversion, others it only restrained from active opposition to her claims; but no one could read the Fathers, and determine to be their disciple, without feeling that Rome, like a faithful steward, had kept in fullness and in vigor what his own communion had let drop. The Tracts for the Times were founded on a deadly antagonism to what in these last centuries has been called Erastianism or Cæsarism. Their writers considered the Church to be a divine creation, "not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ," the Ark of Salvation, the Oracle of Truth, the Bride of Christ, with a message to all men every-where, and a claim on their love and obedience; and, in relation to the civil power, the object of that promise of the Jewish prophets, "Behold, I will lift up My Hand to the Gentiles, and will set up My standard to the peoples; kings and their queens shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and they shall lick up the dust of thy feet." No Ultramontane (so called) could go beyond those writers in the account which they gave of her from the Prophets, and that high notion is recorded beyond mistake in a thousand passages of their writings.

There is a fine passage of Mr Keble's in the British Critic, in animadversion upon a contemporary reviewer. Mr. Hurrell Froude, speaking of the Church of England, had said that "she was 'united' to the State as Israel to Egypt." This shocked the reviewer in question, who exclaimed in consequence, "The Church is *not* united to the State as Israel to Egypt; it is united as a believing *wife* to a *husband* who threatened to apostatize; and as a Christian wife so placed would act . . clinging to the connection . . so the Church must struggle even now, and save, not herslf, but the State, from the crime of a *divorce*." On this Mr. Keble says, "We had thought that the Spouse of the Church was a very different Person from any or all States, and her relation to the State through Him *very unlike that of hers, whose duties are summed up in 'love, service, cherishing, and obedience.'* And since the one is exclusively of this world, the other essentially of the eternal world, *such an Alliance* as the above sentence describes, would have seemed to us, *not only fatal, but monstrous!*"* And he quotes the lines,—

> "Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
> Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora:
> Tormenti genus."

* Review of Gladstone's 'The State in its Relations with the Church,' October, 1839.

It was this same conviction that the Church had rights which the State could not touch, and was prone to ignore, and which in consequence were the occasion of great troubles between the two, that led Mr. Froude at the beginning of the movement to translate the letters of St. Thomas Becket, and Mr. Bowden to write the Life of Hildebrand. As to myself, I will but refer, as to one out of many passages with the same drift, in the books and tracts which I published at that time, to my Whit-Monday and Whit-Tuesday Sermons.

I believe a large number of members of the Church of England at this time are faithful to the doctrine which was proclaimed within its pale in 1833, and following years; the main difference between them and Catholics being, not as to the existence of certain high prerogatives and spiritual powers in the Christian Church, but that the powers which we give to the Holy See, they lodge in her Bishops and Priests, whether as a body or individually. Of course, this is a very important difference, but it does not enter into my argument here. It does seem to me preposterous to charge the Catholic Church of to-day with repudiating ancient history by certain political acts of hers, and thereby losing her identity, when it was her very likeness in political action to the Church of the first centuries, that has in our time attracted even to her communion, or at least to her teaching, not a few educated men, who made those first centuries their special model.

But I have more to say on this subject, perhaps too much, when I go on, as I now do, to contemplate the Christian Church, when persecution was exchanged for establishment, and her enemies became her children. As she resisted and defied her persecutors, so she ruled her convert people. And surely this was but natural, and will startle those only to whom the subject is new. If the Church is independent of the State, so far as she is a messenger from God, therefore, should the State, with its high officials and its subject masses, come into her communion, it is plain that they must at once change hostility into submission. There was no middle term; either they must deny her claim to divinity or humble themselves before it,—that is, as far as the domain of religion extends, and that domain is a wide one. They could not place God and man on one level. We see this principle carried out among ourselves in all sects every day, though with greater or less exactness of application, according to the supernatural power which they ascribe to their ministers or clergy. It is a sentiment of nature, which anticipates the inspired command, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls."

As regards the Roman Emperors, immediately on their becoming Christians, their exaltation of the hierarchy was in proportion to its abject condition in the heathen period. Grateful converts felt that they could not do too much in its honor and service. Emperors bowed the head before the Bishops, kissed their hands and asked their blessing. When Constantine entered into the presence of the assembled Prelates at Nicæa, his eyes fell, the color mounted up into his cheek, and his mien

was that of a suppliant; he would not sit till the Bishops bade him, and he kissed the wounds of the Confessors. He set the example for the successors of his power, nor did the Bishops decline such honors. Emperors' wives served them at table, when they did wrong, they did penance and asked forgiveness. When they quarreled with them, and would banish them, their hand trembled when they came to sign the order, and refused to do its office, and after various attempts they gave up their purpose. Soldiers raised to sovereignty asked their recognition and were refused it. Cities under imperial displeasure sought their intervention, and the master of thirty legions found himself powerless to withstand the feeble voice of some aged travel-stained stranger.

Laws were passed in favor of the Church; Bishops could only be judged by Bishops, and the causes of their clergy were withdrawn from the secular courts. Their sentence was final, as if it were the Emperor's own, and the governors of provinces were bound to put it in execution. Litigants every-where were allowed the liberty of referring their cause to the tribunal of the Bishops, who, besides, became arbitrators on a large scale in private quarrels; and the public, even heathens, wished it so. St. Ambrose was sometimes so taken up with business of this sort, that he had time for nothing else. St. Austin and Theodoret both complain of the weight of such secular engagements, as forced upon them by the importunity of the people. Nor was this all; the Emperors showed their belief in the divinity of the Church and of its creed by acts of what we should now call persecution. Jews were forbidden to proselytize a Christian; Christians were forbidden to become pagans; pagan rites were abolished, the books of heretics and infidels were burned wholesale; their chapels were razed to the ground, and even their private meetings were made illegal.

These characteristics of the convert Empire were the immediate, some of them the logical, consequences, of its new faith. Had not the Emperors honored Christianity in its ministers and in its precepts, they would not properly have deserved the name of converts. Nor was it unreasonable in litigants voluntarily to frequent the episcopal tribunals, if they got justice done to them there better than in the civil courts. As to the prohibition of heretical meetings, I can not get myself quite to believe that Pagans, Marcionites, and Manichees had much tenderness of conscience in ther religious profession, or were wounded seriously by the Imperial rescript to their disadvantage. Many of these sects were of a most immoral character, whether in doctrine or practice; others were forms of witchcraft; often they were little better than paganism. The Novatians certainly stand on higher ground; but on the whole, it would be most unjust to class such wild, impure, inhuman rites with even the most extravagant and grotesque of American sectaries now. They could entertain no bitter feeling that injustice was done them in their repression. They did not make free thought or private judgment their watchwords. The populations of the Empire did not rise in revolt

when its religion was changed. There were two broad conditions which accompanied the grant of all this ecclesiastical power and privilege, and made the exercise of it possible; first, that the people consented to it, secondly, that it was enforced by the law of the Empire. High and low opened the door to it. The Church of course would say that such prerogatives were rightfully hers, as being at least congruous grants made to her, on the part of the State, in return for the benefits which she bestowed upon it. It was her right to demand them, and the State's duty to concede them. This seems to have been the basis of the new state of society. And in fact these prerogatives were in force and in exercise all through those troublous centuries which followed the break-up of the Imperial sway: and, though the handling of them at length fell into the hands of one See exclusively (on which I shall remark presently), the See of Peter, yet the substance and character of these prerogatives, and the Church's claim to possess them, remained untouched. The change in the internal allocation of power did not affect the existence and the use of the power itself.

Ranke, speaking of this development of ecclesiastical supremacy upon the conversion of the Empire, remarks as follows:

"It appears to me that this was the result of an internal necessity. The rise of Christianity involved the liberation of religion from all political elements. From this followed the growth of a distinct ecclesiastical class with a peculiar constitution. In this separation of the Church from the State consists, perhaps, the greatest, the most pervading and influential peculiarity of all Christian times. The spiritual and secular powers may come into near contact, may even stand in the closest community; but they can be thoroughly incorporated only at rare conjunctures and for a short period. Their mutual relations, their position with regard to each other, form, from this time forward, one of the most important considerations in all history."—*The Popes*, vol. i., p. 10, *Transl.*

§ 3. The Papal Church.

Now we come to the distinctive doctrine of the Catholic Religion, the doctrine which separates us from all other denominations of Christians, however near they may approach to us in other respects, the claims of the See of Rome, which have given occasion to Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet and to the remarks which I am now making upon it. Of those rights, prerogatives, privileges, and duties, which I have been surveying in the ancient Church, the Pope is the heir. I shall dwell now upon this point as far as it is to my purpose to do so, not treating it theologically (else I must define and prove from Scripture and the Fathers the "Primatus jure divino Romani Pontificis"), but historically, because Mr. Gladstone appeals to history. Instead of treating it theologically I wish to look with (as it were) secular, or even non-Catholic eyes at the powers claimed during the last thousand years by the Pope—that is, only as they lie in the nature of the

case, and in the surface of the facts which come before us in history.

I. I say, then, the Pope is the heir of the Ecumenical Hierarchy of the fourth century, as being, what I may call, heir by default. No one else claims or exercises its rights or its duties. Is it possible to consider the Patriarch of Moscow or of Constantinople, heir to the historical pretensions of St. Ambrose or St. Martin? Does any Anglican Bishop for the last 300 years recall to our minds the image of St. Basil? Well, then, has all that ecclesiastical power, which makes such a show in the Christian Empire, simply vanished, or, if not, where is it to be found? I wish Protestants would throw themselves into our minds upon this point; I am not holding an argument with them; I am only wishing them to understand where we stand and how we look at things. There is this great difference of belief between us and them; they do not believe that Christ set up a visible society, or rather kingdom, for the propagation and maintenance of His religion, for a necessary home and refuge of His people; but we do. We know the kingdom is still on earth: where is it? If all that can found of it is what can be discerned at Constantinople or Canterbury, I say, it has disappeared; and either there was a radical corruption of Christianity from the first, or Christianity came to an end, in proportion as the type of the Nicene Church faded out of the world: for all that we know of Christianity, in ancient history, as a concrete fact, is the Church of Athanasius and his fellows: it is nothing else historically but that bundle of phenomena, that combination of claims, prerogatives, and corresponding acts, some of which I have recounted above. There is no help for it; we can not take as much as we please, and no more, of an institution which has a monadic existence. We must either give up the belief in the Church as a divine institution altogether, or we must recognize it in that communion of which the Pope is the head. With him alone and round about him are found the claims, the prerogatives, and duties which we identify with the kingdom set up by Christ. We must take things as they are; to believe in a Church, is to believe in the Pope. And thus this belief in the Pope and his attributes, which seems so monstrous to Protestants, is bound up with our being Catholics at all; as our Catholicism is with our Christianity. There is nothing, then, of wanton opposition to the powers that be, no dinning of novelties in their startled ears in what is often unjustly called Ultramontane doctrine; there is no pernicious servility to the Pope in our admission of his pretensions. I say, we can not help ourselves—Parliament may deal as harshly with us as it will; we should not believe in the Church at all, unless we believed in its visible head.

So it is; the course of ages has fulfilled the prophecy and promise: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." That which in substance was possessed by the Nicene Hierarchy, that the Pope claims now. I do not wish

to put difficulties in my way; but I can not conceal or smooth over what I believe to be a simple truth, though the avowal of it will be very unwelcome to Protestants, and, as I fear, to some Catholics. However, I do not call upon another to believe all that I believe on the subject myself. I declare it, as my own judgment, that the prerogatives, such as, and, in the way in which, I have described them in substance, which the Church had under the Roman Power, those she claims now, and never, never will relinquish; claims them, not as having received them from a dead Empire, but partly by the direct endowment of her Divine Master, and partly as being a legitimate outcome of that endowment; claims them, but not except from Catholic populations, not as if accounting the more sublime of them to be of every-day use, but holding them as a protection or remedy in great emergencies or on supreme occasions, when nothing else will serve, as extraordinary and solemn acts of her religious sovereignty. And our Lord, seeing what would be brought about by human means, even had He not willed it, and recognizing, from the laws which He Himself had imposed upon human society, that no large community could be strong which had no head, spoke the word in the beginning as he did to Judah, "Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise," and then left it to the course of events to fulfill it.

2. Mr. Gladstone ought to have chosen another issue for attack upon us, than the Pope's power. His real difficulty lies deeper; as little permission as he allows to the Pope, would he allow to any ecclesiastic who would wield the weapons of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. That concentration of the Church's powers which history brings before us should not be the object of his special indignation. It is not the existence of a Pope, but of a Church, which is his aversion. It is the powers, and not their distribution and allocation in the ecclesiastical body which he writes against. A triangle or parallelogram is the same in its substance and nature, whichever side is made its base. "The Pontiffs," says Mr. Bowden, who writes as an Anglican, "exalted to the kingly throne of St. Peter, did not so much claim new privileges for themselves, as deprive their episcopal brethren of privileges originally common to the hierarchy. Even the titles by which those autocratical prelates, in the plentitude of their power, delighted to style themselves, 'Summus Sacerdos,' 'Pontifex Maximus,' 'Vicarius Christi,' 'Papa' itself, had, nearer to the primitive times, been the honorable appellations of every Bishop; as 'Sedes Apostolica' had been the description of every Bishop's throne. The ascription of these titles, therefore, to the Pope only gave to the terms new force, because that ascription became exclusive; because, that is, the bishops in general were stripped of honors, to which their claims were as well founded as those of their Roman brother, who became, by the change, not so strictly universal as sole Bishop." (*Greg.* vii., vol. i., p. 64.)

Say that the Christian polity remained, as history represents it to us in the fourth century, or that now it was, if that was possible, to revert to such a state, would politicians have less trouble

with 1,800 centers of power than they have with one? Instead of one, with traditionary rules, the trammels of treaties and engagements, public opinion to consult and manage, the responsibility of great interests, and the guarantee for his behavior in his temporal possessions, there would be a legion of ecclesiastics, each bishop with his following, each independent of the others, each with his own views, each with extraordinary powers, each with the risk of misusing them, all over Christendom. It would be the Anglican theory made real. It would be an ecclesiastical communism; and, if it did not benefit religion, at least it would not benefit the civil power. Take a small illustration:—what interruption at this time to Parliamentary proceedings, does a small zealous party occasion, which its enemies call a "mere handful of clergy;" and why? Because its members are responsible for what they do to God alone and to their conscience as His voice. Even suppose it was only here or there that episcopal autonomy was vigorous; yet consider what zeal is kindled by local interests and national spirit. One John of Tuam, with a Pope's full apostolic powers, would be a greater trial to successive ministries than an Ecumenical Bishop at Rome. Parliament understands this well, for it exclaims against the Sacerdotal principle. Here, for a second reason, if our Divine Master has given those great powers to the Church, which ancient Christianity testifies, we see why His Providence has also provided that the exercise of them should be concentrated in one See.

But, anyhow, the progress of concentration was not the work of the Pope; it was brought about by the changes of times and the vicissitudes of Nations. It was not his fault that the Vandals swept away the African sees, and the Saracens those of Syria and Asia Minor, or that Constantinople and its dependencies became the creatures of Imperialism, or that France, England, and Germany would obey none but the author of their own Christianity, or that clergy and people at a distance were obstinate in sheltering themselves under the majesty of Rome against their own fierce kings and nobles or imperious bishops, even to the imposing forgeries on the world and on the Pope in justification of their proceedings. All this will be fact, whether the Popes were ambitious or not; and still it will be fact that the issue of that great change was a great benefit to the whole of Europe. No one but a Master, who was a thousand bishops in himself at once, could have tamed and controlled, as the Pope did, the great and little tyrants of the middle age.

3. This is generally confessed now, even by Protestant historians, viz., that the concentration of ecclesiastical power in those centuries was simply necessary for the civilization of Europe. Of course it does not follow that the benefits rendered then to the European commonwealth by the political supremacy of the Pope, would, if he was still supreme, be rendered in time to come. I have no wish to make assumptions; yet conclusions short of this will be unfavorable to Mr. Gladstone's denunciation of him. We reap the fruit at this day of his services in the past. With the purpose of showing this I make a rather long extract from Dean

Milman's "Latin Christianity;" he is speaking of the era of Gregory I., and he says, the Papacy "was the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilization. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a center, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organization of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half secular feudal caste, with hereditary benefices more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and, to a certain extent, uniform system. There must be a counterbalance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe would have been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained; but it is impossible for a man to imagine by what other organizing or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which have made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars, on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilization known to man. . . . It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the medieval Papacy; and of the medieval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion . . . Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian Bishop. It is a Christian dominion, of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City, not the old Rome, associating Christian influence to her ancient title of sovereignty." (Vol. i., p. 401, 2.)

4. From Gregory I. to Innocent III. is six hundred years;—a very fair portion of the world's history, to have passed in doing good of primary importance to a whole continent, and that the continent of Europe; good, by which all nations and their governors, all statesmen and legislatures, are the gainers. And, again, should it not occur to Mr. Gladstone that these services were rendered to mankind by means of those very instruments of power on which he thinks it proper to pour contempt as "rusty tools?" The right to warn and punish powerful men, to excommunicate kings, to preach aloud truth and justice to the inhabi-

tants of the earth, to denounce immoral doctrines, to strike at rebellion in the garb of heresy, were the very weapons by which Europe was brought into a civilized condition; yet he calls them "rusty tools" which need "refurbishing." Does he wish, then, that such high expressions of ecclesiastical displeasure, such sharp penalties, should be of daily use? If they are rusty, because they have been long without using, then have they ever been rusty. Is a Council a rusty tool, because none have been held, till 1870, since the sixteenth century? or because there had been but nineteen in 1,900 years? How many times is it in the history of Christianity that the Pope has solemnly drawn and exercised his sword upon a king or an emperor? If an extraordinary weapon must be a rusty tool, I suppose Gregory VII.'s sword was not keen enough for the German Henry; and the seventh Pius, too, used a rusty tool in his excommunication of Napoleon. How could Mr. Gladstone ever "fondly think that Rome had disused" her weapons, and that they had hung up as antiquities and curiosities in her celestial armory,—or, in his own words, as "hideous mummies," p. 46,—when the passage of arms between the great Conqueror and the aged Pope was so close upon his memory! Would he like to see a mummy come to life again? That unexpected miracle actually took place in the first years of this century. Gregory was considered to have done an astounding deed in the middle ages, when he brought Henry, the German Emperor, to do penance and shiver in the snows at Canossa; but Napolean had his snow-penance too, and that with an actual interposition of Providence in the infliction of it. I describe it in the words of Alison:—

"'What does the Pope mean,' said Napoleon to Eugene, in July, 1807, 'by the threat of excommunicating me? does he think the world has gone back a thousand years? Does he suppose the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?' Within two years after these remarkable words were written, the Pope did excommunicate him, in return for the confiscation of his whole dominions, and in less than four years more, the arms did fall from the hands of his soldiers; and the hosts, apparently invincible, which he had collected were dispersed and ruined by the blasts of winter. 'The weapons of the soldiers,' says Segur, in describing the Russian retreat, 'appeared of an insupportable weight to their stiffened arms. During their frequent falls they fell from their hands, and destitute of the power of raising them from the ground, they were left in the snow. They did not throw them away: famine and cold tore them from their grasp.' 'The soldiers could no longer hold their weapons,' says Salgues, 'they fell from the hands even of the bravest and most robust. The muskets dropped from the frozen arms of those who bore them.'" (*Hist.* ch. lx., 9th ed.)

Alison adds—"There is something in these marvelous coincidences beyond the operations of chance, and which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future ages. The world has not gone back a thousand years, but that Being existed with whom a thousand years are as one

day, and one day as a thousand years." As He was with Gregory in 1077, so He was with Pius in 1812, and He will be with some future Pope again, when the necessity shall come.

5. In saying this, I am far from saying that Popes are never in the wrong, and are never to be resisted, or that their excommunications always avail. I am not bound to defend the policy or the acts of particular Popes, whether before or after the great revolt from their authority in the 16th century. There is no reason that I should contend, and I do not contend, for instance, that they at all times have understood our own people, our national character and resources, and our position in Europe; or that they have never suffered from bad counselors or misinformation. I say this the more freely, because Urban VIII., about the year 1641 or 1642, blamed the policy of some Popes of the preceding century in their dealings with our country.*

But, whatever we are bound to allow to Mr. Gladstone on this head, that does not warrant the passionate invective against the Holy See and us individually, which he has carried on through sixty-four pages. What we have a manifest right to expect from him is lawyer-like exactness and logical consecutiveness in his impeachment of us. The heavier that is, the less does it need the exaggerations of a great orator. If the Pope's conduct toward us three centuries ago has righteously wiped out the memory of his earlier benefits, yet he should have a fair trial. The more intoxicating was his solitary greatness, when it was in the zenith, the greater consideration should be shown towards him in his present temporal humiliation, when concentration of ecclesiastical functions in one man, does but make him, in the presence of the haters of Catholicism, what a Roman Emperor contemplated, when he wished all his subjects had but one neck that he might destroy them by one blow. Surely, in the trial of so august a criminal, one might have hoped, at least, to have found gravity and measure in language, and calmness in tone—not a pamphlet written as if on impulse, in defense of an incidental parenthesis in a previous publication, and then, after having been multiplied in 22,000 copies, appealing to the lower classes in the shape of a sixpenny tract, the lowness of the price indicating the width of the circulation. Surely Nana Sahib will have more justice done to him by the English people, than has been shown to the Father of European civilization.

6. I have been referring to the desolate state in which the Holy See has been cast during the last years, such that the Pope, hu-

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* "When he was urged to excommunicate the Kings of France and Sweden, he made answer, 'We may declare them excommunicate, as Pius V. declared Queen Elizabeth of England, and before him Clement VII. the King of England, Henry VIII. . . but with what success? The whole world can tell. We yet bewail it with tears of blood. Wisdom does not teach us to imitate Pius V. or Clement VII., but Paul V. who, in the beginning, being many times urged by the Spaniards to excommunicate James King of England, never would consent to it.'" (State Paper office, *Italy*, 1641-1662). *Vide* Mr. Simpson's very able and careful life of Campion, 1867, p. 371.

manly speaking, is at the mercy of his enemies, and morally a prisoner in his palace. A state of such secular feebleness can not last forever; sooner or later there will be, in the divine mercy, a change for the better, and the Vicar of Christ will no longer be a mark for insult and indignity. But one thing, except by an almost miraculous interposition, can not be; and that is, a return to the universal religious sentiment, the public opinion, of the medieval time. The Pope himself calls those centuries "the ages of faith." Such endemic faith may certainly be decreed for some future time; but, as far as we have the means of judging at present, centuries must run out first. Even in the fourth century the ecclesiastical privileges, claimed on the one hand, granted on the other, came into effect more or less under two conditions, that they were recognized by public law, and that they had the consent of the Christian populations. Is there any chance whatever, except by miracles which were not granted then, that the public law and the inhabitants of Europe will allow the Pope that exercise of his rights, which they allowed him as a matter of course in the 11th and 12th centuries? If the whole world will at once answer No, it is surely inopportune to taunt us with the acts of medieval Popes in the case of certain princes and nobles, when the sentiment of Europe was radically Papal. How does the past bear upon the present in this matter? Yet Mr. Gladstone is in earnest alarm, earnest with the earnestness which distinguishes him as a statesman, at the harm which society may receive from the Pope, at a time when the Pope can do nothing. He grants (p. 46) that "the fears are visionary . . . that either foreign foe or domestic treason can, at the bidding of the Court of Rome, disturb these peaceful shores;" he allows that "in the middle ages the Popes contended, not by direct action of fleets and armies," but mainly "by interdicts," p. 35. Yet, because men then believed in interdicts, though now they don't, therefore the civil Power is to be roused against the Pope. But his *animus* is bad; his *animus!* what can *animus* do without matter to work upon? Mere *animus*, like big words, breaks no bones.

As if to answer Mr. Gladstone by anticipation, and to allay his fears, the Pope made a declaration three years ago on the subject, which, strange to say, Mr. Gladstone quotes without perceiving that it tells against the very argument, which he brings it to corroborate; that is, except as the Pope's *animus* goes. Doubtless he would wish to have the place in the political world which his predecessors had, because it was given to him by Providence, and is conducive to the highest interests of mankind; but he distinctly tells us that he has not got it, and can not have it, till a time comes, of the prospect of which we are as good judges as he can be, and which we say can not come, at least for centuries. He speaks of what is his highest political power, that of interposing in the quarrel between a prince and his subjects, and of declaring upon appeal made to him from them, that the Prince had or had not forfeited their allegiance. This power, most rarely exercised, and on very extraordinary occasions, and without any aid of infallibility in the exercise of it, any more than

the civil power possesses that aid, it is not necessary for any Catholic to believe; and I suppose, comparatively speaking, few Catholics do believe it; to be honest, I must say, I do; that is, under the conditions which the Pope himself lays down in the declaration to which I have referred, his answer to the address of the Academia. He speaks of his right "to depose sovereigns, and release the people from the obligation of loyalty, a right which had undoubtedly sometimes been exercised in crucial circumstances," and he says, "This right (*diretto*) in those ages of faith—(which discerned in the Pope, what he is, that is to say, the Supreme Judge of Christianity, and recognized the advantages of his tribunal in the great contests of peoples and sovereigns)—was freely extended—(aided indeed as a matter of duty by the public law (*diritto*) and by the common consent of peoples)—to the most important (*i più gravi*) interests of states and their rulers." (Guardian, *Nov.* 11, 1874.)

Now let us observe how the Pope restrains the exercise of this right. He calls it his right—that is, in the sense in which right in one party is correlative with duty in the other, so that, when the duty is not observed, the right can not be brought into exercise; and this is precisely what he goes on to intimate; for he lays down the conditions of that exercise. First it can only be exercised in rare and critical circumstances (*supreme circonstanze, i più gravi interessi*). Next he refers to his being the supreme judge of Christianity, and to his decision as coming from a tribunal; his prerogative then is not a mere arbitrary power, but must be exercised by a process of law and a formal examination of the case, and in the presence and the hearing of the two parties interested in it. Also in this limitation is implied that the Pope's definitive sentence involves an appeal to the supreme standard of right and wrong, the moral law, as its basis and rule, and must contain the definite reasons on which it decides in favor of the one party or the other. Thirdly, the exercise of this right is limited to the ages of faith; ages which, on the one hand, inscribed it among the provisions of the *jus publicum*, and on the other so fully recognized the benefits it conferred, as to be able to enforce it by the common consent of the peoples. These last words should be dwelt on: it is no consent which is merely local, as of one country, of Ireland or of Belgium, if that were probable; but a united consent of various nations, of Europe, for instance, as a commonwealth, of which the Pope was the head. Thirty years ago we heard much of the Pope being made the head of an Italian confederation: no word came from England against such an arrangement. It was possible, because the members of it were all of one religion; and in like manner a European commonwealth would be reasonable, if Europe were of one religion. Lastly, the Pope declares with indignation that a Pope is not infallible in the exercise of this right; such a notion is an invention of the enemy; he calls it "malicious."

§4. Divided Allegiance.

But one attribute the Church has, and the Pope as the head of the Church, whether he be in high estate, as this world goes, or not, whether he has temporal possessions or not, whether he is in honor or dishonor, whether he is at home or driven about, whether those special claims of which I have spoken are allowed or not—and that is, Sovereignty. As God has sovereignty, though He may be disobeyed or disowned, so has His Vicar upon earth; and further than this, since Catholic populations are found every-where, he ever will be in fact lord of a vast empire; as large in numbers, as far spreading as the British; and all his acts are sure to be such as are in keeping with the position of one who is thus supremely exalted.

I beg not to be interrupted here, as many a reader will interrupt me in his thoughts; for I am using these words, not at random, but as the commencement of a long explanation, and, in a certain sense, limitation, of what I have hitherto been saying concerning the Church's and the Pope's power. To this task the remaining pages, which I have to address to your Grace, will be directed; and I trust that it will turn out, when I come to the end of them, that, by first stating fully what the Pope's claims are, I shall be able most clearly to show what he does not claim.

Now the key-note of Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet is this: that, since the Pope claims infallibility in faith and morals, and since there are no "departments and functions of human life which do not and can not fall within the domain of morals," p. 36, and since he claims also "the domain of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church," and moreover, "claims the power of determining the limits of those domains," and "does not sever them, by any acknowledged or intelligible line from the domains of civil duty and allegiance," p. 45, therefore Catholics are moral and mental slaves, and "every convert and member of the Pope's Church places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another," p. 45.

I admit Mr. Gladstone's premises, but I reject his conclusion; and now I am going to show why I reject it.

In doing this, I shall, with him, put aside for the present the Pope's prerogative of infallibility in general enunciations, whether of faith or morals, and confine myself to the consideration of his authority (in respect to which he is not infallible) in matters of daily conduct, and of our duty of obedience to him. "There is something wider still," he says, (than the claim of infallibility), "and that is the claim to an Absolute and entire Obedience," p. 37. "Little does it matter to me, whether my Superior claims infallibility, so long as he is entitled to demand and exact conformity," p. 39. He speaks of a third province being opened, "not indeed to the abstract assertion of Infallibility, but to the far more practical and decisive demand of Absolute Obedience," p. 41, "the Absolute Obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion," p. 42.

Now, I proceed to examine this large, direct, religious sovereignty of the Pope, both in its relation to his subjects, and to the Civil Power; but first, I beg to be allowed to say just one word on the principle of obedience itself, that is, by way of inquiry, whether it is or is not now a religious duty.

Is there, then, such a duty at all as obedience to ecclesiastical authority now? or is it one of those obsolete ideas, which are swept away, as unsightly cobwebs, by the New Civilization? Scripture says, "Remember them which have the *rule* over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow." And, "*Obey* them that have the rule over you, and *submit yourselves;* for they watch *for your souls*, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you." The margin in the Protestant Version reads, "those who are your *guides;*" and the word may also be translated "leaders." Well, as rulers, or guides and leaders, whichever word be right, they are to be *obeyed.* Now Mr. Gladstone dislikes our way of fulfilling this precept, whether as regards our choice of ruler and leader, or our "Absolute Obedience" to him; but he does not give us his own. Is there any liberalistic reading of the Scripture passage? Or are the words only for the benefit of the poor and ignorant, not for the *Schola* (as it may be called) of political and periodical writers, not for individual members of Parliament, not for statesmen and Cabinet ministers, and people of Progress? Which party, then, is the more "Scriptural," those who recognize and carry out in their conduct texts like these, or those who don't? May not we Catholics claim some mercy from Mr. Gladstone, though we be faulty in the object and the manner of our obedience, since in a lawless day an object and a manner of obedience we have? Can we be blamed, if, arguing from those texts which say that ecclesiastical authority comes from above, we obey it in that one form in which alone we find it on earth, in that only person who claims it of us, among all the notabilities of this nineteenth century into which we have been born? The Pope has no rival in his claim upon us; nor is it our doing that his claim has been made and allowed for centuries upon centuries; and that it was he who made the Vatican decrees, and not they him. If we give him up, to whom shall we go? Can we dress up any civil functionary in the vestments of divine authority? Can I, for instance, follow the faith, can I put my soul into the hands, of our gracious Sovereign? or of the Archbishop of Canterbury? or of the Bishop of Lincoln, albeit he is not broad and low, but high? Catholics have "done what they could,"—all that any one could: and it should be Mr. Gladstone's business, before telling us that we are slaves, because we obey the Pope, first of all to tear away those texts from the Bible.

With this preliminary remark, I proceed to consider whether the Pope's authority is either a slavery to his subjects, or a menace to the Civil Power; and first, as to his power over his flock!

1. Mr. Gladstone says that "the Pontiff declares to belong to him the *supreme direction* of Catholics in respect to all duty,"

p. 37. Supreme direction; true, but "supreme" is not "minute," nor does "direction" mean supervision or "management." Take the parallel of human law; the law is *supreme*, and the Law *directs* our conduct under the manifold circumstances in which we have to act, and must be absolutely obeyed; but who therefore says that the law has the "supreme direction" of us? The State, as well as the Church, has the power at its will of imposing laws upon us, laws bearing on our moral duties, our daily conduct, affecting our actions in various ways, and circumscribing our liberties; yet no one would say that the Law, after all, with all its power in the abstract and its executive vigor in fact, interferes either with our comfort or our conscience. There are numberless laws about property, landed and personal, titles, tenures, trusts, wills, covenants, contracts, partnerships, money transactions, life-insurances, taxes, trade, navigation, education, sanitary measures, trespasses, nuisances, all in addition to the criminal law. Law, to apply Mr. Gladstone's words, "is the shadow that cleaves to us, go where we will." Moreover, it varies year after year, and refuses to give any pledge of fixedness or finality. Nor can any one tell what restraint is to come next, perhaps painful personally to himself. Nor are its enactments easy of interpretation; for actual cases, with the speeches and opinions of counsel, and the decisions of judges, must prepare the raw material, as it proceeds from the legislature, before it can be rightly understood; so that "the glorious uncertainty of the Law" has become a proverb. And, after all, no one is sure of escaping its penalties without the assistance of lawyers, and that in such private and personal matters that the lawyers are, as by an imperative duty, bound to a secrecy which even courts of justice respect. And then, besides the Statute Law, there is the common and traditional; and, below this, usage. Is not all this enough to try the temper of a free-born Englishman, and to make him cry out with Mr. Gladstone, "Three-fourths of my life are handed over to the Law; I care not to ask if there be dregs or tatters of human life, such as can escape from the description and boundary of Parliamentary tyranny?" Yet, though we may dislike it, though we may at times suffer from it ever so much, who does not see that the thralldom and irksomeness are nothing compared with the great blessings which the Constitution and Legislature secure to us?

Such is the jurisdiction which the law exercises over us. What rule does the Pope claim which can be compared to its strong and its long arm? What interference with our liberty of judging and acting in our daily work, in our course of life, comes to us from him? Really, at first sight, I have not known where to look for instances of his actual interposition in our private affairs, for it is our routine of personal duties about which I am now speaking. Let us see how we stand in this matter.

We are guided in our ordinary duties by the books of moral theology, which are drawn up by theologians of authority and experience, as an instruction for our Confessors. These books are based on the three Christian foundations of Faith, Hope and Charity, on the Ten Commandments, and on the six Precepts of

the Church, which relate to the observance of Sunday, of fast days, of confession and communion, and, in one shape or other, to paying tithes. A great number of possible cases are noted under these heads, and in difficult questions a variety of opinions are given, with plain directions, when it is that private Catholics are at liberty to choose for themselves whatever answer they like best, and when they are bound to follow some one of them in particular. Reducible as these directions in detail are to the few and simple heads which I have mentioned, they are little more than reflections and memoranda of our moral sense, unlike the positive enactments of the Legislature; and, on the whole, present to us no difficulty—though now and then some critical question may arise, and some answer may be given (just as by the private conscience) which it is difficult to us or painful to accept. And again, cases may occur now and then, when our private judgment differs from what is set down in theological works, but even then it does not follow at once that our private judgment must give way, for those books are no utterance of Papal authority.

And this is the point to which I am coming. So little does the Pope come into this whole system of moral theology by which (as by our conscience) our lives are regulated, that the weight of his hand upon us, as private men, is absolutely unappreciable. I have had a difficulty where to find a measure or gauge of his interposition. At length I have looked through Busenbaum's "Medulla," to ascertain what light such a book would throw upon the question. It is a book of casuistry for the use of Confessors, running to 700 pages, and is a large repository of answers made by various theologians on points of conscience, and generally of duty. It was first published in 1645—my own edition is of 1844—and in the latter are marked those propositions, bearing on subjects treated in it, which have been condemned by Popes in the intermediate 200 years. On turning over the pages I find they are in all between 50 and 60. This list includes matters sacramental, ritual, ecclesiastical, monastic, and disciplinarian, as well as moral—relating to the duties of ecclesiastics and regulars, of parish priests, and of professional men, as well as of private Catholics. And the condemnations relate for the most part to mere occasional details of duty, and are in reprobation of the lax or wild notions of speculative casuists, so that they are rather restraints upon theologians than upon laymen. For instance, the following are some of the propositions condemned: "The ecclesiastic, who on a certain day is hindered from saying Matins and Lauds, is not bound to say, if he can, the remaining hours;" "Where there is good cause, it is lawful to swear without the purpose of swearing, whether the matter is of light or grave moment;" "Domestics may steal from their masters, in compensation for their service, which they think greater than their wages;" "It is lawful for a public man to kill an opponent, who tries to fasten a calumny upon him, if he can not otherwise escape the ignominy." I have taken these instances at random. It must be granted, I think,

that in the long course of 200 years the amount of the Pope's authoritative enunciations has not been such as to press heavily on the back of the private Catholic. He leaves us surely far more than that "one-fourth of the department of conduct," which Mr. Gladstone allows us. Indeed, if my account and specimens of his sway over us in morals be correct, I do not see what he takes away at all from our private consciences.

Mr. Gladstone says that the Pope virtually claims to himself the wide domain of conduct, and *therefore* that we are his slaves. Let us see if another illustration or parallel will not show this to be a *non sequitur*. Suppose a man, who is in the midst of various and important lines of business, has a medical adviser, in whom he has full confidence, as knowing well his constitution. This adviser keeps a careful and anxious eye upon him; and, as an honest man, says to him, "You must not go off on a journey to-day," or "you must take some days' rest," or "you must attend to your diet." Now, this is not a fair parallel to the Pope's hold upon us; for he does not speak to us personally but to all, and in speaking definitely on ethical subjects, what he propounds must relate to things good and bad in themselves, not to things accidental, changeable, and of mere expedience; so that the argument which I am drawing from the case of a medical adviser is *à fortiori* in its character. However, I say that, though a medical man exercises a "supreme direction" of those who put themselves under him, yet we do not therefore say, even of him, that he interferes with our daily conduct, and that we are his slaves. He certainly does thwart many of our wishes and purposes; in a true sense we are at his mercy; he may interfere any day, suddenly; he will not, he can not, draw any line between his action and our action. The same journey, the same press of business, the same indulgence at table, which he passes over one year, he sternly forbids the next. If Mr. Gladstone's argument is good, he has a finger in all the commercial transactions of the great merchant or financier who has chosen him. But surely there is a simple fallacy here. Mr. Gladstone asks us whether our political and civil life is not at the Pope's mercy; every act, he says, of at least three-quarters of the day, is under his control. No, not *every*, but *any*, and this is all the difference—that is, we have no guarantee given us that there will never be a case, when the Pope's general utterances may come to have a bearing upon some personal act of ours. In the same way we are all of us in this age under the control of public opinion and the public prints; nay, much more intimately so. Journalism can be and is very personal; and, when it is in the right, more powerful just now than any Pope; yet we do not go into fits, as if we were slaves, because we are under a *surveillance* much more like tyranny than any sway, so indirect, so practically limited, so gentle, as his is.

But it seems the cardinal point of our slavery lies, not simply in the domain of morals, but in the Pope's general authority over us in all things whatsoever. This count in his indictment Mr. Gladstone founds on a passage in the third chapter of the *Pastor æternus*, in which the Pope, speaking of the Pontifical

jurisdiction, says: "Towards it (erga quam) pastors and people of whatsoever rite or dignity, each and all, are bound by the duty of hierarchal subordination and true obedience, not only in matters which pertain to faith and morals, but also in those which pertain to the *discipline* and the *regimen* of the Church spread throughout the world; so that, unity with the Roman Pontiff (both of communion and of profession of the same faith) being preserved, the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme Shepherd. This is the doctrine of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and salvation."

On Mr. Gladstone's use of this passage I observe first, that he leaves out a portion of it which has much to do with the due understanding of it (ita ut custoditâ, etc.) Next, he speaks of "*absolute* obedience" so often, that any reader, who had not the passage before him, would think that the word "absolute" was the Pope's word, not his. Thirdly, three times (at pp. 38, 41, and 42) does he make the Pope say that no one can *disobey* him without risking his salvation, whereas what the Pope does say is, that no one can *disbelieve* the *duty* of obedience and unity without such risk. And fourthly, in order to carry out this false sense, or rather to hinder its being evidently impossible, he mistranslates p. 38, "doctrina" (Hæc est doctrina) by the word "rule."

But his chief attack is directed to the words "disciplina" and "regimen." "Thus," he says, "are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country of the world," p. 41. That is, *disciplina* and *regimen* are words of such lax, vague, indeterminate meaning, that under them any matters can be slipped in which may be required for the Pope's purpose in this or that country, such as, to take Mr. Gladstone's instances, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation and mortmain; as if no definitions were contained in our theological and ecclesiastical works of words in such common use, and as if in consequence the Pope was at liberty to give them any sense of his own. As to discipline, Fr. Perrone says "Discipline comprises the exterior worship of God, the liturgy, sacred rites, psalmody, the administration of the sacraments, the canonical form of sacred elections and the institution of ministers, vows, feast-days, and the like;" all of them (observe) matters internal to the Church, and without any relation to the Civil Power and civil affairs. Perrone adds, "Ecclesiastical discipline is a practical and external rule, prescribed by the Church, in order to retain the faithful in their *faith*, and the more easily lead them on to *eternal happiness*." *Præl. Theol.* t. 2, p. 381, 2d ed. 1841. Thus discipline is in no sense a political instrument, except as the profession of our faith may accidentally become political. In the same sense Zallinger: "The Roman Pontiff has by divine right the power of passing universal laws pertaining to the *discipline* of the Church; for instance, to divine worship, sacred rites, the ordination and manner of life of the clergy, the order of the ecclesiastical regi-

men, and the right administration of the temporal possessions of the Church."—*Jur. Eccles.* lib. i., t. 2, § 121.

So, too, the word "regimen" has a definite meaning, relating to a matter strictly internal to the Church; it means government, or the mode or form of government, or the course of government, and, as, in the intercourse of nation with nation, the nature of a nation's government, whether monarchical or republican, does not come into question, so the constitution of the Church simply belongs to its nature, not to its external action. There are indeed aspects of the Church which involve relations toward secular powers and to nations, as, for instance, its missionary office; but regimen has relation to one of its internal characteristics, viz., its form of government, whether we call it a pure monarchy or with others a monarchy tempered by aristocracy. Thus Tournely says, "Three kinds of regimen or government are set down by philosophers, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy," *Theol.*, t. 2, p. 100. Bellarmine says the same, *Rom. Pont.* i. 2; and Perrone takes it for granted, *ibid.* pp. 70, 71.

Now, why does the Pope speak at this time of regimen and discipline? He tells us, in that portion of the sentence, which, thinking it of no account, Mr. Gladstone has omitted. The Pope tells us that all Catholics should recollect their duty of obedience to him, not only in faith and morals, but in such matters of regimen and discipline as belonged to the universal Church, "so that unity with the Roman Pontiff, both of communion and of profession of the same faith being preserved, the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme Shepherd." I consider this passage to be especially aimed at Nationalism: "Recollect," the Pope seems to say, "the Church is one, and that, not only in faith and morals, for schismatics may profess as much as this, but one, wherever it is, all over the world; and not only one, but one and the same, bound together by its one regimen and discipline, and by the same regimen and discipline,—the same rites, the same sacraments, the same usages, and the same one Pastor; and in these bad times it is necessary for all Catholics to recollect, that this doctrine of the Church's individuality and, as it were, personality, is not a mere received opinion or understanding, which may be entertained or not, as we please, but is a fundamental necessary truth." This being, speaking under correction, the drift of the passage, I observe that the words "spread throughout the world" or "universal" are so far from turning "discipline and regimen" into what Mr. Gladstone calls a "net," that they contract the range of both of them, not including, as he would have it, "marriage" here, "blasphemy" there, and "poor-relief" in a third country, but noting and specifying that one and the same structure of laws, rites, rules of government, independency, every-where, of which the Pope himself is the center and life. And surely this is what every one of us will say with the Pope, who is not an Erastian, and who believes that the Gospel is no mere philosophy thrown upon the world at large, no mere quality of mind and thought, no mere beautiful

and deep sentiment or subjective opinion, but a substantive message from above, guarded and preserved in a visible polity.

2. And now I am naturally led on to speak of the Pope's supreme authority, such as I have described it, in its bearing towards the Civil Power all over the world,—various, as the Church is invariable,—a power which as truly comes from God, as his own does.

That collisions can take place between the Holy See and national governments, the history of fifteen hundred years teaches us; also, that on both sides there may occur grievous mistakes. But my question all along lies, not with "quicquid delirant reges," but with what, under the circumstance of such a collision, is the duty of those who are both children of the Pope and subjects of the Civil Power. As to the duty of the Civil Power, I have already intimated in my first section, that it should treat the Holy See as an independent sovereign, and if this rule had been observed, the difficulty to Catholics in a country not Catholic, would be most materially lightened. Great Britain recognizes and is recognized by the United States; the two powers have ministers at each other's courts; here is one standing prevention of serious quarrels. Misunderstandings between the two co-ordinate powers may arise; but there follow explanations, removals of the causes of offense, acts of restitution. In actual collisions, there are conferences, compromises, arbitrations. Now the point to observe here is, that in such cases neither party gives up its abstract rights, but neither party practically insists on them. And each party thinks itself in the right in the particular case, protests against any other view, but still concedes. Neither party says, "I will not make it up with you, till you draw an intelligible line between your domain and mine." I suppose in the Geneva arbitration, though we gave way, we still thought that, in our conduct in the American civil war, we had acted within our rights. I say all this in answer to Mr. Gladstone's challenge to us to draw the line between the Pope's domain and the State's domain in civil or political questions. Many a private American, I suppose, lived in London and Liverpool, all through the correspondence between our Foreign Office and the government of the United States, and Mr. Gladstone never addressed any expostulation to them, or told them they had lost their moral freedom because they took part with their own government. The French, when their late war began, did sweep their German sojourners out of France, (the number, as I recollect, was very great,) but they were not considered to have done themselves much credit by such an act. When we went to war with Russia, the English in St. Petersburg made an address, I think, to the Emperor, asking for his protection, and he gave it;—I do n't suppose they pledged themselves to the Russian view of the war, nor would he have called them slaves instead of patriots, if they had refused to do so. Suppose England were to send her ironclads to support Italy against the Pope and his allies, English Catholics would be very indignant; they would take part with the Pope before the war began; they would use all constitu-

tional means to hinder it; but who believes that, when they were once in the war, their action would be any thing else than prayers and exertions for a termination of it? What reason is there for saying that they would commit themselves to any step of a treasonable nature, any more than loyal Germans, had they been allowed to remain in France? Yet, because those Germans would not relinquish their allegiance to their country, Mr. Gladstone, were he consistent, would at once send them adrift.

Of course it will be said that in these cases, there is no double allegiance, and again that the German Government did not call upon them, as the Pope might call upon English Catholics, nay, command them, to take a side; but my argument at least shows this, that till there comes to us a special, direct command from the Pope to oppose our country, we need not be said to have "placed our loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another," p. 45. It is strange that a great statesman, versed in the new and true philosophy of compromise, instead of taking a practical view of the actual situation, should proceed against us, like a Professor in the schools, with the "parade" of his "relentless" (and may I add "rusty"?) "logic," p. 23.

I say, *till* the Pope told us to exert ourselves for his cause in a quarrel with this country, as in the time of the Armada, we need not attend to an abstract and hypothetical difficulty:—then, and not till then. I add, as before, that if the Holy See were frankly recognized by England, as other Sovereign Powers are, direct quarrels between the two powers would in this age of the world be rare indeed; and still rarer, their becoming so energetic and urgent as to descend into the heart of the community, and to disturb the consciences and the family unity of private Catholics.

But now, lastly, let us suppose one of these extraordinary cases of direct and open hostility between the two powers actually to occur;—here, first, we must bring before us the state of the case. Of course, we must recollect, on the one hand, that Catholics are not only bound to allegiance to the British Crown, but have special privileges as citizens, can meet together, speak and pass resolutions, can vote for members of Parliament, and sit in Parliament, and can hold office, all which are denied to foreigners sojourning among us; while, on the other hand, there is the authority of the Pope, which, though not "absolute" even in religious matters, as Mr. Gladstone would have it to be, has a call, a supreme call, on our obedience. Certainly in the event of such a collision of jurisdictions, there are cases in which we should obey the Pope and disobey the State. Suppose, for instance, an Act was passed in Parliament, bidding Catholics to attend Protestant service every week, and the Pope distinctly told us not to do so, for it was to violate our duty to our faith:—I should obey the Pope and not the Law. It will be said by Mr. Gladstone, that such a case is impossible. I know it is; but why ask me for what I should do in extreme and utterly improbable cases such as this, if my answer can not help bearing the character of an axiom? It is not my fault that I must deal in truisms. The circumferences of State jurisdiction and of Papal are for the most part quite

apart from each other; there are just some few degrees out of the 360 in which they intersect, and Mr. Gladstone, instead of letting these cases of intersection alone, till they occur actually, asks me what I should do if I found myself placed in the space intersected. If I must answer then, I should say distinctly that did the State tell me in a question of worship to do what the Pope told me not to do, I should obey the Pope, and should think it no sin if I used all the power and the influence I possessed as a citizen to prevent such a Bill passing the Legislature, and to effect its repeal if it did.

But now, on the other hand, could the case ever occur, in which I should act with the Civil Power, and not with the Pope? Now, here again, when I begin to imagine instances, Catholics will cry out (as Mr. Gladstone in the case I supposed, cried out in the interest of the other side), that instances never can occur. I know they can not; I know the Pope never can do what I am going to suppose; but then, since it can not possibly happen in fact, there is no harm in just saying what I should (hypothetically) do, if it did happen. I say then in certain (impossible) cases I should side, not with the Pope, but with the Civil Power. For instance, I believe members of Parliament, or of the Privy Council, take an oath that they would not acknowledge the right of succession of a Prince of Wales, if he became a Catholic. I should not consider the Pope could release me from that oath had I bound myself by it. Of course, I might exert myself to the utmost to get the act repealed which bound me; again, if I could not, I might retire from Parliament or office, and so rid myself of the engagement I had made; but I should be clear that, though the Pope bade all Catholics to stand firm in one phalanx for the Catholic Succession, still, while I remained in my office, or in my place in Parliament, I could not do as he bade me.

Again, were I actually a soldier or salior in Her Majesty's service, and sent to take part in a war which I could not in my conscience see to be unjust, and should the Pope suddenly bid all Catholic soldiers and sailors to retire from the service, here again, taking the advice of others, as best I could, I should not obey him.

What is the use of forming impossible cases? One can find plenty of them in books of casuistry, with the answers attached in respect to them. In an actual case, a Catholic would, of course, not act simply on his own judgment; at the same time, there are supposable cases in which he would be obliged to go by it solely—viz., when his conscience could not be reconciled to any of the courses of action proposed to him by others.

In support of what I have been saying, I refer to one or two weighty authorities:—

Cardinal Turrecremata says:—"Although it clearly follows from the circumstance that the Pope can err at times, and command things which must not be done, that we are not to be simply obedient to him in all things, that does not show that he must not be obeyed by all when his commands are good. To know in what cases he is to be obeyed and in what not . . .

it is said in the Acts of the Apostles, 'One ought to obey God rather than man;' therefore, were the Pope to command any thing against Holy Scripture, or the articles of faith, or the truth of the Sacraments, or the commands of the natural or divine laws, *he ought not to be obeyed*, but in such commands to be passed over (despiciendus)," *Summ. de Eccl.*, pp. 47, 8.

Bellarmine, speaking of resisting the Pope, says:—"In order to resist and defend oneself no authority is required. . . . Therefore, as it is lawful to resist the Pope, if he assaulted a man's person, so it is lawful to resist him if he assaulted souls, or *troubled the state* (turbanti rempublicam), and much more if he strove to destroy the Church. It is lawful, I say, to resist him, by not doing what he commands, and hindering the execution of his will," *de Rom. Pont.*, ii. 29.

Archbishop Kenrick says:—"His power was given for edification, not for destruction. If he uses it from the love of domination (quod absit) *scarcely will he meet with obedient population.*"—*Theol. Moral*, t. i., p. 158.

When, then, Mr. Gladstone asks Catholics how they can obey the Queen and yet obey the Pope, since it may happen that the commands of the two authorities may clash, I answer, that it is my *rule*, both to obey the one and to obey the other, but that there is no rule in this world without exceptions, and if either the Pope or the Queen demanded of me an "Absolute Obedience," he or she would be transgressing the laws of human nature and human society. I give an absolute obedience to neither. Further, if ever this double allegiance pulled me in contrary ways, which in this age of the world I think it never will, then I should decide according to the particular case, which is beyond all rule, and must be decided on its own merits. I should look to see what theologians could do for me, what the Bishops and clergy around me, what my confessor; what friends whom I revered; and if, after all, I could not take their view of the matter, then I must rule myself by my own judgment and my own conscience. But all this is hypothetical and unreal.

Here, of course, it will be objected to me, that I am, after all, having recourse to the Protestant doctrine of Private Judgment; not so; it is the Protestant doctrine that Private Judgment is our *ordinary* guide in religious matters, but I use it, in the case in question, in very extraordinary and rare, nay, impossible emergencies. Do not the highest Tories thus defend the substitution of William for James II.? It is a great mistake to suppose our state in the Catholic Church is so entirely subjected to rule and system, that we are never thrown upon what is called by divines "the Providence of God." The teaching and assistance of the Church does not supply all conceivable needs, but those which are ordinary; thus, for instance, the sacraments are necessary for dying in the grace of God and hope of heaven, yet, when they can not be got, acts of hope, faith, and contrition, with the desire for those aids which the dying man has not, will convey in substance what those aids ordinarily convey. And so a Catechumen, not yet baptized, may be saved by his purpose and

preparation to receive the rite. And so, again, though "Out of the Church there is no salvation," this does not hold in the case of good men who are in invincible ignorance. And so it is also in the case of our ordinations; Chillingworth and Macaulay say that it is morally impossible that we should have kept up for 1,800 years an Apostolical succession of ministers without some separation of the chain; and we in answer say that however true this may be humanly speaking, there has been a special Providence over the Church to secure it. Once more, how else could private Catholics save their souls when there was a Pope and Anti-popes, each severally claiming their allegiance?

§ 5. Conscience.

It seems, then, that there are extreme cases in which Conscience may come into collision with the word of a Pope, and is to be followed in spite of that word. Now I wish to place this proposition on a broader basis, acknowledged by all Catholics, and, in order to do this satisfactorily, as I began with the prophecies of Scripture and the primitive Church, when I spoke of the Pope's prerogatives, so now I must begin with the Creator and His creature, when I would draw out the prerogatives and the supreme authority of Conscience.

I say, then, that the Supreme Being is of a certain character, which, expressed in human language, we call ethical. He has the attributes of justice, truth, wisdom, sanctity, benevolence, and mercy, as eternal characteristics in His Nature, the very Law of His being, identical with Himself; and next, when He became Creator, He implanted this Law, which is Himself, in the intelligence of all His rational creatures. The Divine Law, then, is the rule of ethical truth, the standard of right and wrong, a sovereign, irreversible, absolute authority in the presence of men and Angels. "The eternal law," says St. Augustine, "is the Divine Reason or Will of God, commanding the observance, forbidding the disturbance, of the natural order of things." "The natural law," says St. Thomas, "is an impression of the Divine Light in us, a participation of the eternal law in the rational creature." (Gousset, *Theol. Moral.* t, 1, pp. 24, etc) This law, as apprehended in the minds of individual men, is called "conscience;" and, though it may suffer refraction in passing into the intellectual medium of each, it is not thereby so affected as to lose its character of being the Divine Law, but still has, as such, the prerogative of commanding obedience. "The Divine Law," says Cardinal Gousset, "is the supreme rule of actions; our thoughts, desires, words, acts, all that man is, is subject to the domain of the law of God; and this law is the rule of our conduct by means of our conscience. Hence it is never lawful to go against our conscience; as the Fourth Lateran Council says, 'Quidquid fit contra conscientiam, ædificat ad gehennam.'"

This, I know, is very different from the view ordinarily taken of it, both by the science and literature, and by the public opin-

ion, of this day. It is founded on the doctrine that conscience is the voice of God, whereas it is fashionable on all hands now to consider it in one way or another a creation of man. Of course, there are great and broad exceptions to this statement It is not true of many or most religious bodies of men; especially not of their teachers and ministers. When Anglicans, Wesleyans, the various Presbyterian sects in Scotland, and other denominations among us, speak of conscience, they mean what we mean, the voice of God in the nature and heart of man, as distinct from the voice of Revelation. They speak of a principle planted within us before we have had any training, though such training and experience is necessary for its strength, growth, and due formation. They consider it a constituent element of the mind, as our perception of other ideas may be, as our powers of reasoning, as our sense of order and the beautiful, and our other intellectual endowments. They consider it, as Catholics consider it, to be the internal witness of both the existence and the law of God. They think it holds of God, and not of man, as an Angel walking on the earth would be no citizen or dependent of the Civil Power. They would not allow, any more than we do, that it could be resolved into any combination of principles in our nature, more elementary than itself; nay, though it may be called, and is, a law of the mind, they would not grant that it was nothing more; I mean, that it was not a dictate, nor conveyed the notion of responsibility, of duty, of a threat and a promise, with a vividness which discriminated it from all other constituents of our nature.

This, at least, is how I read the doctrine of Protestants as well as of Catholics. The rule and measure of duty is not utility, nor expedience, nor the happiness of the greatest number, nor State convenience, nor fitness, order, and the *pulchrum*. Conscience is not a long-sighted selfishness, nor a desire to be consistent with oneself, but it is a messenger from Him, who, in nature and in grace, speaks to us behind a veil, and teaches and rules us by His representatives. Conscience is the aboriginal Vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas, and, even though the eternal priesthood throughout the Church could cease to be, in it the sacerdotal principle would remain and would have a sway.

Words such as these are idle empty verbiage to the great world of philosophy now. All through my day there has been a resolute warfare, I had almost said conspiracy, against the rights of conscience, as I have described it. Literature and science have been embodied in great institutions in order to put it down. Noble buildings have been reared as fortresses against that spiritual, invisible influence which is too subtle for science and too profound for literature. Chairs in Universities have been made the seats of an antagonist tradition. Public writers, day after day, have indoctrinated the minds of innumerable readers with theories subversive of its claims. As in Roman times, and in the middle age, its supremacy was assailed by the arm of physical force, so now the intellect is put in operation to sap the foundations of a power which the sword could not destroy. We are told that con-

science is but a twist in primitive and untutored man; that its dictate is an imagination; that the very notion of guiltiness, which that dictate enforces, is simply irrational, for how can there possibly be freedom of will, how can there be consequent responsibility, in that infinite eternal network of cause and effect, in which we helplessly lie? and what retribution have we to fear, when we have had no real choice to do good or evil?

So much for philosophers; now let us see what is the notion of conscience in this day in the popular mind. There, no more than in the intellectual world, does "conscience" retain the old, true, Catholic meaning of the word. There, too, the idea, the presence, of a Moral Governor is far away from the use of it, frequent and emphatic as that use of it is. When men advocate the rights of conscience, they in no sense mean the rights of the Creator, nor the duty to Him, in thought and deed, of the creature; but the right of thinking, speaking, writing, and acting, according to their judgment or their humor, without any thought of God at all. They do not even pretend to go by any moral rule, but they demand, what they think is an Englishman's prerogative, to be his own master in all things, and to profess what he pleases, asking no one's leave, and accounting priest or preacher, speaker or writer, unutterably impertinent, who dares to say a word against his going to perdition, if he like it, in his own way. Conscience has rights because it has duties; but in this age, with a large portion of the public, it is the very right and freedom of conscience to dispense with conscience, to ignore a Lawgiver and Judge, to be independent of unseen obligations. It becomes a license to take up any or no religion, to take up this or that and let it go again, to go to Church, to go to chapel, to boast of being above all religions, and to be an impartial critic of each of them. Conscience is a stern monitor, but in this century it has been superseded by a counterfeit, which the eighteen centuries prior to it never heard of, and could not have mistaken for it, if they had. It is the right of self-will.

And now I shall turn aside for a moment to show how it is that the Popes of our century have been misunderstood by English people, as if they really were speaking against conscience in the true sense of the word, when in fact they were speaking against it in the various false senses, philosophical or popular, which in this day are put upon the word. The present Pope, in his Encyclical of 1864, *Quantâ curâ*, speaks, (as will come before us in the next section,) against "liberty of conscience," and he refers to his predecessor, Gregory XVI., who, in his *Mirari vos*, calls it a "deliramentum." It is a rule in formal ecclesiastical proceedings, as I shall have occasion to notice lower down, when books or authors are condemned, to use the very words of the book or author, and to condemn the words in that particular sense which they have in their context and their drift, not in the literal, not in the religious sense, such as the Pope might recognize, were they in another book or author. To take a familiar parallel, among many which occur daily: Protestants speak of the

"Blessed Reformation;" Catholics too talk of "the Reformation," though they do not call it blessed. Yet every "reformation" ought, from the very meaning of the word, to be good, not bad; so that Catholics seem to be implying a eulogy on an event which, at the same time, they consider a surpassing evil. Here, then, they are taking the word and using it in the popular sense of it, not in the Catholic. They would say, if they expressed their full meaning, "the *so-called* reformation." In like manner, if the Pope condemned "the reformation," it would be utterly sophistical to say in consequence that he had declared himself against all reforms; yet this is how Mr. Gladstone treats him, because he speaks of (so-called) liberty of conscience. To make this distinction clear, viz., between the Catholic sense of the word "conscience," and that sense in which the Pope condemns it, we find in the *Recueil des Allocutions*, etc., the words accompanied with quotation-marks, both in Pope Gregory's and Pope Pius's Encyclicals, thus:—Gregory's, "Ex hoc putidis simo 'indifferentismi' fonte," (mind, "indifferentismi" is under quotation-marks, because the Pope will not make himself answerable for so unclassical a word) "absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet 'libertatem conscientiæ.'" And that of Pius, "haud timent erroneam illam fovere opinionem a Gregorio XVI. deliramentum appellatam, nimirum 'libertatem conscientiæ' esse proprium cujuscunque hominis jus." Both Popes certainly scoff at the "so-called liberty of conscience," but there is no scoffing of any Pope, in formal documents addressed to the faithful at large, at that most serious doctrine, the right and the duty of following that Divine Authority, the voice of conscience, on which in truth the Church herself is built.

So indeed it is; did the Pope speak against Conscience in the true sense of the word, he would commit a suicidal act. He would be cutting the ground from under his feet. His very mission is to proclaim the moral law, and to protect and strengthen that "Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." On the law of conscience and its sacredness are founded both his authority in theory and his power in fact. Whether this or that particular Pope in this bad world always kept this great truth in view in all he did, it is for history to tell. I am considering here the Papacy in its office and its duties, and in reference to those who acknowledge its claims. They are not bound by a Pope's personal character or private acts, but by his formal teaching. Thus viewing his position, we shall find that it is by the universal sense of right and wrong, the consciousness of transgression, the pangs of guilt, and the dread of retribution, as first principles, deeply lodged in the hearts of men, thus and only thus, that he has gained his footing in the world and achieved his success. It is his claim to come from the Divine Lawgiver, in order to elicit, protect, and enforce those truths which the Lawgiver has sown in our very nature—it is this and this only—that is the explanation of his length of life more than antediluvian. The championship of the Moral Law and of conscience is his

raison d'être. The fact of his mission is the answer to the complaints of those who feel the insufficiency of the natural light; and the insufficiency of that light is the justification of his mission.

All sciences, except the science of Religion, have their certainty in themselves; as far as they are sciences, they consist of necessary conclusions from undeniable premises, or of phenomena manipulated into general truths by an irresistible induction. But the sense of right and wrong, which is the first element in religion, is so delicate, so fitful, so easily puzzled, obscured, perverted, so subtle in its argumentative methods, so impressible by education, so biased by pride and passion, so unsteady in its flight, that, in the struggle for existence amid various exercises and triumphs of the human intellect, this sense is at once the highest of all teachers, yet the least luminous; and the Church, the Pope, the Hierarchy are, in the Divine purpose, the supply of an urgent demand. Natural Religion, certain as are its grounds and its doctrines as addressed to thoughtful, serious minds, needs, in order that it may speak to mankind with effect and subdue the world, to be sustained and completed by Revelation.

In saying all of this, of course I must not be supposed to be limiting the Revelation of which the Church is the keeper to a mere republication of the Natural Law; but still it is true, that, though Revelation is so distinct from the teaching of nature and beyond it, yet it is not independent of it, nor without relations towards it, but is its complement, re-assertion, issue, embodiment, and interpretation. The Pope, who comes of Revelation, has no jurisdiction over Nature. If, under the plea of his revealed prerogatives, he neglected his mission of preaching truth, justice, mercy, and peace, much more, if he trampled on the consciences of his subjects—if he had done so all along, as Protestants say, then he could not have lasted all these many centuries till now, so as to be made the mark of their reprobation. Dean Milman has told us above, how faithful he was to his duty in the medieval time, and how successful. Afterwards, for a while the Papal chair was filled by men, who gave themselves up to luxury, security, and a Pagan kind of Christianity; and we all know what a moral earthquake was the consequence, and how the Church lost, thereby, and has lost to this day, one-half of Europe. The Popes could not have recovered from so terrible a catastrophe, as they have done, had they not returned to their first and better ways, and the grave lesson of the past is in itself the guarantee of the future.

Such is the relation of the ecclesiastical power to the human conscience:—however, another view may be taken of it. It may be said that no one doubts that the Pope's power rests on those weaknesses of human nature, that religious sense, which in ancient days Lucretius noted as the cause of the worst ills of our race; that he uses it dexterously, forming under shelter of it a false code of morals for his own aggrandizement and tyranny; and that thus conscience becomes his creature and his slave, doing, as if on a divine sanction, his will; so that in the abstract, in deed and in idea it is free, but never free in fact, never able to

take a flight of its own, independent of him, any more than birds whose wings are clipped;—moreover, that, if it were able to exert a will of its own, then there would ensue a collision more unmanageable than that between the Church and the State, as being in one and the same subject matter—viz., religion; for what would become of the Pope's "absolute authority," as Mr. Gladstone calls it, if the private conscience had an absolute authority also?

I wish to answer this important objection distinctly.

1. First, I am using the word "conscience" in the high sense in which I have already explained it; not as a fancy or an opinion, but as a dutiful obedience to what claims to be a divine voice, speaking within us.

2. Secondly, I observe that conscience is not a judgment upon any speculative truth, any abstract doctrine, but bears immediately on conduct, on something to be done or not done. "Conscience," says St. Thomas, "is the practical judgment or dictate of reason, by which we judge what *hic et nunc* is to be done as being good, or to be avoided as evil." Hence conscience can not come into direct collision with the Church's or the Pope's infallibility; which is engaged only on general propositions, or the condemnation of propositions simply particular.

3. Next, I observe that, conscience being a practical dictate, a collision is possible between it and the Pope's authority only when the Pope legislates, or gives particular orders, and the like. But a Pope is not infallible in his laws, nor in his commands, nor in his acts of state, nor in his administration, nor in his public policy. Let it be observed that the Vatican Council has left him just as it found him here. Mr. Gladstone's language on this point is to me quite unintelligible. Why, instead of using vague terms, does he not point out precisely the very words by which the Council has made the Pope in his acts infallible? Instead of so doing, he assumes a conclusion which is altogether false. He says, p. 34, "First comes the Pope's infallibility;" then in the next page he insinuates that, under his infallibility, come acts of excommunication, as if the Pope could not make mistakes in this field of action. He says, p. 35, "It may be sought to plead that the Pope does not propose to invade the country, to seize Woolwich, or burn Portsmouth. He will only, at the worst, excommunicate opponents. . . . Is this a good answer? After all, even in the Middle Ages it was not by the direct action of fleets and armies of their own that the Popes contended with kings who were refractory; it was mainly by interdicts," etc. What have excommunication and interdict to do with Infallibility? Was St. Peter infallible on that occasion at Antioch when St. Paul withstood him? was St. Victor infallible when he separated from his communion the Asiatic Churches? or Liberius when in like manner he excommunicated Athanasius? And, to come to later times, was Gregory XIII., when he had a medal struck in honor of the Bartholomew massacre? or Paul IV. in his conduct towards Elizabeth? or Sextus V. when he blessed the Armada? or Urban VIII. when he persecuted Gal-

ileo? No Catholic ever pretends that these Popes were infallible in these acts. Since then infallibility alone could block the exercise of conscience, and the Pope is not infallible in that subject-matter in which conscience is of supreme authority, no deadlock, such as is implied in the objection which I am answering, can take place between conscience and the Pope.

4. But, of course, I have to say again, lest I should be misunderstood, that when I speak of Conscience, I mean conscience truly so called. When it has the right of opposing the supreme, though not infallible Authority of the Pope, it must be something more than that miserable counterfeit which, as I have said above, now goes by the name. If in a particular case it is to be taken as a sacred and sovereign monitor, its dictate, in order to prevail against the voice of the Pope, must follow upon serious thought, prayer, and all available means of arriving at a right judgment on the matter in question. And further, obedience to the Pope is what is called "in possession;" that is, the *onus probandi* of establishing a case against him lies, as in all cases of exception, on the side of conscience. Unless a man is able to say to himself, as in the presence of God, that he must not, and dare not, act upon the Papal injunction, he is bound to obey it, and would commit a great sin in disobeying it. *Primâ facie* it is his bounden duty, even from a sentiment of loyalty, to believe the Pope right and to act accordingly. He must vanquish that mean, ungenerous, selfish, vulgar spirit of his nature, which, at the very first rumor of a command, places itself in opposition to the Superior who gives it, asks itself whether he is not exceeding his right, and rejoices, in a moral and practical matter, to commence with skepticism. He must have no willful determination to exercise a right of thinking, saying, doing just what he pleases, the question of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, the duty if possible of obedience, the love of speaking as his Head speaks, and of standing in all cases on his Head's side, being simply discarded. If this necessary rule were observed, collisions between the Pope's authority and the authority of conscience would be very rare. On the other hand, in the fact that, after all, in extraordinary cases, the conscience of each individual is free, we have a safeguard and security, were security necessary (which is a most gratuitous supposition), that no Pope ever will be able, as the objection supposes, to create a false conscience for his own ends.

Now, I shall end this part of the subject, for I have not done with it altogether, by appealing to various of our theologians in evidence that, in what I have been saying, I have not misrepresented Catholic doctrine on these important points.

That is, on the duty of obeying our conscience at all hazards.

I have already quoted the words which Cardinal Gousset has adduced from the Fourth Lateran: that "He who acts against his conscience loses his soul." This *dictum* is brought out with singular fullness and force in the moral treatises of theologians. The celebrated school known as the Salmanticenses, or Carmelites of Salamanca, lays down the broad proposition, that con-

science is ever to be obeyed whether it tells truly or erroneously, and that, whether the error is the fault of the person thus erring or not.* They say that this opinion is certain, and refer, as agreeing with them, to St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, Caietan, Vasquez, Durandus, Navarrus, Corduba, Layman, Escobar, and fourteen others. Two of them even say this opinion is *de fide.* Of course if he is culpable in being in error, which he would have escaped, had he been more in earnest, for that error he is answerable to God, but still he must act according to that error, while he is in it, because he in full sincerity thinks the error to be truth.

Thus, if the Pope told the English Bishops to order their priests to stir themselves energetically in favor of teetotalism, and a particular priest was fully persuaded that abstinence from wine, etc., was practically a Gnostic error, and therefore felt he could not so exert himself without sin; or suppose there was a Papal order to hold lotteries in each mission for some religious object, and a priest could say in God's sight that he believed lotteries to be morally wrong, that priest in either of these cases would commit a sin *hic et nunc* if he obeyed the Pope, whether he was right or wrong in his opinion, and, if wrong, although he had not taken proper pains to get at the truth of the matter.

Busenbaum, of the Society of Jesus, whose work I have already had occasion to notice, writes thus:—"A heretic, as long as he judges his sect to be more or equally deserving of belief, has no obligation to believe [in the Church.]" And he continues, "When men who have been brought up in heresy, are persuaded from boyhood that we impugn and attack the word of God, that we are idolaters, pestilent deceivers, and therefore are to be shunned as pestilences, they can not, while this persuasion lasts, with a safe conscience, hear us."—t. 1, p. 54.

Antonio Corduba, a Spanish Franciscan, states the doctrine with still more point, because he makes mention of Superiors: "In no manner is it lawful to act against conscience, even though a Law, or a Superior commands it."—*De Conscient.*, p. 138.

And the French Dominican, Natalis Alexander:—"If, in the judgment of conscience, though a mistaken conscience, a man is persuaded that what his Superior commands is displeasing to God, he is bound not to obey."—*Theol.* t. 2, p. 32.

The word "Superior" certainly includes the Pope; but, to bring out this point clearly, Cardinal Jacobatius in his authoritative work on Councils, which is contained in Labbe's Collection of them, introduces the Pope by name:—"If it were doubtful," he says, "whether a precept [of the Pope] be a sin or not, we must determine thus:—that, if he to whom the precept is addressed has a conscientious sense that it is a sin and injustice, first it his duty

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* "Aliqui opinantur quod conscientia erronea non obligat; Secundam sententiam, et certam, asserentem esse peccatum discordare â conscientiâ erroneâ, invincibili aut vincibili, tenet D. Thomas; quem sequuntur omnes Scholastici."—*Theol. Moral.* t. v., p. 12, ed. 1723.

to put off that sense; but, if he can not, nor conform himself to the judgment of the Pope, in that case it is his duty to follow his own private conscience, and patiently to bear it, if the Pope punishes him."—*lib.* iv., p. 241.

Would it not be well for Mr. Gladstone to bring passages from our recognized authors as confirmatory of his view of our teaching, as those which I have quoted are destructive of it? and they must be passages declaring, not only that the Pope is ever to be obeyed, but that there are no exceptions to the rule, for exceptions must be in all concrete matters.

I add one remark. Certainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts, (which indeed does not seem quite the thing) I shall drink,—to the Pope, if you please,—still, to Conscience first, and to the Pope afterwards.

§ 6. The Encyclical of 1864.

The subject of Conscience leads us to the Encyclical, which is one of the special objects of Mr. Gladstone's attack; and to do justice to it, I must, as in other sections, begin from an earlier date than 1864.

Modern Rome, then, is not the only place where the traditions of the old Empire, its principles, provisions, and practices, have been held in honor; they have been retained, they have been maintained in substance, as the basis of European civilization down to this day, and notably among ourselves. In the Anglican establishment the king took the place of the Pope; but the Pope's principles kept possession. When the Pope was ignored, the relations between Pope and king were ignored too, and therefore we had nothing to do any more with the old Imperial laws which shaped those relations; but the old idea of a Christian Polity was still in force. It was a first principle with England that there was one true religion, that it was inherited from an earlier time, that it came of direct Revelation, that it was to be supported to the disadvantage, to say the least, of other religions, of private judgment, of personal conscience. The Puritans held these principles as firmly as the school of Laud. As to the Scotch Presbyterians, we read enough about them in the pages of Mr. Buckle. The Stuarts went, but still their principles suffered no dethronement; their action was restrained, but they were still in force, when this century opened.

It is curious to see how strikingly in this matter the proverb has been fulfilled, "Out of sight, out of mind." Men of the present generation, born in the new civilization, are shocked to witness in the abiding Papal system the words, ways, and works of their grandfathers. In my own lifetime has that old world been alive, and has gone its way. Who will say that the plea of conscience was as effectual, sixty years ago, as it is now in England, for the toleration of every sort of fancy religion? Had the Press always that wonderful elbow-room which it has now? Might public gatherings be held, and speeches made, and republicanism avowed

in the time of the Regency, as is possible now? Were the thoroughfares open to monster processions at that date, and the squares and parks at the mercy of Sunday manifestations? Could *savants* in that day insinuate what their hearers mistook for atheism in scientific assemblies, and artisans practice it in the centers of political action? Could public prints, day after day, or week after week, carry on a war against religion, natural and revealed, as now is the case? No; law or public opinion would not suffer it; we may be wiser or better now, but we were then in the wake of the Holy Roman Church, and had been so from the time of the Reformation. We were faithful to the tradition of fifteen hundred years. All this was called Toryism, and men gloried in the name; now it is called Popery and reviled.

When I was young the State had a conscience, and the Chief Justice of the day pronounced, not as a point of obsolete law, but as an energetic, living truth, that Christianity was the law of the land. And by Christianity was meant pretty much what Bentham calls Church-of-Englandism, its cry being the dinner toast, "Church and king." Blackstone, though he wrote a hundred years ago, was held, I believe, as an authority, on the state of the law in this matter, up to the beginning of this century. On the supremacy of Religion he writes as follows, that is, as I have abridged him for my purpose.

"The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, etc., etc., . . . these are the grand foundation of all judicial oaths. All moral evidence, all confidence in human veracity, must be weakened by irreligion, and overthrown by infidelity. Wherefore all affronts to Christianity, or endeavors to depreciate its efficacy, are highly deserving of human punishment. It was enacted by the statute of William III. that if any person *educated in*, and *having made profession of*, the Christian religion, shall by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority;" or again in like manner, "if any person *educated* in the Christian religion shall by writing, etc., deny any one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or maintain that there are more gods than one, he shall on the first offense be rendered incapable to hold any office or place of trust; and for the second, be rendered incapable of bringing any action, being guardian, executor, legatee, or purchaser of lands, and shall suffer three years' imprisonment without bail. To give room, however, for repentance, if, within four months after the first conviction, the delinquent will in open court publicly renounce his error, he is discharged for that once from all disabilities."

Again: "Those who absent themselves from the divine worship in the Established Church, through total irreligion, and attend the service of no other persuasion, forfeit one shilling to the poor every Lord's day they so absent themselves, and £20 to the king, if they continue such a default for a month together. And if they keep any inmate, thus irreligiously disposed, in their houses, they forfeit £10 per month."

Further, he lays down that "reviling the ordinances of the

Church is a crime of a much grosser nature than the other of nonconformity; since it carries with it the utmost indecency, arrogance, and ingratitude;—indecency, by setting up private judgment in opposition to public; arrogance, by treating with contempt and rudeness what has at least a better chance to be right than the singular notions of any particular man; and ingratitude, by denying that indulgence and liberty of conscience to the members of the national Church, which the retainers to every petty conventicle enjoy."

Once more: "In order to secure the Established Church against perils from nonconformists of all denominations, infidels, Turks, Jews, heretics, papists, and sectaries, there are two bulwarks erected, called the Corporation and Test Acts; by the former, no person can be legally elected to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation, unless, within a twelvemonth before, he has received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England; . . the other, called the Test Act, directs all officers, civil and military, to make the declaration against transubstantiation within six months after their admission, and also within the same time to receive the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England." The same test being undergone by all persons who desire to be naturalized, the Jews also were excluded from the privileges of Protestant churchmen.

Laws, such as these, of course gave a tone to society, to all classes, high and low, and to the publications, periodical or other, which represented public opinion. Dr. Watson, who was the liberal prelate of his day, in his answer to Paine, calls him (unless my memory betrays me) "a child of the devil and an enemy of all righteousness." Cumberland, a man of the world, (here again I must trust to the memory of many past years) reproaches a Jewish writer for ingratitude in assailing, as he seems to have done, a tolerant religious establishment; and Gibbon, an unbeliever, feels himself at liberty to look down on Priestly, whose "Socinian shield," he says, "has been repeatedly pierced by the mighty spear of Horsley, and whose trumpet of sedition may at length awake the magistrates of a free country."

Such was the position of free opinion and dissenting worship in England till quite a recent era, when one after another the various disabilities which I have been recounting, and many others besides, melted away, like snow at spring-tide; and we all wonder how they could ever have been in force. The cause of this great revolution is obvious, and its effect inevitable. Though I profess to be an admirer of the principles now superseded, in themselves, mixed up as they were with the imperfections and evils incident to every thing human, nevertheless I say frankly I do not see how they could possibly be maintained in the ascendant. When the intellect is cultivated, it is as certain that it will develop into a thousand various shapes, as that infinite hues and tints and shades of color will be reflected from the earth's surface, when the sunlight touches it; and in matters of religion the more, by reason of the extreme subtlety and abstruseness of the mental action

by which they are determined. During the last seventy years, first one class of the community, then another, has awakened up to thought and opinion. Their multiform views on sacred subjects necessarily affected and found expression in the governing order. The state in past time had a conscience; George the Third had a conscience; but there were other men at the head of affairs besides him with consciences, and they spoke for others besides themselves; and what was to be done, if he could not work without them, and they could not work with him, as far as religious questions came up at the Council-board? This brought on a dead-lock in the time of his successor. The ministry of the day could not agree together in the policy or justice of keeping up the state of things which Blackstone describes. The State ought to have a conscience; but what if it happen to have half a dozen, or a score, or a hundred, in religious matters, each different from each. I think Mr. Gladstone has brought out the difficulties of the situation himself in his Autobiography. No government could be formed, if religious unanimity was a *sine qua non*. What then was to be done? As a necessary consequence, the whole theory of Toryism, hitherto acted on, came to pieces and went the way of all flesh. This was in the nature of things. Not a hundred Popes could have hindered it, unless Providence interposed by an effusion of divine grace on the hearts of men, which would amount to a miracle, and perhaps would interfere with human responsibility. The Pope has denounced the sentiment that he ought to come to terms with "progress, liberalism, and the new civilization." I have no thought at all of disputing his words. I leave the great problem to the future. God will guide other Popes to act when Pius goes, as He as guided him. No one can dislike the democratic principle more than I do. No one mourns, for instance, more than I, over the state of Oxford, given up, alas! to "liberalism and progress," to the forfeiture of her great medieval motto, "Dominus illuminatio mea," and with a consequent call on her to go to Parliament or the Heralds College for a new one; but what can we do? All I know is, that Toryism, that is, loyalty to persons, "springs immortal in the human breast;" that Religion is a spiritual loyalty; and that Catholicity is the only divine form of Religion. And thus, in centuries to come, there may be found out some way of uniting what is free in the new structure of society with what is authoritative in the old, without any base compromise with "Progress" and "Liberalism."

But to return:—I have noticed the great revolution in the state of the Law which has taken place since 1828 for this reason:—to suggest that Englishmen, who within fifty years kept up the Pope's system, are not exactly the parties to throw stones at the Pope for keeping it up still.

But I go further:—in fact the Pope has not said on this subject of conscience (for that is the main subject in question) what Mr. Gladstone makes him say. On this point I desiderate that fairness in his Pamphlet which we have a right to expect from him; and in truth his unfairness is wonderful. He says pp. 15, 16,

that the Holy See has condemned the maintainers of "the Liberty of the Press, of conscience, and of worship." Again, that the "Pontiff has condemned free speech, free writing, a free press, toleration of nonconformity, liberty of conscience," p. 42. Now, is not this accusation of a very wholesale character? Who would not understand it to mean that the Pope had pronounced a universal anathema against *all* these liberties *in toto*, and that English law, on the contrary, allowed those liberties *in toto*, which the Pope had condemned? But the Pope has done no such thing. The real question is in what respect, in what measure, has he spoken against liberty: the grant of liberty admits of degrees. Blackstone is careful to show how much more liberty the law allowed to the subject in his day, how much less severe it was in its safeguards against abuse, than it had used to be; but he never pretends that it is conceivable that liberty should have no boundary at all. The very idea of political society is based upon the principle that each member of it gives up a portion of his natural liberty for advantages which are greater than that liberty; and the question is, whether the Pope, in any act of his which touches us Catholics, in any ecclesiastical or theological statement of his, has propounded any principle, doctrine, or view, which is not carried out in fact at this time in British courts of law, and would not be conceded by Blackstone. I repeat, the very notion of human society is a relinquishment, to a certain point, of the liberty of its members individually, for the sake of a common security. Would it be fair on that account to say that the British Constitution condemns *all* liberty of conscience in word and in deed?

We Catholics, on our part, are denied liberty of our religion by English law in various ways, but we do not complain, because a limit must be put to even innocent liberties, and we acquiesce in it for the social compensations which we gain on the whole. Our school boys can not play cricket on Sunday, not even in country places, for fear of being taken before a magistrate and fined. In Scotland we can not play the piano on Sundays, much less the fiddle, even in our own rooms. I have had before now a lawyer's authority for saying that a religious procession is illegal even within our own premises. Till the last year or two we could not call our Bishops by the titles which our Religion gave them. A mandate from the Home Secretary obliged us to put off our cassocks when we went out of doors. We are forced to pay rates for the establishment of secular schools which we can not use, and then we have to find means over again for building schools of our own. Why, is not all this as much an outrage on our conscience as the prohibition upon Protestants at Rome, Naples, and Malaga, before the late political changes—not to hold their services in a private, or in the ambassador's house, or outside the walls,—but to flaunt them in public and thereby to irritate the natives? Mr. Gladstone seems to think it is monstrous for the Holy See to sanction such a prohibition. If so, may we not call upon him to gain for us in Birmingham "the free exercise of our religion," in making a circuit of the streets in our

vestments, and chanting the "Pange Lingua," and the protection of the police against the mob which would be sure to gather round us,—particularly since we are English born; but the Protestants at Malaga or Naples were foreigners.* But we have the good sense neither to feel it a hardship, nor to protest against it as a grievance.

But now for the present state of English Law:—I say seriously Mr. Gladstone's accusation of us avails quite as much against Blackstone's four volumes, against laws in general, against the social contract, as against the Pope. What the Pope has said, I will show presently: first let us see what the statute book has to tell us about the present state of English liberty of speech, of the press, and of worship.

First, as to public speaking and meetings:—do we allow of seditious language, or of insult to the sovereign, or his representatives? Blackstone says, that a misprision is committed against him by speaking or writing against him, cursing or wishing him ill, giving out scandalous stories concerning him, or doing any thing that may tend to lessen him in the esteem of his subjects, may weaken his government, or may raise jealousies between him and his people." Also he says, that "threatening and reproachful words to any judge sitting in the Courts" involve "a high misprision, and have been punished with large fines, imprisonment, and corporal punishment." And we may recollect quite lately the judges of the Queen's Bench prohibited public meetings and speeches which had for their object the issue of a case then proceeding in Court.

Then, again, as to the Press, there are two modes of bridling it, one before the printed matter is published, the other after. The former is the method of censorship, the latter that of the law of libel. Each is a restriction on the liberty of the Press. We prefer the latter. I never heard it said that the law of libel was of a mild character; and I never heard that the Pope, in any Brief or Rescript, had insisted on a censorship.

Lastly, liberty of worship; as to the English restriction of it, we have had a notable example of it in the last session of Parliament, and we shall have still more edifying illustrations of it in the next, though not certainly from Mr. Gladstone. The ritualistic party, in the free exercise of their rights, under the shelter of the Anglican rubrics, of certain of the Anglican offices, of the teaching of their great divines, and of their conscientious interpretation of their Articles, have, at their own expense, built churches for worship after their own way; and, on the other hand, Parliament and the newspapers are attempting to put them down, not so much because they are acting against the tradition and the law of the Establishment, but because of the national dislike and dread of the principles and doctrines which their worship embodies.

When Mr. Gladstone has a right to say broadly, by reason of

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* "Hominibus illuc immigrantibus." These words Mr. Gladstone omits, also he translates "publicum" "free," pp. 17, 18.

these restrictions, that British law and the British people condemn the maintainers of liberty of conscience, of the press, and of worship, *in toto*, then may he say so of the Encyclical, or account of those words which to him have so frightful a meaning.

Now then let us see, on the other hand, what the proposition is, the condemnation of which leads him to say, that the Pope has unrestrictedly "condemned those who maintain *the* liberty of the Press, *the* liberty of conscience and of worship, and *the* liberty of speech," p. 16,—has "condemned free speech, free writing, and a free press." p. 42. The condemned proposition speaks as follows:—

"1. Liberty of conscience and worship, is the *inherent right* of all men. 2. It ought to be proclaimed in *every* rightly constituted society. 3. It is a right to *all sorts of liberty* (omnimodam libertatem) such, that it ought not to be restrained by any authority, ecclesiastical *or civil*, as far as public speaking, printing, or any other public manifestation of opinions is concerned."

Now, is there any government on earth that could stand the strain of such a doctrine as this? It starts by taking for granted that there are certain Rights of man; Mr. Gladstone so considers, I believe; but other deep thinkers of the day are quite of another opinion; however, if the doctrine of the proposition is true, then the right of conscience, of which it speaks, being inherent in man, is of universal force—that is, all over the world—also, says the proposition, it is a right which must be recognized by all rightly constituted governments. Lastly, what is the right of conscience thus inherent in our nature, thus necessary for all states? The proposition tells us: It is the liberty of *every* one to give *public* utterance, in *every* possible shape, by *every* possible channel, without *any* let or hinderance from God or man, to *all* his notions *whatsoever*.*

Which of the two in this matter is peremptory and sweeping in his utterance, the author of this thesis himself, or the Pope who has condemned what he has uttered? Who is it who would force upon the world a universal? All that the Pope has done is to deny a universal, and what a universal! a universal liberty to all men to say out whatever doctrines they may hold by preaching, or by the press, uncurbed by church or civil power. Does not this bear out what I said in the foregoing section of the sense in which Pope Gregory denied a "liberty of conscience?" It is a liberty of self-will. What if a man's conscience embraces the duty of regicide? or infanticide? or free love? You may say that in England the good sense of the nation would stifle and extinguish such atrocities. True, but the proposition says that it is the very right of every one, by nature, in every well constituted society. If so, why have we gagged the press in Ireland on the ground of its being seditious? Why is not India brought

* "Jus civibus *inesse* ad *omnimodam* libertatem, *nullâ* vel ecclesiasticâ vel civili auctoritate coarctandam, quo suos conceptus *quoscunque* sive voce, sive typis, sive aliâ ratione, *palam publiceque* manifestare ac declarare valeant."

within the British constitution? It seems a light epithet for the Pope to use, when he calls such a doctrine of conscience *deliramentum:* of all conceivable absurdities it is the wildest and most stupid. Has Mr. Gladstone really no better complaint to make against the Pope's condemnations than this?

Perhaps he will say, Why should the Pope take the trouble to condemn what is so wild? But he does: and to say that he condemns something which he does not condemn, and then to inveigh against him on the ground of that something else, is neither just nor logical.

§ 7. The Syllabus.

Now I come to the Syllabus of "Errors," the publication of which has been exclaimed against in England as such singular enormity, and especially by Mr. Gladstone. The condemnation of theological statements which militate against the Catholic Faith is of long usage in the Church. Such was the condemnation of the heresies of Wickliffe in the Council of Constance; such those of Huss, of Luther, of Baius, of Jansenius; such the condemnations which were published by Sextus IV., Innocent XI., Clement XI., Benedict XIV., and other Popes. Such condemnations are no invention of Pius IX. The Syllabus is a collection of such erroneous propositions, as he has condemned during his Pontificate; there are 80 of them.

The word "Syllabus" means a collection; the French translation calls it a "*Résumé;*" a collection of what? I have already said, of propositions,—propositions which the Pope in his various Allocutions, Encyclicals, and like documents, since he has been Pope, has pronounced to be Errors. Who gathered the propositions out of these Papal documents, and put them together in one? We do not know; all we know is that, by the Pope's command, this collection of Errors was sent by his Foreign Minister to the Bishops. He, Cardinal Antonelli, sent to them at the same time the Encyclical of December, 1864, which is a document of dogmatic authority. The Cardinal says, in his circular to them, that the Pope ordered him to do so. The Pope thought, he says, that perhaps the Bishops had not seen some of his Allocutions, and other authoritative letters and speeches of past years; in consequence the Pope had had the Errors which, at one time or other he had therein condemned, brought together into one, and that for the use of the Bishops.

Such is the Syllabus and its object. There is not a word in it of the Pope's own writing; there is nothing in it at all but the Erroneous Propositions themselves—that is, except the heading, "A Syllabus, containing the principal Errors of our times, which are noted in the Consistorial Allocutions, in the Encyclicals, and in other Apostolical Letters of our most Holy Lord, Pope Pius IX." There is one other addition—viz., after each proposition a reference is given to the Allocution, Encyclical, or other document in which it is condemned.

The Syllabus, then, is to be received with profound submission,

as having been sent by the Pope's authority to the Bishops of the world. It certainly has indirectly his extrinsic sanction; but intrinsically, and viewed in itself, it is nothing more than a digest of certain Errors made by an anonymous writer. There would be nothing on the face of it, to show that the Pope had ever seen it, page by page, unless the "Imprimatur" implied in the Cardinal's letter had been an evidence of this. It has no mark or seal put upon it which gives it a direct relation to the Pope. Who is its author? Some select theologian or high official doubtless; can it be Cardinal Antonelli himself? No surely: anyhow it is not the Pope, and I do not see my way to accept it for what it is not. I do not speak as if I had any difficulty in recognizing and condemning the Errors which it catalogues, did the Pope himself bid me; but he has not as yet done so, and he can not delegate his *Magisterium* to another. I wish with St. Jerome to "speak with the Successor of the Fisherman and the Disciple of the Cross." I assent to that which the Pope propounds in faith and morals, but it must be he speaking officially, personally, and immediately, and not any one else, who has a hold over me. The Syllabus is not an official act, because it is not signed, for instance, with "Datum Romæ, Pius P. P. IX.," or "sub annulo Piscatoris," or in some other way; it is not a personal, for he does not address his "Venerabiles Fratres," or "Dilecto Filio," or speak as "Pius Episcopus;" it is not an immediate, for it comes to the Bishops only through the Cardinal Minister of State.

If, indeed, the Pope should ever make that anonymous compilation directly his own, then of course I should bow to it and accept it as strictly his. He might have done so; he might do so still; again, he might issue a fresh list of Propositions in addition, and pronounce them to be Errors, and I should take that condemnation to be of dogmatic authority, because I believe him appointed by his Divine Master to determine in the detail of faith and morals what is true and what is false. But such an act of his he would formally authenticate; he would speak in his own name, as Leo X. or Innocent XI. did, by Bull or Letter Apostolic. Or, if he wished to speak less authoritatively, he would speak through a Sacred Congregation; but the Syllabus makes no claim to be acknowledged as the word of the Pope. Moreover, if the Pope drew up that catalogue, as it may be called, he would discriminate the errors one from another, for they greatly differ in gravity, and he would guard against seeming to say that all intellectual faults are equal. What gives cogency to this remark is, that a certain number of Bishops and theologians, when a Syllabus was in contemplation, did wish for such a formal act on the part of the Pope, and in consequence they drew up for his consideration the sort of document on which, if he so willed, he might suitably stamp his infallible sanction; but he did not accede to their prayer. This composition is contained in the "*Recueil des Allocutions*," etc., and is far more than a mere "collection of errors." It is headed, "Theses ad Apostolicam Sedem delatæ *cum censuris*," etc., and each error from first to last has the ground

of its condemnation marked upon it. There are sixty-one of them. The first is "impia, injuriosa religioni," etc.; the second is "complexivè sumpta, falsa," etc.; the third the same; the fourth "hæretica," and so on, the epithets affixed having a distinct meaning and denoting various degrees of error. Such a document, unlike the Syllabus, has a substantive character.

Here I am led to interpose a remark;—it is plain, then, that there are those near, or with access, to the Holy Father, who would, if they could, go much further in the way of assertion and command, than the divine *Assistentia*, which overshadows him, wills or permits: so that his acts and his words on doctrinal subjects must be carefully scrutinized and weighed, before we can be sure what really he has said. Utterances which must be received as coming from an Infallible Voice are not made every day, indeed they are very rare; and those which are by some persons affirmed or assumed to be such, do not always turn out what they are said to be; nay, even such as are really dogmatic must be read by definite rules and by traditional principles of interpretation, which are as cogent and unchangeable as the Pope's own decisions themselves. What I have to say presently will illustrate this truth; meanwhile I use the circumstance which has led to my mentioning it, for another purpose here. When intelligence which we receive from Rome startles and pains us from its seemingly harsh or extreme character, let us learn to have some little faith and patience, and not take for granted that all that is reported is the truth. There are those who wish and try to carry measures, and declare they have carried, when they have not carried them. How many strong things, for instance, have been reported with a sort of triumph on one side and with irritation and despondency on the other, of what the Vatican Council has done; whereas, the very next year after it, Bishop Fessler, the Secretary General of the Council, brings out his work on "True and False Infallibility,"* reducing what was said to be so monstrous to its true dimensions. When I see all this going on those grand lines in the Greek Tragedy always rise to my lips:

οὔπως τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν θνατῶν παρεξίασι βουλαί.

And still more the consolation given us by the Divine Speaker, that though the swelling sea is so threatening to look at, yet there is One who rules it and says: "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." But to return: the Syllabus, then, has no dogmatic force. It addresses us not in its separate portions, but as a whole, and is to be received from the Pope by an act of obedience, not of faith, that obedience being shown by having recourse to the original and authoritative documents, (Allocutions and the like,) to which the Syllabus pointedly refers. Moreover, when we turn to those documents which *are* authoritative, we find the Syllabus can not even be called an echo of the Apostolic Voice; for, in matters in which

* This History of the Council will soon be published by Burns, Oates & Co.

wording is so important, it is not an exact transcript of the words of the Pope, in its account of the errors condemned,—just as would be natural in what is an index for reference.

Mr. Gladstone indeed wishes to unite the Syllabus to that Encyclical which so moved him in December, 1864, and says that the Errors noted in the Syllabus are all brought under the infallible judgment pronounced on certain errors specified in the Encyclical. This is an untenable assertion. He says of the Pope and of the Syllabus, p. 20: "These are not mere opinions of the Pope himself, nor even are they opinions which he might paternally recommend to the pious consideration of the faithful. With the promulgation of his opinions is unhappily combined, in the Encyclical Letter *which virtually, though not expressly, includes the whole*, a *command* to all his spiritual children (from which command we, the disobedient children, are in no way excluded) *to hold them*," and he appeals in proof of this to the language of the Encyclical; but let us see what that language is. The Pope speaks thus, as Mr. Gladstone himself quotes him: "All and each of the wrong opinions and doctrines specially mentioned in these letters We, by our Apostolic Authority, reprobate, proscribe, and condemn; and it is our will and command that the same be in like manner held reprobated, proscribed, and condemned by all the children of the Catholic Church."—Encyc., Dec. 8, 1864. He says as plainly as words can speak that the wrong opinions, which in this passage he condemns, are specified in the Encyclical and not outside of it; and when we look into the earlier part, there are about ten of them. There is not a single word in the Encyclical to show the Pope in it was alluding to the Syllabus. The Syllabus does not exist so far as the language of the Encyclical is concerned. This gratuitous assumption is marvelously unfair, and the only connections between the Syllabus and the Encyclical are external to both—connections of time and organ—Cardinal Antonelli sending them both to the Bishops with the introduction of one and the same letter. In that letter he speaks to the Bishops thus, as I paraphrase his words: *—The Holy Father sends you by me a list, which he has caused to be drawn up and printed, of the errors which he has in various formal documents, in the course of the last eighteen years, condemned. At the same time, and with that list of errors, he is sending you a new Encyclical, which he has

* His actual words (abridged) are these:—"Notre T. S. S. Pius IX. n'a jamais cessé de proscrire les principales erreurs de notre très-malheureuse époque, par ses Encycliques, et par ses Allocutions, etc. Mais, comme il peut arriver que tous les actes pontificaux ne parviennant pas à chacun des Ordinaires, le même Souverain Pontife a voulu que l'on rédigeât un Syllabus de ces mêmes erreurs, destiné à être envoyé à tous les Evêques, etc. Il m'a ensuite ordonné de veiller à ce que ce Syllabus imprimé fût envoyé a V. E. R. dans ce temps où le même Souverain Pontife a jugé à propos d'écrire un autre Lettre Encyclique. Ainsi, je m'empresse d'envoyer a V. E. ce Syllabus avec ces Lettres."

judged it *apropos* to write to the Catholic Bishops:—so I send you both at once."

The Syllabus, then, is a list, or rather an index, of the Pope's Encyclical or Allocutional condemnations, an index *raisonné*,—not alphabetical, as is found, for instance, in Bellarmine's or Lambertini's works—drawn up by the Pope's orders, out of his paternal care for the flock of Christ, and conveyed to the Bishops through his Minister of State. But we can no more accept it as *de fide*, as a dogmatic document, than other index or table of contents. Take a parallel case, *mutatis mutandis:* Counsel's opinion being asked on a point of law, he goes to his law-books, writes down his answer, and, as authority, refers his client to 23 George III., c. 5, s. 11; 11 Victoria, c. 12, s. 19, and to Thomas *v.* Smith, Attorney-General *v.* Roberts, and Jones *v.* Owen. Who would say that that sheet of foolscap had force of law, when it was nothing more than a list of references to the Statutes of the Realm, or Judges' decisions, in which the Law's voice really was found?

The value of the Syllabus, then, lies in its references; but of these Mr. Gladstone has certainly availed himself very little. Yet, in order to see the nature and extent of the condemnation passed on any proposition of the Syllabus, it is absolutely necessary to turn out the passage of the Allocution, Encyclical, or other document, in which the condemnation is found; for the wording of the errors which the Syllabus contains is to be interpreted by its references. Instead of this Mr. Gladstone uses forms of speech about the Syllabus which only excite in me fresh wonder. Indeed, he speaks upon these ecclesiastical subjects generally in a style in which priests and parsons are accused by their enemies of speaking concerning geology. For instance, the Syllabus, as we have seen, is a list or index; but he calls it "extraordinary declarations," p. 21. How can a List of Errors be a series of Pontifical "Declarations?"

However, perhaps he would say that, in speaking of "Declarations," he was referring to the authoritative statements which I have accused him of neglecting. With all my heart; but then let us see how those statements fulfill the character he gives of them. He calls them "Extraordinary declarations on personal and private duty," p. 21, and "stringent condemnations," p. 19. Now, I certainly must grant that some are stringent, but only some. One of the most severe that I have found among them is that in the Apostolic Letter of June 10, 1851, against some heretic priest out at Lima, whose elaborate work in six volumes against the Curia Romana, is pronounced to be in its various statements scandalous, rash, false, schismatical, injurious to the Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils, impious and heretical." It well deserved to be called by these names, which are not terms of abuse, but each with its definite meaning; and, if Mr. Gladstone, in speaking of the condemnations, had confined his epithet "stringent" to it, no one would have complained of him. And another severe condemnation is that of the works of Professor Nuytz. But let us turn to some other of the so-called

condemnations, in order to ascertain whether they answer to his general description of them.

1. For instance, take his own 16th (the 77th of the "erroneous Propositions") that, "It is no longer expedient that the Catholic Religion should be established to the exclusion of all others." When we turn to the Allocution, which is the ground of its being put into the Syllabus, what do we find there? First, that the Pope was speaking, not of States universally, but of one particular State, Spain, definitely Spain; secondly, he was not speaking of the proposition in question directly, or dogmatically, or separately, but was protesting against the breach in many ways of the Concordat on the part of the Spanish government; further, that he was not referring to any theological work containing it, nor contemplating any proposition; nor, on the other hand, using any word of condemnation at all, nor using any harsher terms of the Government in question than those of "his wonder and bitterness." And again, taking the Pope's remonstrance as it stands, is it any great cause of complaint to Englishmen, who so lately were severe in their legislation upon Unitarians, Catholics, unbelievers, and others, that the Pope does merely *not* think it expedient for *every* state *from this time forth* to tolerate *every* sort of religion on its territory, and to disestablish the Church at once? for this is all that he denies. As in the instance in the foregoing section, he does but deny a universal, which the "erroneous proposition" asserts without any explanation.

2. Another of Mr. Gladstone's "stringent Condemnations" (his 18th) is that of the Pope's denial of the proposition that "the Roman Pontiff can and ought to come to terms with Progress, Liberalism, and the new Civilization." I turn to the Allocution of March 18, 1861, and find there no formal condemnation of this Proposition at all. The Allocution is a long *argument* to the effect that the moving parties in that Progress, Liberalism, and new Civilization, make use of it so seriously to the injury of the Faith and the Church, that it is both out of the power, and contrary to the duty, of the Pope to come to terms with them. Nor would those prime movers themselves differ from him here; certainly in this country it is the common cry that Liberalism is and will be the Pope's destruction, and they wish and mean it so to be. This Allocution on the subject is at once beautiful, dignified, and touching: and I can not conceive how Mr. Gladstone should make stringency his one characteristic of these condemnations, especially when after all there is here no condemnation at all.

3. Take, again, Mr. Gladstone's 15th—"That the abolition of Temporal Power of the Popedom would be highly advantageous to the Church." Neither can I find in the Pope's Allocution any formal condemnation whatever of this proposition, much less a "stringent" one. Even the Syllabus does no more in the case of any one of the eighty, than to call it an "error;" and what the Pope himself says of this particular error is only this:—"We can not but in particular *warn* and *reprove* (monere et redarguere) those who applaud the decree by which the Roman Pontiff has been despoiled of all the honor and dignity of his civil rule, and assert

that the said decree, more than any thing else, conduces to the liberty and prosperity of the Church itself."—*Alloc.*, April 20, 1849.

4. Take another of his instances, the 17th, the "error" that "in countries called Catholic the public exercise of other religions may laudably be allowed." I have had occasion to mention already his mode of handling the Latin text of this proposition—viz., that, whereas the men who were forbidden the public exercise of their religion were foreigners, who had no right to be in a country not their own at all, and might fairly have conditions imposed upon them during their stay there; nevertheless Mr. Gladstone (apparently through haste) has left out the words "hominibus illuc immigrantibus," on which so much turns. Next, as I have observed above, it was only the sufferance of their public worship, and again of all worships whatsoever, however many and various, which the Pope blamed; further, the Pope's words did not apply to all States, but specially, and, as far as the Allocution goes, definitely, to New Granada.

However, the point I wish to insist upon here is, that there was in this case no condemned proposition at all, but it was merely, as in the case of Spain, an act of the Government which the Pope protested against. The Pope merely told that government that that act, and other acts which they had committed, gave him very great pain; that he had expected better things of them; that the way they went on was all of a piece; and they had his best prayers. Somehow, it seems to me strange for any one to call an expostulation like this one, a set of "extraordinary declarations" "stringent condemnations."

I am convinced that the more the propositions and the references contained in the Syllabus are examined, the more signally will the charge break down, brought against the Pope on occasion of it: as to those Propositions which Mr. Gladstone specially selects, some of them I have already taken in hand, and but few of them present any difficulty.

5. As to those on Marriage, I can not follow Mr. Gladstone's meaning here, which seems to me very confused, and it would be going out of the line of remark which I have traced out for myself, (and which already is more extended than I could wish), were I to treat of them.

6. His fourth Error, (taken from the Encyclical) that "Papal judgments and decrees may, without sin, be disobeyed or differed from," is a denial of the principle of Hooker's celebrated work on Ecclesiastical Polity, and would be condemned by him as well as by the Pope. And it is plain to common sense that no society can stand if its rules are disobeyed. What club or union would not expel members who refused so to be bound?

7. And the 5th,* 8th, and 9th propositions are necessarily

* Father Coleridge, in his sermon on "The Abomination of Desolation," observes that, whereas Proposition 5th speaks of "jura," Mr. Gladstone translates "*civil* jura." Vid. that Sermon, and the "Month" for December, for remarks on various of these Propositions; but above all Mgr. Dupanloupe's works on the subject, Messrs. Burns and Oates, 1865.

errors, if the Sketch of Church Polity drawn out in former sections is true, and are necessarily considered as such by those, as the Pope, who maintain that Polity.

8. The 10th Error, as others which I have noticed above, is a *universal* (that "in the conflict of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, the civil law should prevail"), and the Pope does but deny a universal.

9. Mr. Gladstone's 11th, which I do not quite understand in his wording of it, runs thus:—"Catholics can approve of that system of education for youth which is separated from the Catholic faith and the Church's power, and which regards the science only of physical things, and the outlines (fines) of earthly social life alone or at least primarily." How is this not an "Error?" Surely there are Englishmen enough who protest against the elimination of religion from our schools; is such a protest so dire an offense to Mr. Gladstone?

10. And the 12th Error is this:—That "the science of philosophy and of morals, also the laws of the State, can and should keep clear of divine and ecclesiastical authority." This too will not be any thing short of an error in the judgment of great numbers of our own people. Is Benthamism so absolutely the Truth, that the Pope is to be denounced because he has not yet become a convert to it?

11. There are only two of the condemnations which really require a word of explanation; I have already referred to them. One is that of Mr. Gladstone's sixth Proposition, "Roman Pontiff's and Ecumenical Councils, have departed from the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of Princes, and even in defining matters of faith and morals have erred." These words are taken from the Lima Priest's book. We have to see, then, what *he* means by "the Rights of Princes," for the proposition is condemned in *his* sense of the word. It is a rule of the Church in the condemnation of a book to state the proposition condemned in the words of the book itself, without the Church being answerable for the words employed.* I have already referred to this rule in my 5th section. Now this Priest included among the rights of Catholic princes that of deposing Bishops from their sacred Ministry, of determining the impediments to marriage, of forming Episcopal sees, and of being free from Episcopal authority in spiritual matters. When, then, the Proposition is condemned "that Popes had usurped the rights of Princes;" what is meant is, "the so-called rights of Princes," which were really

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* Propositiones, de quibus Ecclesia judicium suum pronunciat, duobus præsertim modis spectari possunt, vel absolute ac in se ipsis, vel relativè ad sensum libri et auctoris. In censurâ propositionis alicujus auctoris vel libri, Ecclesia attendit ad sensum ab eo intentum, qui quidem ex verbis, ex totâ doctrinæ ipsius serie, libri textura et confirmatione, consilio, institutoque elicitur. Propositio libri vel auctoris *æquivoca* esse potest, duplicemque habere sensum, rectum unum et alterum malum. *Ubi contingit Ecclesiam propositiones hujusmodi æquivocas absque prævia distinctione sensuum configere, censura unice cadit in sensum perversum librivel auctoris.*—Tournely, t. 2, p. 170, ed. 1752.

the rights of the Church, in assuming which there was no usurpation at all.

12. The other proposition, Mr. Gladstone's seventh, the condemnation of which requires a remark, is this: "The Church has not the power to employ force (vis inferendæ) nor any temporal power direct or indirect." This is one of a series of Propositions found in the work of Professor Nuytz, entitled "Juris Ecclesiastici Institutiones," all of which are condemned in the Pope's Apostolic Letter of August 22, 1851. Now here "employing force" is not the Pope's phrase but Professor Nuytz's, and the condemnation is meant to run thus, "It is an error to say, with Professor Nuytz, that what *he* calls 'employing force' is not allowable to the Church." That this is the right interpretation of the "error" depends of course on a knowledge of the Professor's work, which I have never had an opportunity of seeing; but here I will set down what the received doctrine of the Church is on ecclesiastical punishments, as stated in a work of the highest authority, since it comes to us with letters of approval from Gregory XVI. and Pius IX.

"The opinion," says Cardinal Soglia, "that the coercive power divinely bestowed upon the Church consists in the infliction of spiritual punishments alone, and not in corporal or temporal, seems more in harmony with the gentleness of the Church. Accordingly I follow their judgment, who withdraw from the Church the corporal sword, by which the body is destroyed or blood is shed. Pope Nicholas thus writes: 'The Church has no sword but the spiritual. She does not kill, but gives life, hence that well-known saying, "Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine." But the lighter punishments, though temporal and corporal, such as shutting up in a monastery, prison, flogging, and others of the same kind, short of effusion of blood, the Church *jure suo* can inflict.'"—(Institut. Jur., pp. 161, 9, Paris.)

And the Cardinal quotes the words of Fleury, "The Church has enjoined on penitent sinners almsgivings, fastings, and other corporal inflictions. . . Augustine speaks of beating with sticks, as sanctioned by the Bishops, after the manner of masters in the case of servants, parents in the case of children, and schoolmasters of scholars. Abbots flogged monks in the way of paternal and domestic chastisement. . . Imprisonment for a set time or for life is mentioned among canonical penances; priests and other clerics, who had been deposed for their crimes, being committed to prison in order that they might pass the time to come in penance for their crime, which thereby was withdrawn from the memory of the public."

But now I have to answer one question. If what I have said is substantially the right explanation to give to the drift and contents of the Syllabus, have not I to account for its making so much noise, and giving such deep and wide offense on its appearance? It has already been reprobated by the voice of the world. Is there not, then, some reason at the bottom of the aversion felt by educated Europe towards it, which I have not mentioned?

This is a very large question to entertain, too large for this place; but I will say one word upon it.

Doubtless one of the reasons of the excitement and displeasure which the Syllabus caused and causes so widely, is the number and variety of the propositions marked as errors, and the systematic arrangement to which they were subjected. So large and elaborate a work struck the public mind as a new law, moral, social, and ecclesiastical, which was to be the foundation of a European code, and the beginning of a new world, in opposition to the social principles of the 19th century; and there certainly were persons in high stations who encouraged this idea. When this belief was once received, it became the interpretation of the whole Syllabus through the eighty Propositions, of which it recorded the erroneousness; as if they were all portions of one great scheme of aggression. Then, when the public was definitely directed to the examination of these *Theses damnatæ*, their drift and the meaning of their condemnation was sure to be misunderstood, from the ignorance, in the case of all but ecclesiastics, of the nature and force of ecclesiastical language. The condemnations had been published in the Pope's Encyclicals and Allocutions in the course of the preceding eighteen years, and no one had taken any notice of them; now, when they were brought all together, they on that very account made a great sensation. Next, that same fact seemed in itself a justification, with minds already prejudiced, for expecting in each of them something extraordinary, and even hostile, to society; and then, again, when they were examined one by one, certainly their real sense was often not obvious, and could not be, to the intelligence of laymen, high and low, educated and simple.

Another circumstance, which I am not theologian enough to account for, is this—that the wording of many of the erroneous propositions, as they are drawn up in the Syllabus, gives an apparent breadth to the matter condemned which is not found in the Pope's own words in his Allocutions and Encyclicals. Not that really there is any difference between the Pope's words and Cardinal Antonelli's, for (as I have shown in various instances) what the former says in the concrete, the latter does but repeat in the abstract; or, to speak logically, when the Pope enunciates as true the particular affirmative, "New Granada ought to keep up the establishment of the Catholic Religion," then (since its contradictory is necessarily false) the Cardinal declares, "To say that no State should keep up the establishment of the Catholic Religion is an error." But there is a dignity and beauty in the Pope's own language which the Cardinal's abstract Syllabus can not have, and this gave to opponents an opportunity to declaim against the Pope, which opportunity was in no sense afforded by what he said himself.

Then, again, it must be recollected, in connection with what I have said, that theology is a science, and a science of a special kind; its reasoning, its method, its modes of expression, and its language are all its own. Every science must be in the hands of a comparatively few persons—that is, of those who have made it

a study. The courts of law have a great number of rules in good measure traditional; so has the House of Commons, and, judging by what one reads in the public prints, men must have a noviceship there before they can be at perfect ease in their position. In like manner young theologians, and still more those who are none, are sure to mistake in matters of detail; indeed a really first-rate theologian is rarely to be found. At Rome the rules of interpreting authoritative documents are known with a perfection which at this time is scarcely to be found elsewhere. Some of those rules, indeed, are known to all priests; but even this general knowledge is not possessed by laymen, much less by Protestants, however able and experienced in their own several lines of study or profession. One of those rules I have had several times occasion to mention. In the censure of books, which offend against doctrine or discipline, it is a common rule to take sentences out of them in the author's own words, whether those words are in themselves good or bad, and to affix some note of condemnation to them in the sense in which they occur in the book in question. Thus it may happen that even what seems at first sight a true statement, is condemned for being made the shelter of an error; for instance: "Faith justifies when it works," or "There is no religion where there is no charity," may be taken in a good sense; but each proposition is condemned in Quesnell, because it is false as he uses it.

A further illustration of the necessity of a scientific education in order to understand the value of Propositions, is afforded by a controversy which has lately gone on among us as to the validity of Abyssinian Orders. In reply to a document urged on one side of the question, it was allowed on the other, that, "if that document was to be read in the same way as we should read any ordinary judgment, the interpretation which had been given to it was the most obvious and natural." "But it was well known," it was said, "to those who are familiar with the practical working of such decisions, that they are only interpreted with safety in the light of certain rules, which arise out of what is called the *stylus curiæ*." And then some of these rules were given; first, "that to understand the real meaning of a decision, no matter how clearly set forth, we should know the nature of the difficulty or *dubium*, as it was understood by the tribunal that had to decide upon it. Next, nothing but the direct proposition, in its nudest and severest sense, as distinguished from indirect propositions, the grounds of the decision, or implied statements, is ruled by the judgment. Also, if there is any thing in the wording of a decision which appears inconsistent with the teaching of an improved body of theologians, etc., the decision is to be interpreted so as to leave such teaching intact;" and so on.* It is plain that the view thus opened upon us has further bearings than that for which I make use of it here.

These remarks on scientific theology apply also of course to its language. I have employed myself in illustration in framing a

* Month, Nov. and Dec., 1873.

sentence, which would be plain enough to any priest, but I think would perplex any Protestant. I hope it is not of too light a character to introduce here. We will suppose, then, a theologian to write as follows: "Holding, as we do, that there is only *material* sin in those who, being *invincibly* ignorant, reject the truth, therefore in charity we hope that they have the future portion of *formal* believers, as considering that by *virtue* of their good faith, though not of the *body* of the faithful, they *implicitly* and *interpretatively* believe what they seem to deny."

What sense would this statement convey to the mind of a member of some Reformation Society or Protestant League? He would read it as follows, and consider it all the more insidious and dangerous for its being so very unintelligible: "Holding, as we do, that there is only a very considerable sin in those who reject the truth out of contumacious ignorance, therefore in charity we hope that they have the future portion of nominal Christians, as considering, that by the excellence of their living faith, though not in the number of believers, they believe without any hesitation, as interpreters [of Scripture?] what they seem to deny."

Now, considering that the Syllabus was intended for the Bishops, who would be the interpreters of it, as the need arose, to their people, and it got bodily into English newspapers even before it was received at many an episcopal residence, we shall not be surprised at the commotion which accompanied its publication.

I have spoken of the causes intrinsic to the Syllabus, which have led to misunderstandings about it. As to external, I can be no judge myself as to what Catholics who have means of knowing are very decided in declaring, the tremendous power of the Secret Societies. It is enough to have suggested here, how a wide-spread organization like theirs might malign and frustrate the most beneficial acts of the Pope. One matter I had information of myself from Rome at the time when the Syllabus had just been published, before there was yet time to ascertain how it would be taken by the world at large. Now, the Rock of St. Peter on its summit enjoys a pure and serene atmosphere, but there is a great deal of Roman *malaria* at the foot of it. While the Holy Father was in great earnestness and charity addressing the Catholic world by his Cardinal Minister, there were circles of light-minded men in his city who were laying bets with each other whether the Syllabus would "make a row in Europe" or not. Of course it was the interest of those who betted on the affirmative side to represent the Pope's act to the greatest disadvantage; and it was very easy to kindle a flame in the mass of English and other visitors at Rome which, with a very little nursing, was soon strong enough to take care of itself.

§ 8. The Vatican Council.

In beginning to speak of the Vatican Council, I am obliged from circumstances to begin by speaking of myself. The most unfounded and erroneous assertions have publicly been made

about my sentiments towards it, and as confidently as they are unfounded. Only a few weeks ago it was stated categorically by some anonymous correspondent of a Liverpool paper, with reference to the prospect of my undertaking the task on which I am now employed, that it was, "in fact, understood that at one time Dr. Newman was on the point of uniting with Dr. Döllinger and his party, and that it required the earnest persuasion of several members of the Roman Catholic Episcopate to prevent him from taking that step,"—an unmitigated and most ridiculous untruth in every word of it, nor would it be worth while to notice it here, except for its connection with the subject on which I am entering.

But the explanation of such reports about me is easy. They arise from forgetfulness on the part of those who spread them, that there are two sides of ecclesiastical acts, that right ends are often prosecuted by very unworthy means, and that in consequence those who, like myself, oppose a mode of action, are not necessarily opposed to the issue for which it has been adopted. Jacob gained by wrong means his destined blessing. "All are not Israelites who are of Israel," and there are partisans of Rome who have not the sancity and wisdom of Rome herself.

I am not referring to any thing which took place within the walls of the Council chambers; of that of course we know nothing; but even though things occurred there which it is not pleasant to dwell upon, that would not at all affect, not by an hair's breadth, the validity of the resulting definition, as I shall presently show. What I felt deeply, and ever shall feel, while life lasts, is the violence and cruelty of journals and other publications, which, taking as they professed to do the Catholic side, employed themselves by their rash language (though of course, they did not mean it so), in unsettling the weak in faith, throwing back inquirers, and shocking the Protestant mind. Nor do I speak of publications only; a feeling was too prevalent in many places that no one could be true to God and His Church, who had any pity on troubled souls, or any scruple of "scandalizing those little ones who believe in" Christ, and of "despising and destroying him for whom He died."

It was this most keen feeling which made me say, as I did continually, "I will not believe that the Pope's Infallibility will be defined, till defined it is."

Moreover, a private letter of mine became public property. That letter, to which Mr. Gladstone has referred with a compliment to me which I have not merited, was one of the most confidential I ever wrote in my life. I wrote it to my own Bishop, under a deep sense of the responsibility I should incur, were I not to speak out to him my whole mind. I put the matter from me when I had said my say, and kept no proper copy of the letter. To my dismay I saw it in the public prints: to this day I do not know, nor suspect, how it got there. I can not withdraw it, for I never put it forward, so it will remain on the columns of newspapers whether I will or not; but I withdraw it as far as I can, by declaring that it was never meant for the public eye.

1. So much as to my posture of mind before the Definition:

now I will set down how I felt after it. On July 24, 1870, I wrote as follows:

"I saw the new definition yesterday, and am pleased at its moderation—that is, if the doctrine in question is to be defined at all. The terms are vague and comprehensive; and, personally, I have no difficulty in admitting it. The question is, Does it come to me with the authority of an Ecumenical Council?

"Now the *primâ facie* argument is in favor of its having that authority. The Council was legitimately called; it was more largely attended than any Council before it; and innumerable prayers from the whole of Christendom, have preceded and attended it, and merited a happy issue of its proceedings.

"Were it not, then, for certain circumstances, under which the Council made the definition, I should receive that definition at once. Even as it is, if I were called upon to profess it, I should be unable, considering it came from the Holy Father and the competent local authorities, at once to refuse to do so. On the other hand, it can not be denied that there are reasons for a Catholic, till better informed, to suspend his judgment on its validity.

"We all know that ever since the opening of the Council, there has been a strenuous opposition to the definition of the doctrine; and that, at the time when it was actually passed, more than eighty Fathers absented themselves from the Council, and would have nothing to do with its act. But, if the fact be so, that the Fathers were not unanimous, is the definition valid? This depends on the question whether unanimity, at least moral, is or is not necessary for its validity? As at present advised I think it is; certainly Pius IV. lays great stress on the unanimity of the Fathers in the Council of Trent: 'Quibus rebus perfectis,' he says in his Bull of Promulgation, 'concilium tantâ *omnium qui illi interfuerunt* concordiâ peractum fuit, ut consensum plane *a Domino* effectum esse constiterit; idque in nostris atque omnium oculis valdè mirabile fuerit.'

"Far different has been the case now,—though the Council is not yet finished. But, if I must now at once decide what to think of it, I should consider that all turned on what the dissentient Bishops now do.

"If they separate and go home without acting as a body, if they act only individually, or as individuals, and each in his own way, then I should not recognize in their opposition to the majority that force, firmness, and unity of view, which creates a real case of want of moral unanimity in the Council.

"Again, if the Council continues to sit, if the dissentient Bishops more or less take part in it, and concur in its acts; if there is a new Pope, and he continues the policy of the present; and if the Council terminates without any reversal or modification of the definition, or any effective movement against it on the part of the dissentients, then again there will be good reason for saying that the want of a moral unanimity has not been made out.

"And further, if the definition is consistently received by the whole body of the faithful, as valid, or as the expression of a

truth, then too it will claim our assent by the force of the great dictum: 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum.'

"This indeed is a broad principle by which all acts of the rulers of the Church are ratified. But for it we might reasonably question some of the past Councils or their acts."

Also I wrote as follows to a friend, who was troubled at the way in which the dogma was passed, in order to place before him in various points of view the duty of receiving it:—

"July 27, 1870.

"I have been thinking over the subject which just now gives you and me with thousands of others, who care for religion, so much concern.

"First, till better advised, nothing shall make me say that a mere majority in a Council, as opposed to a moral unanimity, in itself creates an obligation to receive its dogmatic decrees. This is a point of history and precedent; and of course on further examination I may find myself wrong in the view which I take of history and precedent; but I do not, can not see, that a majority in the present Council can of itself *rule* its own sufficiency, without such external testimony.

"But there are other means by which I can be brought under the obligation of receiving a doctrine as a dogma. If I am clear that there is a primitive and uninterrupted tradition, as of the divinity of our Lord: or where a high probability drawn from Scripture or Tradition is partially or probably confirmed by the Church. Thus a particular Catholic might be so nearly sure that the promise to Peter in Scripture proves that the infallibility of Peter is a necessary dogma, as only to be kept from holding it as such by the absence of any judgment on the part of the Church, so that the present unanimity of the Pope and 500 Bishops, even though not sufficient to constitute a formal Synodal act, would at once put him in the position, and lay him under the obligation, of receiving the doctrine as a dogma, that is, to receive it with its anathema.

"Or again, if nothing definitely sufficient from Scripture or Tradition can be brought to contradict a definition, the fact of a legitimate Superior having defined it, may be an obligation in conscience to receive it with an internal assent. For myself, ever since I was a Catholic, I have held the Pope's infallibility as a matter of theological opinion; at least, I see nothing in the Definition which necessarily contradicts Scripture, Tradition, or History; and the 'Doctor Ecclesiæ,' (as the Pope is styled by the Council of Florence) bids me accept it. In this case, I do not receive it on the word of the Council, but on the Pope's self-assertion.

"And I confess, the fact that all along for so many centuries the Head of the Church and Teacher of the faithful and Vicar of Christ has been allowed by God to assert virtually his infallibility, is a great argument in favor of the validity of his claim.

"Another ground for receiving the dogma, still not upon the direct authority of the Council, or with acceptance of the validity of its act *per se*, is the consideration that our Merciful Lord

would not care so little for His elect people, the multitude of the faithful, as to allow their visible Head, and such a large number of Bishops to lead them into error, and an error so serious, if an error. This consideration leads me to accept the doctrine as a dogma, indirectly indeed from the Council, but not so much from a Council, as from the Pope and a very large number of Bishops. The question is not whether they had a right to impose, or even were right in imposing the dogma on the faithful; but whether, having done so, I have not an obligation to accept it, according to the maxim, 'Fieri non debuit, factum valet.'"

This letter, written before the minority had melted away, insists on this principle, that a Council's definition would have a virtual claim on our reception, even though it were not passed *conciliariter*, but in some indirect way; as, for instance, to use a Parliamentary expression, in general committee, the great object of a Council being in some way or other to declare the judgment of the Church. I think the third Ecumenical will furnish an instance of what I mean. There the question in dispute was settled and defined, even before certain constituent portions of the Episcopal body had made their appearance; and this, with a protest of 68 of the Bishops then present against 82. When the remaining 43 arrived, these did more than protest against the definition which had been carried; they actually anathematized the Fathers who carried it, whose number seems to have stood altogether at 124 against 111; and in this state of disunion the Council ended. How, then, was its definition valid? By after events, which I suppose must be considered complements, and integral portions of the Council. The heads of the various parties entered into correspondence with each other, and at the end of two years their differences with each other were arranged. There are those who have no belief in the authority of Councils at all, and feel no call upon them to discriminate between one Council and another; but Anglicans, who are so fierce against the Vatican, and so respectful towards the Ephesine, should consider what good reason they have for swallowing the third Council, while they strain out the nineteenth.

The Council of Ephesus furnishes us with another remark, bearing upon the Vatican. It was natural for men who were in the minority at Ephesus to think that the faith of the Church had been brought into the utmost peril by the Definition of the Council which they had unsuccessfully opposed. They had done so from their conviction that that definition gave great encouragement to religious errors in the opposite extreme to those which it condemned; and in fact, I think that, humanly speaking, the peril was extreme. The event proved it to be so, when twenty years afterwards another Council was held under the successors of the majority at Ephesus and carried triumphantly those very errors whose eventual success had been predicted by the minority. But Providence is never wanting to His Church. St. Leo, the Pope of the day, interfered with this heretical Council, and the innovating party was stopped in its career. Its acts were cancelled at the great Council of Chalcedon, the Fourth

Ecumenical, which was held under the Pope's guidance, and, without of course touching the definition of the Third, which had been settled once for all, trimmed the balance of doctrine by completing it, and excluded forever from the Church those errors which seemed to have received some sanction at Ephesus. There is nothing of course that can be reversed in the Vatican definitions; but, should the need arise (which is not likely), to set right a false interpretation, another Leo will be given us for the occasion; "in monte Dominus videbit."

In this remark, made for the benefit of those who need it, as I do not myself, I shelter myself under the following passage of Molina, which a friend has pointed out to me:—"Though the Holy Ghost has always been present to the Church, to hinder error in her definitions, and in consequence they are all most true and consistent, yet it is not therefore to be denied, that God, when any matters have to be defined, requires of the Church a co-operation and investigation of those matters, and that, in proportion to the quality of the men who meet together in Councils, to the investigation and diligence which is applied, and the greater or less experience and knowledge which is possessed more at one time than at other times, definitions more or less perspicuous are drawn up and matters are defined more exactly and completely at one time than at other times. . . . And, whereas by disputations, persevering reading, meditation, and investigation of matters, there is wont to be increased in course of time the knowledge and understanding of the same, and the Fathers of the later Councils are assisted by the investigation and definitions of the former, hence it arises that the definitions of later Councils are wont to be more luminous, fuller, more accurate and exact than those of the earlier. Moreover, it belongs to the later Councils to interpret and to define more exactly and fully what in earlier Councils have been defined less clearly, fully, and exactly." (*De Concord. Lib. Arbit.*, etc., xiii. 15, p. 59.)

2. The other main objection to the Vatican Council is founded upon its supposed neglect of history in the decision which its Definition embodies. This objection is touched upon by Mr. Gladstone in the beginning of his Pamphlet, where he speaks of its "repudiation of ancient history," and I have an opportunity given me of noticing it here.

He asserts that, during the last forty years, "more and more have the assertions of continuous uniformity of doctrine" in the Catholic Church "receded into scarcely penetrable shadow. More and more have another series of assertions, of a living authority, ever ready to open, adopt, and shape Christian doctrine according to the times, taken their place." Accordingly, he considers that a dangerous opening has been made in the authoritative teaching of the Church for the repudiation of ancient truth and the rejection of new. However, as I understand him, he withdraws this charge from the controversy he has initiated (though not from his Pamphlet) as far as it is aimed at the pure theology of the Church. It "belongs," he says, "to the theological domain," and "is a matter unfit for him to discuss, as it is a

question of divinity." It has been, then, no duty of mine to consider it, except as it relates to matters ecclesiastical; but I am unwilling, when a charge has been made against our theology, though unsupported, yet unretracted, to leave it altogether without reply; and that the more, because, after renouncing "questions of divinity" at p. 14, nevertheless Mr. Gladstone brings them forward again at p. 15, speaking, as he does, of the "deadly blows of 1854 and 1870 at the old, historic, scientific, and moderate school" by the definitions of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility.

Mr. Gladstone then insists on the duty of "maintaining the truth and authority of history, and the inestimable value of the historic spirit;" and so far of course I have the pleasure of heartily agreeing with him. As the Church is a sacred and divine creation, so in like manner her history, with its wonderful evolution of events, the throng of great actors who have a part in it, and its multiform literature, stained though its annals are with human sin and error, and recorded on no system, and by uninspired authors, still is a sacred work also; and those who make light of it, or distrust its lessons, incur a grave responsibility. But it is not every one who can read its pages rightly; and certainly I can not follow Mr. Gladstone's reading of it. He is too well informed indeed, too large in his knowledge, too acute and comprehensive in his views, not to have an acquaintance with history far beyond the run of even highly educated men; still, when he accuses us of deficient attention to history, one can not help asking, whether he does not, as a matter of course, take for granted as true the principles for using it familiar with Protestant divines, and denied by our own, and in consequence whether his impeachment of us does not resolve itself into the fact that he is Protestant and we are Catholics. Nay, has it occurred to him that perhaps it is the fact, that we have views on the relation of History to Dogma different from those which Protestants maintain? And is he so certain of the facts of History in detail, of their relevancy, and of their drift, as to have a right, I do not say to have an opinion of his own, but to publish to the world, on his own warrant, that we have "repudiated ancient history?" He publicly charges us, not merely with having "neglected" it, or "garbled" its evidence, or with having contradicted certain ancient usages or doctrines to which it bears witness, but he says "repudiated." He could not have used a stronger term, supposing the Vatican Council had, by a formal act, cut itself off from early times, instead of professing, as it does (hypocritically, if you will, but still professing) to speak "supported by Holy Scripture and the decrees both of preceding Popes and General Councils," and "faithfully adhering to the aboriginal tradition of the Church." Ought any one but an *oculatus testis*, a man whose profession was to aquaint himself with the details of history, to claim to himself the right of bringing, on his own authority, so extreme a charge against so august a power, so inflexible and rooted in its traditions through the long past, as Mr. Gladstone would admit the Roman Church to be?

Of course I shall be reminded that, though Mr. Gladstone can not be expected to speak on so large a department of knowledge with the confidence decorous in one who has made a personal study of it, there are others who have a right to do so; and that by those others he is corroborated and sanctioned. There are authors, it may be said, of so commanding an authority for their learning and their honesty, that, for the purpose of discussion or of controversy, what they say may be said by any one else without presumption or risk of confutation. I will never say a word of my own against those learned and distinguished men to whom I refer. No: their present whereabout, wherever it is, is to me a thought full of melancholy. It is a tragical event, both for them and for us, that they have left us. It robs us of a great *prestige:* they have left none to take their place. I think them utterly wrong in what they have done and are doing; and, moreover, I agree as little in their view of history as in their acts. Extensive as may be their historical knowledge, I have no reason to think that they, more than Mr. Gladstone, would accept the position which History holds among the *Loci Theologici*, as Catholic theologians determine it; and I am denying not their report of facts, but their use of the facts they report, and that, because of that special stand-point from which they view the relations existing between the records of History and the enunciations of Popes and Councils. They seem to me to expect from History more than History can furnish, and to have too little confidence in the Divine Promise and Providence as guiding and determining those enunciations.

Why should Ecclesiastical History, any more than the text of Scripture, contain in it "the whole counsel of God?" Why should private judgment be unlawful in interpreting Scripture against the voice of authority, and yet be lawful in the interpretation of History? There are those who make short work of questions such as these by denying authoritative interpretation altogether; that is their private concern, and no one has a right to inquire into their reason for so doing; but the case would be different were such a man to come forward publicly, and to arraign others, without first confuting their theological *præambula*, for repudiating history, or for repudiating the Bible.

For myself, I would simply confess that no doctrine of the Church can be rigorously proved by historical evidence; but at the same time that no doctrine can be simply disproved by it. Historical evidence reaches a certain way, more or less, toward a proof of the Catholic doctrines; often nearly the whole way; sometimes it goes only so far as to point in their direction; sometimes there is only an absence of evidence for a conclusion contrary to them; nay, sometimes there is an apparent leaning of the evidence to a contrary conclusion, which has to be explained;—in all cases there is a margin left for the exercise of faith in the word of the Church. He who belives the dogmas of the Church only because he has reasoned them out of History, is scarcely a Catholic. It is the Church's use of History in which the Catholic believes; and she uses other informants also, Scripture, Tradition,

the ecclesiastical sense, or φρόνημα, and a subtle ratiocinative power, which in its origin is a divine gift. There is nothing of bondage or "renunciation of mental freedom" in this view, any more than in the converts of the Apostles believing what the Apostles might preach to them or teach them out of Scripture.

What has been said of History in relation to the formal Definitions of the Church, applies also to the exercises of Ratiocination. Our logical powers, too, being a gift from God, may claim to have their informations respected; and Protestants sometimes accuse our theologians, for instance, the medieval schoolmen, of having used them in divine matters a little too freely. But it has ever been our teaching and our protest that, as there are doctrines which lie beyond the direct evidence of history, so there are doctrines which transcend the discoveries of reason: and, after all, whether they are more or less recommended to us by the one informant or the other, in all cases the immediate motive in the mind of a Catholic for his reception of them is, not that they are proved to him by Reason or by History, but because Revelation has declared them by means of that high ecclesiastical *Magisterium*, which is their legitimate exponent.

What has been said also applies to those other truths, with which Ratiocination has more to do than History, which are sometimes called developments of Christian doctrine, truths which are not upon the surface of the Apostolic *depositum*—that is, the legacy of Revelation,—but which from time to time are brought into form by Theologians, and sometimes have been proposed to the faithful by the Church, as direct objects of faith. No Catholic would hold that they ought to be logically deduced in their fullness and exactness from the belief of the first centuries, but only this,—that, on the assumption of the Infallibility of the Church (which will overcome every objection except a contradiction in thought), there is nothing greatly to try the reason in such difficulties as occur in reconciling those evolved doctrines with the teaching of the ancient Fathers; such development being evidently the new form, explanation, transformation, or carrying out of what in substance was held from the first, what the Apostles said, but have not recorded in writing, or would necessarily have said under our circumstances, or if they had been asked, or in view of certain uprisings of error, and in that sense really portions of the legacy of truth, of which the Church, in all her members, but especially in her hierarchy, is the divinely appointed trustee.

Such an evolution of doctrine has been, as I would maintain, a law of the Church's teaching from the earliest times, and in nothing is her title of "semper eadem" more remarkably illustrated than in the correspondence of her ancient and modern exhibition of it. As to the ecclesiastical Acts of 1854 and 1870, I think with Mr. Gladstone that the principle of doctrinal development, and that of authority, have never in the proceedings of the Church been so freely and largely used as in the Definitions then promulgated to the faithful; but I deny that at either time the testimony of history was repudiated or perverted. The utmost that can be

* The Pope has no power to declare new truths, he can only declare what the Church has at all times and places held

fairly said by an opponent against the theological decisions of those years is, that antecedently to the event, it might appear that there were no sufficient historical grounds in behalf of either of them—I do not mean for a personal belief in either, but—for the purpose of converting a doctrine long existing in the Church into a dogma, and making it a portion of the Catholic Creed. This adverse anticipation was proved to be a mistake by the fact of the definition being made.

3. Here I will say just a few words on the case of Pope Honorius, whose condemnation by anathema in the 6th Ecumenical Council, is certainly a strong *primâ facie* argument against the Pope's doctrinal infallibility. His case is this:—Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, favored, or rather did not condemn, a doctrine concerning our Lord's Person which afterward the Sixth Council pronounced to be heresy. He consulted Pope Honorius upon the subject, who in two formal letters declared his entire concurrence with Sergius's opinion. Honorius died in peace, but, more than forty years after him, the 6th Ecumenical Council was held, which condemned him as a heretic on the score of those two letters. The simple question is, whether the heretical documents proceeded from him as an infallible authority or as a private Bishop.

Now I observe that whereas the Vatican Council has determined that the Pope is infallible only when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, and that, in order to speak *ex cathedrâ*, he must at least speak "as exercising the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, defining, by virtue of his Apostolical authority, a doctrine whether of faith or of morals for the acceptance of the universal Church" (though Mr. Gladstone strangely says, p. 34, "There is *no* established or accepted definition of the phrase *ex cathedrâ*"), from this Pontifical and dogmatic explanation of the phrase it follows, that, whatever Honorius said in answer to Sergius, and whatever he held, his words were not *ex cathedrâ*, and therefore did not proceed from his infallibility.

I say so first, because he could not fulfill the above conditions of an *ex cathedrâ* utterance, if he did not actually *mean* to fulfill them. The question is unlike the question about the Sacraments; external and positive acts, whether material actions or formal words, speak for themselves. Teaching, on the other hand, has no sacramental visible signs; it is mainly a question of intention. Who would say that the architriclinus at the wedding feast who said, "Thou hast kept the good wine until now," was teaching the Christian world, though the words have a great ethical and evangelical sense? What is the worth of a signature, if a man does not consider he is signing? The Pope can not address his people, East and West, North and South, without meaning it, as if his very voice, the sounds from his lips, could literally be heard from pole to pole; nor can he exert his "Apostolical authority" without knowing he is doing so; nor can he draw up a form of words and use care and make an effort in doing so accurately, without intention to do so; and, therefore, no words of Honorius proceeded from his prerogative of infallible

teaching, which were not accompanied with the intention of exercising that prerogative; and who will dream of saying, be he Anglican, Protestant, unbeliever, or on the other hand Catholic, that Honorius in the 7th century did actually intend to exert that infallible teaching voice which has been dogmatically recognized in the nineteenth?

What resemblance do these letters of his, written almost as private instructions, bear to the "Pius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Sacro approbante Concilio, ad *perpetuam rei memoriam*," with the "Si quis huic nostræ definitioni contradicere (quod Deus avertat), præsumpserit *anathema* sit" of the *Pastor Æternus?* What to the "Venerabilibus fratribus, Patriarchis, primatibus, Archiepiscopis, et Episcopis *universis*," etc., and with the date and signature, "Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Die 8 Dec. anno 1864, etc. Pius P. P. IX." of the *Quantâ curâ?*

Secondly, it is no part of our doctrine, as I shall say in my next section, that the discussions previous to a Council's definition, or to an *ex cathedrâ* utterance of a Pope, are infallible; and these letters of Honorius on their very face are nothing more than portions of a discussion with a view to some final decision.

For these two reasons the condemnation of Honorius by the Council in no sense compromises the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. At the utmost, it only decides that Honorius in his own person was a heretic, which is inconsistent with no Catholic doctrine; but we may rather hope and believe that the anathema fell, not upon him, but upon his letters in their objective sense, he not intending personally what his letters legitimately expressed.

4. I have one more remark to make upon the argumentative method by which the Vatican Council was carried on to its definition. The *Pastor Æternus* refers to various witnesses as contributing their evidence towards the determination of the contents of the *depositum*, such as Tradition, the Fathers and Councils, History, and especially Scripture. For instance, the Bull speaks of the Gospel ("juxta Evangelii testimonia," c. 1) and of Scripture ("manifesta S. S. Scripturarum doctrina," c. 1: "apertis S. S. Literarum testimoniis," c. 3. "S. S. Scripturis consentanea," c. 4). And it lays an especial stress on three passages of Scripture in particular—viz., "Thou art Peter," etc., Matthew xvi. 16–19: "I have prayed for thee," etc., Luke xxii. 32, and "Feed My sheep," etc., John xxi. 15–17. Now I wish all objectors to our method of reasoning from Scripture would view it in the light of the following passage in the great philosophical work of Butler, Bishop of Durham.

He writes as follows—"As it is owned the whole scheme of Scripture is not yet understood, so, if it ever comes to be understood, before the 'restitution of all things,' and without miraculous interpositions, it must be in the same way as natural knowledge is come at, by the continuance and progress of learning and of liberty, and by particular persons attending to, comparing, and pursuing intimations scattered up and down it, which are overlooked, and disregarded by the generality of the world.

For this is the way in which all improvements are made by thoughtful men tracing on obscure hints, as it were, dropped us by nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance. Nor is it at all incredible that a book, which has been so long in the possession of mankind, should contain many truths as yet undiscovered. For all the same phenomena, and the same faculties of investigation, from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made in the present and last age, were equally in the possession of mankind several thousand years before. And possibly it might be intended that events, as they come to pass, should open and ascertain the meaning of several parts of Scripture," ii. 3, *vide* also ii. 4, fin.

What has the long history of the contest for and against the Pope's infallibility been, but a growing insight through centuries into the meaning of those three texts, to which I just now referred, ending at length by the Church's definitive recognition of the doctrine thus gradually manifested to her?

§ 9. The Vatican Definition.

Now I am to speak of the Vatican definition, by which the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility has become *de fide*, that is, a truth necessary to be believed, as being included in the original divine revelation, for those terms, revelation, *depositum*, dogma, and *de fide*, are correlatives; and I begin with a remark which suggests the drift of all I have to say about it. It is this: that so difficult a virtue is faith, even with the special grace of God, in proportion as the reason is exercised, so difficult is it to assent inwardly to propositions, verified to us neither by reason nor experience, but depending for their reception on the word of the Church as God's oracle, that she has ever shown the utmost care to contract, as far as possible, the range of truths and the sense of propositions, of which she demands this absolute reception. "The Church," says Pallavicini, "as far as may be, has ever abstained from imposing upon the minds of men that commandment, the most arduous of the Christian Law—viz., to believe obscure matters without doubting."* To co-operate in this charitable duty has been one special work of her theologians, and rules are laid down by herself, by tradition, and by custom, to assist them in the task. She only speaks when it is necessary to speak; but hardly has she spoken out magisterially some great general principle, when she sets her theologians to work to explain her meaning in the concrete, by strict interpretation of its wording, by the illustration of its circumstances, and by the recognition of exceptions, in order to make it as tolerable as possible, and the least of a temptation, to self-willed, independent, or wrongly educated minds. A few years ago it was the fashion among us to call writers, who conformed to this rule of the

*Quoted by Father Ryder, (to whom I am indebted for other of my references,) in his "Idealism in Theology," p. 25.

Church, by the name of "Minimizers;" that day of tyrannous *ipsedixits*, I trust, is over: Bishop Fessler, a man of high authority, for he was Secretary General of the Vatican Council, and of higher authority still in his work, for it has the approbation of the Sovereign Pontiff, clearly proves to us that a moderation of doctrine, dictated by charity, is not inconsistent with soundness in the faith. Such a sanction, I suppose, will be considered sufficient for the character of the remarks which I am about to make upon definitions in general, and upon the Vatican in particular.

The Vatican definition, which comes to us in the shape of the Pope's Encyclical Bull called the *Pastor Æternus*, declares that "the Pope has that same infallibility which the Church has:"* to determine therefore what is meant by the infallibility of the Pope we must turn first to consider the infallibility of the Church. And again, to determine the character of the Church's infallibility, we must consider what is the characteristic of Christianity, considered as a revelation of God's will.

Our Divine Master might have communicated to us heavenly truths without telling us that they came from Him, as it is commonly thought He has done in the case of heathen nations; but He willed the Gospel to be a revelation acknowledged and authenticated, to be public, fixed, and permanent; and, accordingly, as Catholics hold, He framed a society of men to be its home, its instrument, and its guarantee. The rulers of that Association are the legal trustees, so to say, of the sacred truths which he spoke to the Apostles by word or mouth. As he was leaving them, He gave them their great commission, and bade them "teach" their converts all over the earth, "to observe all things whatever He had commanded them:" and then he added, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

Here, first, He told them to "teach" His revealed Truth; next, "to the consummation of all things:" thirdly, for their encouragement, He said that He would be with them "all days," all along on every emergency or occasion, until that consummation. They had a duty put upon them of teaching their Master's words, a duty which they could not fulfill in the perfection which fidelity required, without His help; therefore came His promise to be with them in their performance of it. Nor did that promise of supernatural help end with the Apostles personally, for He adds, "to the consummation of the world," implying that the Apostles would have successors, and engaging that He would be with those successors, as He had been with them.

The same safeguard of the Revelation—viz., an authoritative, permanent tradition of teaching is insisted on by an informant of equal authority with St. Matthew, but altogether independent of him, I mean St. Paul. He calls the Church "the pillar and ground of the Truth;" and he bids his convert Timothy, when

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* Romanum Pontificem eâ infallibilitate pollere, quâ divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam definiendâ doctrinâ de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit.

he had become a ruler in that Church, to "take heed unto his doctrine," to "keep the deposit" of the faith, and to "commit" the things which he had heard from himself "to faithful men who should be fit to teach others."

This is how Catholics understand the Scripture record, nor does it appear how it can otherwise be understood; but, when we have got as far as this, and look back, we find that we have by implication made profession of a further doctrine. For, if the Church, initiated by the Apostles and continued in their successors, has been set up for the direct object of protecting, preserving, and declaring the Revelation, and that by means of the Guardianship and Providence of its Divine Author, we are led on to perceive that, in asserting this, we are in other words asserting, that, so far as the revealed message is concerned, the Church is infallible; for what is meant by infallibility in teaching but that the teacher in his teaching is secured from error? and how can fallible man be thus secured except by a supernatural infallible guidance? And what can have been the object of the words, "I am with you all along to the end," but to give thereby an answer by anticipation to the spontaneous silent alarm of the feeble company of fishermen and laborers, to whom they were addressed, on their finding themselves laden with superhuman duties and responsibilities?

Such, then, being, in its simple outline, the infallibility of the Church, such too will be the Pope's infallibility, as the Vatican Fathers have defined it. And if we find that by means of this outline we are able to fill out in all important respects the idea of a Council's infallibility, we shall thereby be ascertaining in detail what has been defined in 1870 about the infallibility of the Pope. With an attempt to do this I shall conclude.

1. The Church has the office of teaching, and the matter of that teaching is the body of doctrine, which the Apostles left behind them as her perpetual possession. If a question arises as to what the Apostolic doctrine is on a particular point, she has infallibility promised to her to enable her to answer correctly. And, as by the teaching of the Church is understood, not the teaching of this or that Bishop, but their united voice, and a Council is the form the Church must take, in order that all men may recognize that in fact she is teaching on any point in dispute, so in like manner the Pope must come before us in some special form or posture, if he is to be understood to be exercising his teaching office, and that form is called *ex cathedrâ*. This term is most appropriate, as being on one occasion used by our Lord Himself. When the Jewish doctors taught, they placed themselves in Moses' seat, and spoke *ex cathedrâ;* and then, as He tells us, they were to be obeyed by their people, and that, whatever were their private lives or characters. "The Scribes and Pharisees," He says, "are seated on the chair of Moses: all things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do; but according to their works do you not, for they say and do not."

2. The forms by which a General Council is identified as representing the Church herself, are too clear to need drawing out;

but what is to be that moral *cathedra*, or teaching chair, in which the Pope sits, when he is to be recognized as in the exercise of his infallible teaching? The new definition answers this question. He speaks *ex cathedrâ*, or infallibly, when he speaks, first, as the Universal Teacher; secondly, in the name and with the authority of the Apostles; thirdly, on a point of faith and morals; fourthly, with the purpose of binding every member of the Church to accept and believe his decision.

3. These conditions of course contract the range of his infallibility most materially. Hence Billuart speaking of the Pope says, "Neither in conversation, nor in discussion, nor in interpreting Scripture or the Fathers, nor in consulting, nor in giving his reasons for the point which he has defined, nor in answering letters, nor in private deliberations, supposing he is setting forth his own opinion, is the Pope infallible," t. ii. p. 110.* And for this simple reason, because, on these various occasions of speaking his mind, he is not in the chair of the universal doctor.

4. Nor is this all: the greater part of Billuart's negatives refer to the Pope's utterances when he is out of the *Cathedra Petri*, but even, when he is in it, his words do not necessarily proceed from his infallibility. He has no wider prerogative than a Council, and of a Council Perrone says, "Councils are not infallible in the reasons by which they are led, or on which they rely, in making their definition, nor in matters which relate to persons, nor to physical matters which have no necessary connection with dogma."—*Præl. Theol.* t. ii. p. 492. Thus, if a Council has condemned a work of Origen or Theodoret, it did not in so condemning go beyond the work itself; it did not touch the persons of either. Since this holds of a Council, it also holds in the case of the Pope; therefore, supposing a Pope has quoted the so-called works of the Areopagite as if really genuine, there is no call on us to believe him; nor again, when he condemned Galileo's Copernicanism, unless the earth's immobility has a "necessary connection with some dogmatic truth," which the present bearing of the Holy See towards that philosophy virtually denies.

5. Nor is a Council infallible, even in the prefaces and introductions to its definitions. There are theologians of name, as Tournely and Amort,† who contend that even those most instructive *capitula* passed in the Tridentine Council, from which the Canons with anathemas are drawn up, are not portions of the Church's infallible teaching; and the parallel introductions prefixed to the Vatican anathemas have an authority not greater nor less than that of those capitula.

6. Such passages, however, as these are too closely connected with the definitions themselves, not to be what is sometimes called, by a *catachresis*, "proximum fidei"; still, on the other hand, it

*And so Fessler: "The Pope is not infallible as a man, or a theologian, or a priest, or a bishop, or a temporal prince, or a judge, or a legislator, or in his political views, or even in his government of the Church."—*Introd.*

†*Vid.* Amort. Dem. Cr., pp. 205-6. This applies to the Unam Sanctam. *Vid.* Fessler.

is true also that, in those circumstances and surroundings of formal definitions, which I have been speaking of, whether of a Council or a Pope, there may be not only no exercise of an infallible voice, but actual error. Thus, in the Third Council, a passage of an heretical author was quoted in defense of the doctrine defined, under the belief he was Pope Julius, and narratives not trustworthy, are introduced into the Seventh.

This remark and several before it will become intelligible if we consider that neither Pope nor Council are on a level with the Apostles. To the Apostles the whole revelation was given, by the Church it is transmitted; no simply new truth has been given to us since St. John's death; the one office of the Church is to guard "that noble deposit" of truth, as St. Paul speaks to Timothy, which the Apostles bequeathed to her, in its fullness and integrity. Hence the infallibility of the Apostles was of a far more positive and wide character than that needed by and granted to the Church We call it, in the case of the Apostles, inspiration; in the case of the Church, *assistentia*.

Of course there is a sense of the word "inspiration" in which it is common to all members of the Church, and therefore especially to its Bishops, and still more directly to its rulers, when solemnly called together in Council after much prayer throughout Christendom, and in a frame of mind especially serious and earnest by reason of the work they have in hand. The Paraclete certainly is ever with them, and more effectively in a Council, as being "in Spiritu Sancto congregata;" but I speak of the special and promised aid necessary for their fidelity to apostolic teaching; and, in order to secure this fidelity, no inward gift of infallibility is needed, such as the Apostles had, no direct suggestion of divine truth, but simply an external guardianship, keeping them off from error (as a man's Guardian Angel, without enabling him to walk, might, on a night journey, keep him from pitfalls in his way), a guardianship saving them, as far as their ultimate decisions are concerned, from the effects of their inherent infirmities, from any chance of extravagance, of confusion of thought, of collision with former decisions, or with Scripture, which in seasons of excitement might reasonably be feared.

"Never," says Perrone, "have Catholics taught that the gift of infallibility is given by God to the Church after the manner of inspiration."—t. 2, p. 253. Again: "[Human] media of arriving at the truth are excluded neither by a Council's nor by a Pope's infallibility, for God has promised it, not by way of an infused" or habitual "gift, but by the way of *assistentia*."—*ibid.* p. 541.

But since the process of defining truth is human, it is open to the chance of error: what Providence has guaranteed is only this, that there should be no error in the final step, in the resulting definition or dogma.

7. Accordingly, all that a Council, and all that the Pope, is infallible in, is the direct answer to the special question which he happens to be considering; his prerogative does not extend beyond a power, when in his *Cathedra*, of giving that very answer truly. "Nothing," says Perrone, "but the *objects* of dogmatic

definitions of Councils are immutable, for in these are Councils infallible, not in their *reasons*," etc.—*ibid.*

8. This rule is so strictly to be observed that, though dogmatic statements are found from time to time in a Pope's Apostolic Letters, etc., yet they are not accounted to be exercises of his infallibility if they are said only *obiter*—by the way, and without direct intention to define. A striking instance of this *sine qua non* condition is afforded by Nicholas I., who, in a letter to the Bulgarians, spoke as if baptism were valid, when administered simply in our Lord's Name, without distinct mention of the Three Persons; but he is not teaching and speaking *ex cathedrâ*, because no question on this matter was in any sense the occasion of his writing. The question asked of him was concerning the *minister* of baptism—viz., whether a Jew or Pagan could validly baptize; in answering in the affirmative, he added *obiter*, as a private doctor, says Bellarmine, "that the baptism was valid, whether administered in the name of the Three Persons or in the name of Christ only." (*de Rom. Pont.*, iv. 12.)

9. Another limitation is given in Pope Pius's own conditions set down in the *Pastor Æternus*, for the exercise of infallibility: viz., the proposition defined will be without any claim to be considered binding on the belief of Catholics, unless it is referable to the Apostolic *depositum*, through the channel either of Scripture or Tradition; and, though the Pope is the judge whether it is so referable or not, yet the necessity of his professing to abide by this reference is in itself a certain limitation of his dogmatic action. A Protestant will object indeed that, after his distinctly asserting that the Immaculate Conception and the Papal Infallibility are in Scripture and Tradition, this safeguard against erroneous definitions is not worth much, nor do I say that it is one of the most effective; but anyhow, in consequence of it, no Pope any more than a Council could, for instance, introduce Ignatius's Epistles into the Canon of Scripture;—and as to his dogmatic condemnation of particular books, which, of course, are foreign to the *depositum*, I would say, that, as to their false doctrine there can be no difficulty in condemning that by means of that Apostolic deposit; nor surely in his condemning the very wording, in which they convey it, when the subject is carefully considered. For the Pope's condemning the language, for instance, of Jansenius is a parallel act to the Church's receiving the word "Consubstantial," and if a Council and the Pope were not infallible so far in their judgment of language, neither the Pope nor Council could draw up a dogmatic definition at all, for the right exercise of words is involved in the right exercise of thought.

10. And in like manner, as regards the precepts concerning moral duties, it is not in every such precept that the Pope is infallible. As a definition of faith must be drawn from the Apostolic *depositum* of doctrine, in order that it may be considered an exercise of infallibility, whether in the Pope or a Council, so too a precept of morals, if it is to be accepted as dogmatic, must be drawn from the Moral law, that primary revelation to us from God.

That is, in the first place, it must relate to things in themselves good or evil. If the Pope prescribed lying or revenge, his command would simply go for nothing, as if he had not issued it, because he has no power over the Moral Law. If he forbade his flock to eat any but vegetable food, or to dress in a particular fashion (questions of decency or modesty not coming into the question), he would in like manner be going beyond his province, because such a rule does not relate to a matter in itself good or bad. If he gave a precept all over the world for the adoption of lotteries instead of tithes or offerings, certainly it would be very hard to prove that he was contradicting the Moral Law, or ruling a practice to be in itself good which was in itself evil. There are few persons but would allow that it is at least doubtful whether lotteries are abstractedly evil, and in a doubtful matter the Pope is to believed and obeyed.

However, there are other conditions besides this, necessary for the exercise of Papal infallibility in moral subjects:—for instance, his definition must relate to things necessary for salvation. No one would so speak of lotteries, nor of a particular dress, or of a particular kind of food;—such precepts, then, did he make them, would be simply external to the range of his prerogative.

And again, his infallibility in consequence is not called into exercise, unless he speaks to the whole world; for, if his precepts, in order to be dogmatic, must enjoin what is necessary to salvation, they must be necessary for all men. Accordingly orders which issue from him for the observance of particular countries, or political or religious classes, have no claim to be the utterances of his infallibility. If he enjoins upon the hierarchy of Ireland to withstand mixed education, this is no exercise of his infallibility.

It may be added that the field of morals contains so little that is unknown and unexplored, in contrast with revelation and doctrinal fact, which form the domain of faith, that it is difficult to say what portions of moral teaching in the course of 1800 years actually have proceeded from the Pope, or from the Church, or where to look for such. Nearly all that either oracle has done in this respect, has been to condemn such propositions as in a moral point of view are false, or dangerous, or rash; and these condemnations, besides being such as in fact, will be found to command the assent of most men, as soon as heard, do not necessarily go so far as to present any positive statements for universal acceptance.

11. With the mention of condemned propositions I am brought to another and large consideration, which is one of the best illustrations that I can give of that principle of minimizing so necessary, as I think, for a wise and cautious theology; at the same time I can not insist upon it in the connection into which I am going to introduce it, without submitting myself to the correction of divines more learned than I can pretend to be myself.

The infallibility, whether of the Church or of the Pope, acts principally or solely in two channels, in direct statements of truth, and in the condemnation of error. The former takes the

shape of doctrinal definitions, the latter stigmatizes propositions as heretical, next to heresy, erroneous, and the like. In each case the Church, as guided by her Divine Master, has made provision for weighing as lightly as possible on the faith and conscience of her children.

As to the condemnation of propositions all she tells us is, that the thesis condemned when taken as a whole, or, again, when viewed in its context, is heretical, or blasphemous, or impious, or whatever other epithet she affixes to it. We have only to trust her so far as to allow ourselves to be warned against the thesis, or the work containing it. Theologians employ themselves in determining what precisely it is that is condemned in that thesis or treatise; and doubtless in most cases they do so with success; but that determination is not *de fide;* all that is of faith is that there is in that thesis itself, which is noted, heresy or error, or other peccant matter, as the case may be, such, that the censure is a peremptory command to theologians, preachers, students, and all other whom it concerns, to keep clear of it. But so light is this obligation, that instances frequently occur, when it is successfully maintained by some new writer, that the Pope's act does not imply what it has seemed to imply, and questions which seemed to be closed, are after a course of years re-opened. In discussions such as these, there is a real exercise of private judgment, and an allowable one; the act of faith, which can not be superseded or trifled with, being, I repeat, the unreserved acceptance that the thesis in question is heretical, or erroneous in faith, etc., as the Pope or the Church has spoken of it.

In these cases, which in a true sense may be called the Pope's *negative* enunciations, the opportunity of a legitimate minimizing lies in the intensely concrete character of the matters condemned; in his affirmative enunciations a like opportunity is afforded by their being more or less abstract. Indeed, excepting such as relate to persons, that is, to the Trinity in Unity, the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, and the like, all the dogmas of Pope or of Council are but general, and so far, in consequence, admit of exceptions in their actual application,—these exceptions being determined either by other authoritative utterances, or by the scrutinizing vigilance, acuteness, and subtlety of the *Schola Theologorum.*

One of the most remarkable instances of what I am insisting on is found in a dogma, which no Catholic can ever think of disputing, viz., that "Out of the Church, and out of the faith, is no salvation." Not to go to Scripture, it is the doctrine of St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian in the first three centuries, as of St. Augustine and his contemporaries in the fourth and fifth. It can never be other than an elementary truth of Christianity; and the present Pope has proclaimed it as all Popes, doctors, and bishops before him. But that truth has two aspects, according as the force of the negative falls upon the "Church" or upon the "salvation." The main sense is, that there is no other communion or so-called Church, but the Catholic, in which are stored the promises, the sacraments, and other means of salvation: the

* The Pope becomes as enigmatical as a Greek Oracle, and requires an

other and derived sense is, that no one can be saved who is not in that one and only Church. But it does not follow, because there is no Church but one which has the Evangelical gifts and privileges to bestow, that therefore no one can be saved without the intervention of that one Church. Anglicans quite understood this distinction; for, on the one hand, their Article says, "They are to be had accursed (anathematizandi) that presume to say, that every man shall be saved *by* (in) the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature;" while on the other hand they speak of and hold the doctrine of the "uncovenanted mercies of God." The latter doctrine in its Catholic form is the doctrine of invincible ignorance—or, that it is possible to belong to the soul of the Church without belonging to the body; and, at the end of 1,800 years, it has been formally and authoritatively put forward by the present Pope (the first Pope, I suppose, who has done so), on the very same occasion on which he has repeated the fundamental principle of exclusive salvation itself. It is to the purpose here to quote his words; they occur in the course of his Encyclical, addressed to the Bishops of Italy, under date of August 10, 1863:

"*We and you know*, that those who lie under invincible ignorance as regards our most Holy Religion, and who, diligently observing the natural law, and its precepts, which are engraven by God on the hearts of all, and prepared to obey God, lead a good and upright life, are able, by the operation of the power of divine light and grace, to obtain eternal life." *

Who would at first sight gather from the wording of so forcible a universal, that an exception to its operation, such as this, so distinct, and, for what we know, so very wide, was consistent with holding it?

Another instance of a similar kind is the general acceptance in the Latin Church, since the time of St. Augustine, of the doctrine of absolute predestination, as instanced in the teaching of other great saints beside him, such as St. Fulgentius, St. Prosper, St. Gregory, St. Thomas, and St. Buonaventure. Yet in the last centuries a great explanation and modification of this doctrine has been effected by the efforts of the Jesuit School, which have issued in the reception of a distinction between predestination to grace and predestination to glory; and a consequent admission of the principle that, though our own works do not avail for bringing us into a state of salvation on earth, they do avail, when in that state of salvation or grace, for our attainment of eternal glory in heaven. Two saints of late centuries, St. Francis de Sales and St. Alfonso, seem to have professed this less rigid opinion, which is now the more common doctrine of the day.

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* The Pope speaks more forcibly still in an earlier Allocution. After mentioning invincible ignorance, he adds: "Quis tantum sibi arroget, ut hujusmodi ignorantiæ designare limites queat, juxta populorum, regionum, ingeniorum, aliarumque rerum tam multarum rationem et varietatem?"—*Dec.* 9, 1854.

after the infallible utterance reason must come in and do the work of showing just what is infallible in

Another instance is supplied by the Papal decisions concerning Usury. Pope Clement V., in the Council of Vienne, declares, "If any one shall have fallen into the error of pertinaciously presuming to affirm that usury is no sin, we determine that he is to be punished as a heretic." However, in the year 1831 the Sacred *Pœnitentiaria* answered an inquiry on the subject, to the effect that the Holy See suspended its decision on the point, and that a confessor who allowed of usury was not to be disturbed, "non esse inquietandum." Here again a double aspect seems to have been realized of the idea intended by the word *usury*.

To show how natural this process of partial and gradually developed teaching is, we may refer to the apparent contradiction of Bellarmine, who says "the Pope, whether he can err or not, is to be obeyed by all the faithful," (*Rom. Pont.* iv. 2), yet, as I have quoted him above, p. 52–53, sets down (ii. 29) cases in which he is not to be obeyed. An illustration may be given in political history in the discussions which took place years ago as to the force of the Sovereign's Coronation Oath to uphold the Established Church. The words were large and general, and seemed to preclude any act on his part to the prejudice of the Establishment; but lawyers succeeded at length in making a distinction between the legislative and executive action of the Crown, which is now generally accepted.

These instances out of many similar are sufficient to show what caution is to be observed, on the part of private and unauthorized persons, in imposing upon the consciences of others any interpretation of dogmatic enunciations which is beyond the legitimate sense of the words, inconsistent with the principle that all general rules have exceptions, and unrecognized by the Theological *Schola*.

12. From these various considerations it follows, that Papal and Synodal definitions, obligatory on our faith, are of rare occurrence; and this is confessed by all sober theologians. Father O'Reilly, for instance, of Dublin, one of the first theologians of the day, says:—

"The Papal Infallibility is comparatively seldom brought into action. I am very far from denying that the Vicar of Christ is largely assisted by God in the fulfillment of his sublime office, that he receives great light and strength to do well the great work entrusted to him and imposed on him, that he is continually guided from above in the government of the Catholic Church. But this is not the meaning of Infallibility. . . What is the use of dragging in the Infallibility in connection with Papal acts with which it has nothing to do? Papal acts, which are very good and very holy, and entitled to all respect and obedience, acts in which the Pontiff is commonly not mistaken, but in which he could be mistaken and still remain infallible in the only sense in which he has been declared to be so." (The *Irish Monthly*, vol. ii. No. 10, 1874.)*

This great authority goes on to disclaim any desire to minimize,

* *Vid.* Fessler also; and I believe Father Perrone says the same.

but there is, I hope, no real difference between us here. He, I am sure, would sanction me in my repugnance to impose upon the faith of others more than what the Church distinctly claims of them: and I should follow him in thinking it a more scriptural, Christian, dutiful, happy frame of mind to be easy, than to be difficult, of belief. I have already spoken of that uncatholic spirit, which starts with a grudging faith in the word of the Church, and determines to hold nothing but what it is, as if by demonstration, compelled to believe. To be a true Catholic a man must have a generous loyalty towards ecclesiastical authority, and accept what is taught him with what is called the *pietas fidei*, and only such a tone of mind has a claim, and it certainly has a claim, to be met and to be handled with a wise and gentle *minimism*. Still the fact remains, that there has been of late years a fierce and intolerant temper abroad, which scorns and virtually tramples on the little ones of Christ.

I end with an extract from the Pastoral of the Swiss Bishops, a Pastoral which has received the Pope's approbation:

"It in no way depends upon the caprice of the Pope, or upon his good pleasure, to make such and such a doctrine the object of a dogmatic definition. He is tied up and limited to the divine revelation, and to the truths which that revelation contains. He is tied up and limited by the Creeds, already in existence, and by the preceding definitions of the Church. He is tied up and limited by the divine law, and by the constitution of the Church. Lastly, he is tied up and limited by that doctrine, divinely revealed, which affirms that alongside religious society there is civil society, that alongside the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, there is the power of temporal magistrates, invested in their own domain with a full sovereignty, and to whom we owe obedience in conscience, and respect in all things morally permitted, and belonging to the domain of civil society."

§ 10. Conclusion.

I have now said all that I consider necessary in order to fulfill the task which I have undertaken, a task very painful to me and ungracious. I account it a great misfortune, that my last words, as they are likely to be, should be devoted to a controversy with one whom I have always so much respected and admired. But I should not have been satisfied with myself, if I had not responded to the call made upon me from such various quarters, to the opportunity at last given me of breaking a long silence on subjects deeply interesting to me, and to the demands of my own honor.

The main point of Mr. Gladstone's charge against us is that in 1870, after a series of preparatory acts, a great change and irreversible was effected in the political attitude of the Church by the third and fourth chapters of the Vatican *Pastor Æternus*, a change which no state or statesman can afford to pass over. Of this cardinal assertion I consider he has given no proof at all; and my object throughout the foregoing pages has been to make

this clear. The Pope's infallibility indeed, and his supreme authority, have in the Vatican *capita* been declared matters of faith; but his prerogative of infallibility lies in matters speculative, and his prerogative of authority is no infallibility, in laws, commands, or measures. His infallibility bears upon the domain of thought, not directly of action, and while it may fairly exercise the theologian, philosopher, or man of science, it scarcely concerns the politician. Moreover, whether the recognition of his infallibility in doctrine will increase his actual power over the faith of Catholics, remains to be seen, and must be determined by the event; for there are gifts too large and too fearful to be handled freely. Mr. Gladstone seems to feel this, and therefore insists upon the increase made by the Vatican definition in the Pope's authority. But there is no real increase; he has for centuries upon centuries had and used that authority, which the Definition now declares ever to have belonged to him. Before the Council there was the rule of obedience, and there were exceptions to the rule; and since the Council the rule remains, and with it the possibility of exceptions.

It may be objected that a representation such as this, is negatived by the universal sentiment which testifies to the formidable effectiveness of the Vatican decrees, and to the Pope's intention that they should be effective; that it is the boast of some Catholics and the reproach levelled against us by all Protestants, that the Catholic Church has now become beyond mistake a despotic aggressive Papacy, in which freedom of thought and action is utterly extinguished. But I do not allow this alleged unanimous testimony to exist. Of course Prince Bismarck and other statesmen such as Mr. Gladstone, rest their opposition to Pope Pius on the political ground; but the old Catholic movement is based, not upon politics, but upon theology, and Dr. Döllinger has more than once, I believe, declared his disapprobation of the Prussian acts against the Pope, while Father Hyacinth has quarreled with the anti-Catholic politics of Geneva. The French indeed have shown their sense of the political support which the Holy Father's name and influence would bring to their country; but does any one suppose that they expect to derive support definitely from the Vatican decrees, and not rather from the *prestige* of that venerable Authority, which those decrees have rather lowered than otherwise in the eyes of the world? So again the Legitimists and Carlists in France and Spain doubtless wish to associate themselves with Rome; but where and how have they signified that they can turn to profit the special dogma of the Pope's infallibility, and would not have been better pleased to be rid of the controversy which it has occasioned? In fact, instead of there being a universal impression that the proclamation of his infallibility and supreme authority has strengthened the Pope's secular position in Europe, there is room for suspecting that some of the politicians of the day, (I do not mean Mr. Gladstone) were not sorry that the Ultramontane party was successful at the Council in their prosecution of an object which those politicians considered to be favorable to the interests of the Civil power. There is cer-

tainly some plausibility in the view, that it is not the "Curia Romana," as Mr. Gladstone considers, or the "Jesuits," who are the "astute" party, but that rather they are themselves victims of that astuteness of secular statesmen.

The recognition, which I am here implying, of the existence of parties in the Church reminds me of what, while I have been writing these pages, I have all along felt would be at once the *prima facie* and also the most telling criticism upon me. It will be said that there are very considerable differences in argument and opinion between me and others who have replied to Mr. Gladstone, and I shall be taunted with the evident break-down, thereby made manifest, of that topic of glorification so commonly in the mouths of Catholics, that they are all of one way of thinking, while Protestants are all at variance with each other, and by that very variation of opinion can have no ground of certainty severally in their own.

This is a showy and serviceable retort in controversy; but it is nothing more. First, as regards the arguments which Catholics use, it has to be considered whether they are really incompatible with each other; if they are not, then surely it is generally granted by Protestants as well as Catholics, that two distinct arguments for the same conclusion, instead of invalidating that conclusion, actually strengthen it. And next, supposing the difference to be one of conclusions themselves, then it must be considered whether the difference relates to a matter of faith or to a matter of opinion. If a matter of faith is in question I grant there ought to be absolute agreement, or rather I maintain that there is; I mean to say that only one out of the statements put forth can be true, and that the other statements will be at once withdrawn by their authors, by virtue of their being Catholics, as soon as they learn on good authority that they are erroneous. But if the differences which I have supposed are only in theological opinion, they do but show that after all private judgment is not so utterly unknown among Catholics and in Catholic Schools, as Protestants are desirous to establish.

I have written on this subject at some length in Lectures which I published many years ago, but, it would appear, with little practical effect upon those for whom they were intended. "Left to himself," I say, "each Catholic likes and would maintain his own opinion and his private judgment just as much as a Protestant; and he has it and he maintains it, just so far as the Church does not, by the authority of Revelation, supersede it. The very moment the Church ceases to speak, at the very point at which she, that is, God who speaks by her, circumscribes her range of teaching, then private judgment of necessity starts up: there is nothing to hinder it. . . A Catholic sacrifices his opinion to the Word of God, declared through His Church; but from the nature of the case, there is nothing to hinder him having his own opinion and expressing it, whenever, and so far as, the Church, the oracle of Revelation, does not speak." *

**Vide* "Difficulties felt by Anglicans." Lecture X.

In saying this, it must not be supposed that I am denying what is called the *pietas fidei*, that is, a sense of the great probability of the truth of enunciations made by the Church, which are not formally and actually to be considered as the "Word of God." Doubtless it is our duty to check many a speculation, or at least many an utterance, even though we are not bound to condemn it as contrary to religious truth. But, after all, the field of religious thought which the duty of faith occupies, is small indeed compared with that which is open to our free, though of course to our reverent and conscientious speculation.

I draw from these remarks two conclusions: first, as regards Protestants,—Mr. Gladstone should not on the one hand declaim against us as having "no mental freedom," if the periodical press on the other hand is to mock us as admitting a liberty of private judgment, purely Protestant. We surely are not open to contradictory imputations. Every note of triumph over the differences which mark our answers to Mr. Gladstone is a distinct admission that we do not deserve his injurious reproach that we are captives and slaves of the Pope.

Secondly, for the benefit of some Catholics, I would observe that, while I acknowledged one Pope, *jure divino*, I acknowledge no other, and that I think it a usurpation, too wicked to be comfortably dwelt upon, when individuals use their own private judgment, in the discussion of religious questions, not simply "abundare in suo sensu," but for the purpose of anathematizing the private judgment of others.

I say there is only one Oracle of God, the Holy Catholic Church and the Pope as her head. To her teaching I have ever desired all my thoughts, all my words to be conformed; to her judgment I submit what I have now written, what I have ever written, not only as regards its truth, but as to its prudence, its suitableness, and its expedience. I think I have not pursued any end of my own in any thing that I have published, but I know well, that, in matters not of faith, I may have spoken when I ought to have been silent.

And now, my dear Duke, I release you from this long discussion, and, in concluding, beg you to accept the best Christmas wishes and prayers for your present and future from

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

THE ORATORY, December 27, 1874.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING'S REPLY.

PREFACE.

A TASK both difficult and unlooked for has suddenly fallen to my lot; that is, to gain a fair hearing on subjects about which the opinions, and still more the feelings, of so many men are not only adverse, but even hostile. I must, therefore, ask for patience from those who may read these pages.

The topics here treated have not been chosen by me. They have been raised by Mr. Gladstone, and perhaps, in all the range of Religion and Politics, none can be found more delicate, more beset with misconceptions, or more prejudged by old traditionary beliefs and antipathies. Some of them, too, are of an odious kind; others revive memories we would fain forget. And yet, if Mr. Gladstone's appeal to me is to be answered, treated they must be. My reply to the argument of the Expostulation on the Vatican Council will be found in the first, second, and fifth chapters; but as Mr. Gladstone has brought into his impeachment the present conflict in Germany, and has reviewed his own conduct in respect to the Revolution in Italy, I have felt myself obliged to follow him. This I have done in the third and fourth chapters. Apart from this reason, I felt myself bound to do so by the terms of the two letters printed at the opening of the following pages. I hold myself pledged to justify their contents. Moreover, these two topics fall within the outline of the subject treated by Mr. Gladstone, which is, the relation of the Supreme Spiritual Power of the Head of the Christian Church to the Civil Powers of all countries. So much for the matter of these pages.

As for the manner, if it be faulty, the fault is mine: and yet there ought to be no fault imputed where there has been no intention to wound or to offend. I can say with truth that, to avoid offense, I have weighed my words, and if there be one still found which ought not to have been written, I wish it to be blotted out. The subject-matter is beyond my control. I can blot out words, but I can not blot out truths. What I believe to be truth, that I have said in the clearest words and calmest that I could find to give to it adequate expression.

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Gladstone, in his Expostulation with the Catholics of the British Empire on the Decrees of the Vatican Council, writes as follows:—

"England is entitled to ask and to know in what way the obedience required by the Pope and the Council of the Vatican is to be reconciled with the integrity of Civil Allegiance."*

When I read these words, I at once recognized the right of the English people, speaking by its legitimate authorities, to know from me what I believe and what I teach; but in recognizing this right I am compelled to decline to answer before any other tribunal, or to any other interrogator. If, therefore, I take the occasion of any such interrogation, I do not address myself to those who make it, but to the justice and to the good sense of the Christian people of this country.

Mr. Gladstone followed up this demand upon his Catholic fellow-countrymen by an elaborate argument to prove that it is impossible for Catholics, since the Vatican Council, to be loyal except at the cost of their fidelity to the Council, or faithful to the Council except at the cost of their loyalty to their country. I therefore considered it to be my duty to lose no time in making the subjoined declaration in all our principal journals;

"Sir,—The gravity of the subject on which I address you, affecting, as it must, every Catholic in the British Empire, will, I hope, obtain from your courtesy the publication of this letter.

"This morning I received a copy of a pamphlet, entitled 'The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.' I find in it a direct appeal to myself, both for the office I hold and for the writings I have published. I gladly acknowledge the duty that lies upon me for both those reasons. I am bound by the office I bear not to suffer a day to pass without repelling from the Catholics of this country the lightest imputation upon their loyalty; and, for my teaching, I am ready to show that the principles I have ever taught are beyond impeachment upon that score.

"It is true, indeed, that in page 57 of the pamphlet Mr. Gladstone expresses his belief 'that many of his Roman Catholic friends and fellow-countrymen are, to say the least of it, as good citizens as himself.' But as the whole pamphlet is an elaborate

* 'The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.' By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. P. 43.

argument to prove that the teaching of the Vatican Council renders it impossible for them to be so, I can not accept this grateful acknowledgment, which implies that they are good citizens because they are at variance with the Catholic Church.

"I should be wanting in duty to the Catholics of this country and to myself if I did not give a prompt contradiction to this statement, and if I did not with equal promptness affirm that the loyalty of our civil allegiance is, not in spite of the teaching of the Catholic Church, but because of it.

"The sum of the argument in the pamphlet just published to the world is this:—That by the Vatican Decrees such a change has been made in the relations of Catholics to the civil power of States, that it is no longer possible for them to render the same undivided civil allegiance as it was possible for Catholics to render before the promulgation of those Decrees.

"In answer to this it is for the present sufficient to affirm—

"1. That the Vatican Decrees have in no jot or tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of civil allegiance.

"2. That the civil allegiance of Catholics is as undivided as that of all Christians, and of all men who recognize a Divine or natural moral law.

"3. That the civil allegiance of no man is unlimited; and therefore the civil allegiance of all men who believe in God, or are governed by conscience, is in that sense divided.

"4. In this sense, and in no other, can it be said with truth that the civil allegiance of Catholics is divided. The civil allegiance of every Christian man in England is limited by conscience and the law of God; and the civil allegiance of Catholics is limited neither less nor more.

"5. The public peace of the British Empire has been consolidated in the last half century by the elimination of religous conflicts and inequalities from our laws. The Empire of Germany might have been equally peaceful and stable if its statesmen had not been tempted in an evil hour to rake up the old fires of religious disunion. The hand of one man, more than any other, threw this torch of discord into the German Empire. The history of Germany will record the name of Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger as the author of this national evil. I lament, not only to read the name, but to trace the arguments of Dr. von Döllinger in the pamphlet before me. May God preserve these kingdoms from the public and private calamities which are visibly impending over Germany. The author of the pamphlet, in his first line, assures us that his 'purpose is not polemical but pacific.' I am sorry that so good an intention should have so widely erred in the selection of the means.

"But my purpose is neither to criticise nor to controvert. My desire and my duty as an Englishman, as a Catholic, and as a pastor, is to claim for my flock and for myself a civil allegiance as pure, as true, and as loyal as is rendered by the distinguished author of the pamphlet, or by any subject of the British Empire.

&c. &c.

"*November* 7, 1874."

Subsequently, in reply to questions proposed to me, I further wrote as follows:—

"*To the Editor of the New York Herald*:"

"Dear Sir,—In answer to your question as to my statement about the Vatican Council, I reply as follows:

"I asserted that the Vatican Decrees have not changed by a jot or a tittle the obligations or conditions of the civil obedience of Catholics towards the Civil Powers. The whole of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet hangs on the contrary assertion; and falls with it. In proof of my assertion I add:—

"1. That the Infallibility of the Pope was a doctrine of Divine Faith before the Vatican Council was held. In the second and third parts of a book called 'Petri Privilegium,' (Longmans, 1871), I have given more than sufficient evidence of this assertion.

"2. That the Vatican Council simply declared an old truth, and made no new dogma.

"3. That the position of Catholics therefore in respect to civil allegiance, since the Vatican Council, is precisely what it was before it.

"4. That the Civil Powers of the Christian world have hitherto stood in peaceful relation with an Infallible Church, and that relation has been often recognized and declared by the Church in all its Councils. The Vatican Council had, therefore, no new matter to treat in this point.

"5. That the Vatican Council has made no decree whatever on the subject of the Civil Powers, nor on civil allegiance.

"This subject was not so much as proposed. The civil obedience of Catholics rests upon the natural law, and the revealed law of God. Society is founded in nature, and subjects are bound in all things lawful to obey their rulers. Society, when Christian, has higher sanctions, and subjects are bound to obey rulers for conscience sake, and because the Powers that be are ordained of God. Of all these things the Vatican Decrees can have changed nothing because they have touched nothing. Mr. Gladstone's whole argument hangs upon an erroneous assertion, into which I can only suppose he has been misled by his misplaced trust in Dr. Döllinger and some of his friends.

"On public and private grounds I deeply lament this act of imprudence, and but for my belief in Mr. Gladstone's sincerity I should say this act of injustice. I lament it, as an act out of all harmony and proportion to a great statesman's life, and as the first event that has overcast a friendship of forty-five years. His whole public life has hitherto consolidated the Christian and civil peace of these kingdoms. This act, unless the good providence of God and the good sense of Englishmen avert it, may wreck more than the work of Mr. Gladstone's public career, and at the end of a long life may tarnish a great name.

&c. &c.

"Westminster, *Nov.* 10, 1874."

Having thus directly contradicted the main error of Mr. Gladstone's argument, I thought it my duty to wait. I was certain that two things would follow: the one, that far better answers than any that I could make would be promptly made; the other, that certain nominal Catholics, who upon other occasions have done the same, would write letters to the newspapers.

Both events have come to pass.

The Bishops of Birmingham, Clifton, and Salford have abundantly pointed out the mistakes into which Mr. Gladstone has fallen on the subject of the Vatican Council; and have fully vindicated the loyalty of Catholics.

The handful of nominal Catholics have done their work; and those who hoped to find or to make a division among Catholics have been disappointed. It is now seen that those who reject the Vatican Council may be told on our fingers, and the Catholic Church has openly passed sentence on them.

Having made these declarations, I might have remained silent; but as in my first letter I implied that I was prepared to justify what I had asserted, I gave notice that I would do so. Having passed my word, I will keep it; and in keeping it I will endeavor to deserve again the acknowledgment Mr. Gladstone has already made. He says that, whatever comes, so far as I am concerned, it will not be "without due notice." I will be equally outspoken now; not because he has challenged it, but because, so far as I know, I have always tried to speak out. In all these years of strife I have never consciously kept back, or explained away, any doctrine of the Catholic Church. I will not begin to do so now, when my time is nearly run. I am afraid that in these pages I shall seem to obtrude myself too often, and too much. If any think so, I would ask them to remember that Mr. Gladstone has laid me under this necessity in these three ways:—

1. He has made me the representative of the Catholic doctrine since 1870, as Bishop Doyle, he says, was in better days.

2. He has quoted my writings four times in censure.

3. He has appealed to me as "Head of the Papal Church in England;" I may also add as "The Oracle." My words, however, shall not be ambiguous.

The two letters given above contain four assertions:

First, that the Decrees of the Vatican Council have changed nothing in respect to the civil obedience of Catholics.

Secondly, that their civil obedience is neither more nor less divided than that of other men.

Thirdly, that the relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers have been fixed from time immemorial, and are therefore after the Vatican Council what they were before.

Fourthly, that the contest now waging abroad began in a malevolent and mischievous intrigue to instigate the Civil powers to oppress and persecute the Catholic Church.

The two first propositions shall be treated in the first chapter, the third in the second chapter, and the last in the third.

I will therefore endeavor to prove the following propositions, which cover all the assertions I have made:—

1. That the Vatican Decrees have in no jot or tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of Civil Allegiance.

2. That the relations of the Catholic Church to the Civil Powers of the world have been immutably fixed from the beginning, inasmuch as they arise out of the Divine Constitution of the Church, and out of the Civil Society of the natural order.

3. That any collisions now existing have been brought on by changes, not on the part of the Catholic Church, much less of the Vatican Council, but on the part of the Civil Powers, and that by reason of a systematic conspiracy against the Holy See.

4. That by these changes and collisions the civil Powers of Europe are destroying their own stability.

5. That the motive of the Vatican Council in defining the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was not any temporal policy, nor was it for any temporal end; but that it defined that truth in the face of all temporal dangers, in order to guard the Divine deposit of Christianity, and to vindicate the divine certainty of faith.

I. Meaning and Effect of the Vatican Decrees.

I. In setting out to prove my first proposition—namely, "that the Vatican Decrees have in no jot or tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of Civil Allegiance"—I find myself undertaking to prove a negative. The *onus* of proving that the Vatican Decrees have made a change in our civil allegiance rests upon those who affirm it. Till they offer proof we might remain silent. It would be enough for us to answer that the Vatican Council in its Dogmatic Constitution on the Church has simply affirmed the revealed doctrine of the Spiritual Primacy, and of the Infallibility of the Visible Head of the Christian Church; that the relations of this Primacy to the Civil Powers are in no way treated; and that the civil obedience of subjects is left precisely as and where it was before the Vatican Council was convened.

(1) However, I will first examine what proofs have been offered to show that the Vatican Council has made the alleged change; and I will then give positive evidence to show what the Vatican Council has done. From these things it will be seen that it has neither changed, or added to, nor taken away any thing from the doctrine and discipline of the Church, but has only defined what has been believed and practiced from the beginning.

The arguments to prove a change are two:

First, Mr. Gladstone has argued from the third chapter of the Constitution on the Roman Pontiff, that his powers have received a great extension. Mr. Gladstone, so far as I am aware, is the first and only person who has ever ventured on this statement.

His argument is as follows:

He dwells with no little amplification upon the "introduction of the remarkable phrase," "ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ," into the third chapter; that is, "non solum in rebus quæ ad fidem et mores pertinent, sed etiam in iis quæ ad disciplinam et regimen

Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent." He says, "Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not only in faith and in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the Church" (p. 41). Submission in faith and morals is "abject" enough, but "in discipline and government" too, is intolerable. "Why did the astute contrivers of this tangled scheme," etc. . . . (p. 39). "The work is now truly complete" (p. 40). This he calls "the new version of the principles of the Papal Church." When I read this, I asked, "Is it possible that Mr. Gladstone should think this to be any thing new? What does he conceive the Primacy of Rome to mean? With what eyes has he read history? Can he have read the tradition of the Catholic Church? As one of "the astute contrivers," I will answer that these words were introduced because the Pontiffs and Councils of the Church have always so used them. They may be "remarkable" and "new" to Mr. Gladstone, but they are old as the Catholic Church. I give the first proofs which come to hand:

Nicholas I., in the year 863, in a Council at Rome, enacted: "Si quis dogmata, mandata, interdicta, sanctiones vel decreta pro Catholica fide, pro ecclesiastica disciplina, pro correctione fidelium, pro emendatione sceleratorum, vel interdictione imminentium vel futurorum malorum, a Sedis Apostolicæ Præside salubriter promulgata contempserit: Anathema sit." * This was an "iron grip" not less "formidable" than the third chapter of the Vatican Constitution.

It may be said, perhaps, that this was only a Pontiff in his own cause; or only a Roman Council.

But this Canon was recognized in the Eighth General Council held at Constantinople in 869.†

Innocent III. may be no authority with Mr. Gladstone; but he says, what every Pontiff before him and after him has said, "Nos qui sumus ad *regimen* Universalis Ecclesiæ, superna dispositione vocati."‡

Again, Sixtus IV., in 1471, writes: "Ad Universalis Ecclesiæ *regimen* divina disponente clementia vocatis,"§ etc.

If this be not enough, we have the Council of Florence, in 1442, defining of the Roman Pontiff that "Ipsi in Beato Petro pascendi, *regendi* ac *gubernandi* Universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestam traditam esse."‖

Finally the Council of Trent says:—"Unde merito Pontifices Maximi pro Suprema potestate sibi in Ecclesia universa tradita."¶ etc.

I refrain from quoting Canonists and Theologians who use this language as to regimen and discipline. It needed no astuteness

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* Labbe, *Concil.* tom. x. p. 238, ed. Ven. 1730.
† *Ibid.* tom. x. p. 633. See *Petri Privilegium*, 2d part, p. 81.
‡ Corpus Juris Canon. *Decret. Greg.* lib. ii. cap. xiii. Novit.
§ Corpus Juris Canon. *Extrav. Comm.* lib. i. tit. ix. cap. i.
‖ Labbe, *Concil.* tom. xviii. p. 527, ed. Ven. 1732.
¶ Sess. xiv. cap. vii.

to transcribe the well-known traditional language of the Catholic Church. It is as universal in our law books as the forms of the Courts at Westminster. The Vatican Council has left the authority of the Pontiff precisely where it found it. The whole, therefore, of Mr. Gladstone's argument falls with the misapprehension on which it was based.

What, then, is there new in the Vatican Council? What is to be thought of the rhetorical description of "Merovingian monarchs and Carlovingian mayors," but that the distinguished author is out of his depth? The Pope had at all times the power to rule the whole Church not only in faith and morals, but also in all things which pertain to discipline and government, and that whether infallibly or not.

Such is literally the only attempt made by Mr. Gladstone to justify his assertions. But what has this to do with Civil Allegiance? There is not a syllable on the subject, there is not a proposition which can be twisted or tortured into such a meaning. The government of the Church, as here spoken of, is purely and strictly the Spiritual government of souls, both pastors and people, as it was exercised in the first three hundred years before any Christian State existed.

But next, if the Vatican Council has not spoken of the Civil Powers, nevertheless it has defined that the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, is infallible: this definition, by retrospective action, makes all Pontifical acts infallible, the Bull *Unam Sanctam* included; and, by prospective action, will make all similar acts in future binding upon the conscience.

Certainly this is true. But what is there new in this? The Vatican Council did not make the Pope infallible. Was he not infallible before the Council? He is, therefore, not more infallible after it than before. If a handful of writers, here and there, denied his infallibility, the whole Church affirmed it. Proof of this shall be given in its place. For the present, I affirm that all acts *ex cathedra* such as the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, the Bull *Unigenitus*, the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, and the like, were held to be infallible as fully before the Vatican Council as now.

To this it will be said, "Be it so; but nobody was bound under Anathema to believe them." I answer that it is not the Anathema that generates faith. The infallibility of the Head of the Church was a doctrine of Divine Faith before it was defined in 1870, and to deny it was held by grave authorities to be at least proximate to heresy, if not actually heretical.* The Vatican Council has put this beyond question; but it was never lawful to Catholics to deny the infallibility of a Pontifical act *ex cathedra*. It is from simple want of knowledge that men suppose every doctrine not defined to be an open question. The doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church has never been defined to this day. Will any man pretend that this is an open question among Catholics? The infallibility of the Pope was likewise never defined, but it was never an open question. Even the Jansenists

* *Petri Privilegium*, part i. pp. 61–66, and notes.

did not venture to deny it, and the evasion of some of them, who gave "obsequious silence" instead of internal assent to Pontifical acts, was condemned by Clement XI. The definition of the Vatican Council has made no change whatsoever except in the case of those who denied or doubted of this doctrine. No difference, therefore, whatsoever has been made in the state of those who believed it. If the integrity of their civil allegiance was unimpeded before 1870, it is unimpeded now. But Mr. Gladstone admits that it was unimpeded before. His contention is that it is impeded now. But this is self-contradictory, for they believed the same doctrine of infallibility both then and now. If Mr. Gladstone means that the Vatican Council has made a difference for the few who denied the doctrine, and for the authors of *Janus* and *Quirinus*, and the professors of "obsequious silence," his contention is most true. But then he must change his whole position. The title of his pamphlet must be amended and stand, "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on the Civil Allegiance of those who before 1870 denied the Infallibility of the Pope." But this would ruin his case; for he would have admitted the loyalty of Catholics who always believed it before the definition was made.

We are next told that there are some twelve theories of what is an act *ex cathedra*. We have been also told that there are twenty. But how is it that Mr. Gladstone did not see that by this the whole force of his argument is shaken? If the definition has left it so uncertain what acts are, and what acts are not, *ex cathedra*, who shall hold himself bound to obedience? Are the eighty condemnations indicated in the Syllabus *ex cathedra?* By this showing it is 12 to 1 that they may not be. It is an axiom in morals "*Lex dubia non obligat.*" But if it be doubtful whether the Syllabus is *ex cathedra*, I am not bound to receive it with interior assent. Again, Mr. Gladstone thinks to aggravate the case by adding that the Pope is to be the ultimate judge of what acts are *ex cathedra*. And who else should be? *Ejus est interpretari cujus est condere* is a principle of all law. Mr. Gladstone has been acting upon it all his life. But, perhaps it may be said, why did not the Council put beyond doubt what acts are *ex cathedra?* Well, the Council has done so, as I hope to show; and has done it with as great precision as the subject matter will admit. It has given five tests, or conditions, by which an act *ex cathedra* may be distinguished.

But it may be said that doubts may still exist, and that doubts may still be raised as to this or that Pontifical act whether it be *ex cathedra* or not. Surely common sense would say, consult the authority which made the law; the legislator is always at hand, always ready to explain his own meaning, and to define the limits of his intention. If there be any thing unreasonable in this, all jurisprudence, including the British Constitution, labors under the same uncertainty, or rather the same inevitable imperfection.

I am surprised that Mr. Gladstone should have quoted the second paragraph of the chapter in the Vatican Constitution;

and that he should have passed over the fourth paragraph, in which there are indeed the words "potestatis sæcularis placito." This is the only recognition of secular powers in the whole Constitution. In that paragraph two things are affirmed: the one that the free exercise of the supreme Spiritual power of the Head of the Christian Church may neither be intercepted, nor hindered, nor excluded from any part of the Church by any human authority; and, secondly, that all such acts of his Spiritual power are valid and complete in themselves, and need, for that end, no confirmation or *placitum* of any other authority. This independence is claimed for Christianity by every one who believes in a revelation. Here is indeed a reference to Civil Powers; but, lest the Vatican Council should be held guilty of such innovations, I will add that such was the contention of St. Thomas of Canterbury against Henry II. in the case of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which were not "cursed," as Mr. Gladstone delicately expresses it, but condemned by Alexander III. in the year 1164. This, then, has not changed the Civil Allegiance of Catholics since 1870.

But I am not undertaking to prove a negative. I hope that I have shown that the evidence offered to prove that the Council has made the alleged change is *nil*. I affirm, then, once more that the Vatican Council has not touched the question of Civil Allegiance, that it has not by a jot or a tittle changed the relations in which the Church has ever stood to the Civil Powers; and that, therefore, the Civil Allegiance of Catholics is as full, perfect, and complete since the Council as it was before. These are affirmations capable of truth, and before I have done I hope to prove them. For the present it will be enough to give the reason why the Vatican Council did not touch the question of the relations of the Church to the Civil Powers. The reason is simple. *It intended not to touch them*, until it could treat them fully and as a whole. And it has carefully adhered to its intention. I will also give the reason why it has been so confidently asserted that the Council did touch the Civil Powers. It is because certain persons, a year before the Council met, resolved to say so. They wrote the book *Janus* to prove it; they published circulars and pamphlets before and during the Council to re-assert it. They first prophesied that the Council would interfere with the Civil Powers, and now they write scientific history to prove that it has done so. I am not writing at random; I carefully collected at the time their books, pamphlets, and articles. I read them punctually, and bound them up into volumes, which are now before me. Mr. Gladstone has reproduced their arguments. But for this systematic agitation before the Council, no one, I am convinced, would have found a shadow of cause for it in its Decrees. Now, that I may not seem to write this as prompted by the events of the present moment, I will repeat what I published in the year 1869, before the Council assembled, and in the year 1870, after the Council was suspended.

Before the Council met I published these words: *—

"Whilst I was writing these lines a document has appeared purporting to be the answers of the Theological Faculty of Munich to the questions of the Bavarian Government.

"The questions and the answers are so evidently concerted, if not written by the same hand, and the *animus* of the document so evidently hostile to the Holy See, and so visibly intended to create embarrassments for the supreme authority of the Church, both in respect to its past acts and also in respect to the future action of the Ecumenical Council, that I can not pass it over. But, in speaking of it, I am compelled, for the first time, to break silence on a danger which has for some years been growing in its proportions, and I fear I must add, in its attitude of menace. The answers of the University of Munich are visibly intended to excite fear and alarm in the Civil Powers of Europe, and thereby to obstruct the action of the Ecumenical Council if it should judge it to be opportune to define the infallibility of the Pope. The answers are also intended to create an impression that the theological proofs of the doctrine are inadequate, and its definition beset with uncertainty and obscurity. In a word, the whole correspondence is a transparent effort to obstruct the freedom of the Ecumenical Council on the subject of the Infallibility of the Pontiff; or, if that doctrine be defined, to instigate the Civil Governments to assume a hostile attitude towards the Holy See. And this comes in the name of liberty, and from those who tell us that the Council will not be free.

"I shall take the liberty, without further words, of dismissing the Bavarian Government from our thoughts. But I must declare, with much regret, that this Munich document appears to me to be seditious.

"Facts like these give a certain warrant to the assertion and prophecies of politicians and Protestants. They prove that in the Catholic Church there is a school at variance with the doctrinal teaching of the Holy See in matters which are not of faith. But they do not reveal how small that school is. Its center would seem to be at Munich. It has, both in France and England, a small number of adherents. They are active, they correspond, and for the most part write anonymously. It would be difficult to describe its tenets, for none of its followers seem to be agreed in all points. Some hold the Infallibility of the Pope, and some defend the Temporal Power. Nothing appears to be common to all, except an *animus* of opposition to the acts of the Holy See in matters outside the faith.

"In this country, about a year ago, an attempt was made to render impossible, as it was confidently but vainly thought, the definition of the Infallibility of the Pontiff by reviving the monotonous controversy about Pope Honorius. Later, we were told of I know not what combination of exalted personages in France for the same end. It is certain that these symptoms are not spor-

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* "The Ecumenical Council and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff," *Petri Privilegium*, part ii. pp. 131–5. (Longmans, 1871).

adic and disconnected, but in mutual understanding and with a common purpose. The anti-Catholic press has eagerly encouraged this school of thought. If a Catholic can be found out of tune with authority by half a note, he is at once extolled for unequaled learning and irrefragable logic. The anti-Catholic journals are at his service, and he vents his opposition to the common opinions of the Church by writing against them anonymously. Sad as this is, it is not formidable. It has effect almost alone upon those who are not Catholic. Upon Catholics its effect is hardly appreciable; on the Theological Schools of the Church it will have little influence; upon the Ecumenical Council it can have none.

"I can hardly persuade myself to believe that the University of Munich does not know that the relations between the Pope, even supposed to be infallible, and the Civil Powers have been long since precisely defined in the same acts which defined the relations between the Church, known to be infallible, and the Civil Authority. Twelve Synods or Councils, two of them Ecumenical, have long ago laid down these relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers.* If the Pope were declared to be infallible to-morrow, it would in no way affect those relations.

"We may be sure . . . that this intellectual disaffection, of which, in these last days, we have had in France a new and mournful example, will have no influence upon either the Ecumenical Council or the policy of the Great Powers of Europe. They will not meddle with speculations of theological or historical critics. They know too well that they can not do in the nineteenth century what was done in the sixteenth and the seventeenth.

"The attempt to put a pressure upon the General Council, if it have any effect upon those who are subject to certain governments, would have no effect but to rouse a just indignation in the Episcopate of the Church throughout the world. They hold their jurisdiction from a higher fountain, and they recognize no superior in their office of Judges of Doctrine, save only the Vicar of Jesus Christ. This preliminary meddling has already awakened a sense of profound responsibility and an inflexible resolution to allow no pressure or influence, or menace or intrigue, to cast so much as a shadow across their fidelity to the Divine Head of the Church and to his Vicar upon earth.

"Moreover, we live in days when the 'Regium Placitum' and 'Exequatur' and 'Arrêts' of Parliament in Spiritual things are simply dead. It may have been possible to hinder the promulgation of the Council of Trent; it is impossible to hinder the promulgation of the Council of the Vatican. The very liberty of which men are proud will publish it. Ten thousand presses in all lands will promulgate every act of the Church and of the Pontiff, in the face of all Civil Powers. Once published, these acts enter the domain of faith and conscience, and no human legislation, no civil authority, can efface them. The two hundred millions of Catholics will know the Decrees of the Vatican Coun-

* Bellarm. *Opuscula adv. Barclaium*, p. 845, ed. Col. 1617.

cil; and to know them is to obey. The Council will ask no civil enforcement, and it will need no civil aid. The Great Powers of Europe have long declared that the conscience of men is free from civil constraint. They will not stultify their own declarations by attempting to restrain the acts of the Vatican Council. The guardians and defenders of the principles of 1789 ought to rise as one man against all who should so violate the base of the political society in France. What attitude lesser Governments may take is of lesser moment."

(2) I will not state positively what the Council has defined on the subject of the Roman Pontiff. The history, then, of the Definition of the Infallibility is as follows:—

1. Two *Schemata*, as they were called, or treatises, had been prepared: the one on the nature of the Church; the other on its relations to the Civil State.

The first alone came before the Council; the second has never yet been so much as discussed.

In the schema on the nature of the Church, its Infallibility was treated; but the Infallibility of its Head was not so much as mentioned. His Primacy and authority alone were treated. In the end, the chapter relating to the Primacy and authority was taken out, and subdivided into four. The subject of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was then introduced.

The reasons for this change of order were given in 1870, as follows:—

In all theological treatises, excepting indeed one or two of great authority, it had been usual to treat of the Body of the Church before treating of its Head. The reason of this would appear to be that in the exposition of doctrine the logical order was the more obvious; and to the faithful, in the first formation of the Church, the Body of the Church was known before its Head. We might have expected that the Council would have followed the same method. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that the Council inverted that order, and defined the prerogative of the Head before it treated of the constitution and endowments of the Body. And this, which was brought about by the pressure of special events, is not without significance. The schools of the Church have followed the logical order; but the Church in Council, when for the first time it began to treat of its own constitution and authority, changed the method, and like the Divine Architect of the Church, began in the historical order, with the foundation and Head of the Church. Our Divine Lord first chose Cephas, and invested him with the primacy over the Apostles. Upon this rock all were built, and from him the whole unity and authority of the Church took its rise. To Peter alone first was given the plentitude of jurisdiction and of infallible authority. Afterwards, the gift of the Holy Ghost was shared with him by all the Apostles. From him and through him therefore all began. For which cause a clear and precise conception of his Primacy and privilege is necessary to a clear and precise conception of the Church. Unless it be first distinctly apprehended, the doctrine of the Church will be always propor-

tionately obscure. The doctrine of the Church does not determine the doctrine of the Primacy, but the doctrine of the Primacy does precisely determine the doctrine of the Church. In beginning, therefore, with the Head, the Council has followed our Lord's example, both in teaching and in fact; and in this will be found one of the causes of the singular and luminous precision with which the Council of the Vatican has, in one brief Constitution, excluded the well-known errors on the Primacy and Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

The reasons which prevailed to bring about this change of method were not only those which demonstrated generally the opportuneness of defining the doctrine, but those also which showed specially the necessity of bringing on the question while as yet the Council was in the fullness of its numbers. It was obvious that the length of time consumed in the discussion, reformation, and voting of the *Schemata* was such that, unless the Constitution *De Romano Pontifice* were brought on immediately after Easter, it could not be finished before the setting in of summer should compel the bishops to disperse. Once dispersed, it was obvious they could never again re-assemble in so large a number. Many who with great earnestness desired to share the blessing and the grace of extinguishing the most dangerous error which for two centuries had disturbed and harassed the faithful, would have been compelled to go back to their distant sees and missions, never to return. It was obviously of the first moment that such a question should be discussed and decided, not, as we should have been told, in holes and corners, or by a handful of bishops, or by a faction, or by a clique, but by the largest possible assembly of the Catholic Episcopate. All other questions, on which little divergence of opinion existed, might well be left to a smaller number of bishops; but a doctrine which for so long had vexed both pastors and people, the defining, not the truth, of which was contested by a numerous and organized opposition, needed to be treated and affirmed by the most extensive deliberation of the bishops of the Catholic Church. Add to this the many perils which hung over the continuance of the Council, of which I need but give one example. The outbreak of a war might have rendered the definition impossible. And in fact the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was defined on the eighteenth of July, and war was officially declared on the following day.

With these and many other contingencies fully before them, those who believed that the definition was, not only opportune, but necessary for the unity of the Church and of the Faith, urged its immediate discussion. Events justified their foresight. The debate was prolonged into the heats of July, when, by mutual consent, the opposing sides withdrew from a further prolonging of the contest, and closed the discussion. If it had not been already protracted beyond all limits of reasonable debate—for not less than a hundred fathers in the general and special discussions had spoken chiefly, if not alone, of Infallibility—it

could not so have ended. Both sides were convinced that the matter was exhausted.*

2. In order to demonstrate, if possible, more abundantly that the Vatican Council has not so much as touched the relations of the Church to the Civil Power, I will give a brief analysis of its Definitions in what is called the First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ.

It is, as I have said, a portion of the Schema or treatise on the Church, taken out and enlarged into a Constitution by itself. There would have been only one Constitution treating of both the Body and the Head of the Church. Now there are two. The first, treating of the Head, has been completed; the second, treating of the Body, yet remains.

Now of the First Constitution there are four chapters.

The first treats of the Institution of the Apostolic Primacy in Saint Peter. The sum of it is that Our Lord appointed Peter to be Head of the whole Church, and gave him immediately a Primacy, not of honor only, but of jurisdiction. There is here not a word of any thing but the Pastoral or Spiritual power.

The second declares the Primacy to be perpetual. It affirms two things: the one that Peter has a perpetual line of successors, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Peter in that Primacy.

The third affirms the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff to be full and supreme in all things of faith and morals, and also in discipline and government of the Church; and that this jurisdiction is ordinary and immediate over all Churches and persons.

The fourth chapter treats of the Infallibility of the *Magisterium*, or the teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff. This chapter affirms that a Divine assistance was given to Peter, and in Peter to his successors for the discharge of their supreme office. It affirms also that this is a tradition received from the beginning of the Christian Faith. They, therefore, who tell us that the Vatican Council has brought in a new doctrine show that they do not know what the Vatican Council has said, and what it is that they must refute before their charge of innovation can be listened to.

Now it is to be observed:

1. That the Council declares that the Roman Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedra*, has a Divine assistance which preserves him from error.

2. That he speaks *ex cathedra* when he speaks under these five conditions: (1) as Supreme Teacher (2) to the whole Church. (3) Defining a doctrine (4) to be held by the whole Church (5) in faith and morals.

If disputants and controversialists had read and mastered these five conditions, we should have been spared much senseless clamor.

3. Lastly, it is to be observed that the Council has not defined the limit of the phrase "faith and morals." This well-known

**Petri Privilegium*, part iii. pp. 51–54.

formula is plain and intelligible. The deposit committed to the Church is the Revelation of Divine Truth, and of the Divine Law. The Church is the guardian and witness, the interpreter and the expositor of the Truth and of the Law of God. Such is the meaning of "faith and morals." It is a formula well known, perfectly clear, sufficiently precise for our spiritual and moral life. If questions may be raised about the limits of faith and morals, it is because questions may be raised about any thing; and questions will always be raised by those who love contention against the Catholic Church more than they love either faith or morals. All argument against the Vatican Council as to the limits or extent of this formula is so much labor lost. It has not so much as touched the extent or the limits.

Such, then, is the whole of the first Constitution *De Ecclesia Christi*. It does not contain a syllable of the relation of this Primacy to the Civil or Political State, except to say that no human authority is needed for the validity of its acts, nor may any human power hinder their exercise. But these are truths as old as the day when St. Peter said before the council in Jerusalem, "If it be just, in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God, judge ye." * I hope, then, I have justified my assertion that the Vatican Council has not changed by a jot or a tittle the civil allegiance of Catholics. It is as free and perfect now as it was before.

As I have affirmed that the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Head of the Church was a doctrine of Divine Faith before the Council, and that the denial of it was confined to a small school of writers, I might be expected here to offer the historical proof of this assertion.

But I have already done so in the year 1869, before the Council assembled. I would therefore refer to the second part of "Petri Privilegium" † for, as I believe, a sufficient proof. I will, however, in a few words give the outline of what was then said.

It is acknowledged by the adversaries of the doctrine that from the Council of Constance in 1414 to this day the doctrine has been the predominant belief of the Church. I gave evidence of its existence from the Council of Constance upwards to the Council of Chalcedon in 445.

Next I traced the history of the growth of the opinions adverse to the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff from the Council of Constance to the year 1682, when it was, for the first time, reduced to formula by an assembly of French ecclesiastics under the influence of Louis XIV.

Lastly, I showed how this formula was no sooner published than it was condemned in every Catholic country by bishops and universities, and by the Holy See. The sum of the evidence for the first period was then given as follows:—

Gallicanism is no more than a transient and modern opinion, which arose in France, without warrant or antecedents in the

*Acts iv. 19. † Part ii. pp. 63–107.

ancient theological schools of the French Church; a royal theology, as suddenly developed and as parenthetical as the Thirty-nine Articles, affirmed only by a small number out of the numerous Episcopate of France, indignantly rejected by many of them; condemned in succession by three Pontiffs; declared by the Universities of Louvain and Douai to be erroneous; retracted by the bishops of France; condemned by Spain, Hungary, and other countries; and condemned over again in the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*.

From this evidence it is certain:—

1. That Gallicanism has no warrant in the doctrinal practice or tradition of the Church, either in France or at large, in the thousand years preceding the Council of Constance.

2. That the first traces of Gallicanism are to be found about the time of that Council.

3. That after the Council of Constance they were rapidly and almost altogether effaced from the theology of the Church in France, until their revival in 1682.

4. That the Articles of 1682 were conceived by Jansenists, and carried through by political and oppressive means contrary to the sense of the Church in France.

5. That the theological faculties of the Sorbonne, and of France generally, nobly resisted and refused to teach them.*

But Gallicanism was the only formal interruption of the universal belief of the Church in the Infallibility of its Head. The Vatican Council extinguished this modern error.

II. Having thus far offered proof of the first proposition in my first letter, I will now go on to the second.

I there affirmed that the Civil Allegiance of Catholics is as undivided as that of all Christians, and of all men who recognize a divine or natural moral law.

Mr. Gladstone requires of us "solid and undivided allegiance."†

I must confess to some surprise at this demand. The allegiance of every moral being is "divided," that is, twofold; not, indeed, in the same matter nor on the same plane, but in two spheres, and on a higher and a lower level, so that no collision is possible, except by some deviation or excess. Every moral being is under two authorities—human and divine. The child is under the authority of parents, and the authority of God; the subject is under the authority of the Civil State, and the Divine authority of natural or revealed religion. Unless we claim Infallibility for the State, its acts must be liable to revision, and to resistance by natural conscience. An unlimited obedience to parents or to States would generate a race of unlimited monsters. Surely these are truisms. Our Lord Himself taught this division when He said, "Render therefore to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." But this all men admit when they think. Unfortunately, when they attack the Catholic Church or the Vatican Council they seldom think much.

**Petri Privilegium*, part ii. p. 56. P. 44.

Put the objection in this form: "We non-Catholics acknowledge two authorities as you Catholics do. Our allegiance to the civil law is revised and checked by our consciences, guided by the light of nature and by the light of revelation. We refuse to receive religious doctrine or discipline from the State. We allow the Society of Friends, for conscience' sake, to refuse to take an oath of allegiance, and even to fight for their country, for conscience' sake; and yet these two are among the natural duties of subjects which the civil authority may most justly both require and enforce. We therefore leave every man free to refuse obedience to civil laws if his conscience so demands of him. But you Catholics put your conscience into the hands of the Pope. You are bound to follow his interpretation of the civil law; and he tells you when your conscience ought to refuse obedience, whether you see it or not; worse than this, the Pope may wrongly interpret our civil laws, or he may even so interpret them as to serve his own interests; and then your moral and mental freedom is at the mercy of another. You must choose between your religion and your country." I think I have not understated the argument of our adversaries.

To this the answer is twofold: First, that the non-Catholic doctrine is more dangerous to the Civil State than the Catholic. If any individual conscience may dispense itself from civil obedience, then almost all men will obey only "for wrath" and not for "conscience' sake."* And such, in fact, is the condition of millions of men. I could wish that the mental state of the masses were better known. I wish it were possible to ascertain, by letting down a thermometer into the deep sea of our population, what notions remain of loyalty or allegiance. No doubt, in an insular population like ours, the traditional custom of enert conformity with law maintains a passive compliance which passes for Civil Allegiance. But take the population of countries where the so-called rights of the political conscience of individuals have had their legitimate development. A law is a law so far as it is accepted; a man is bound by the law so far as he had a hand in making it. If you once admit that the ultimate decision as to civil obedience is in the individual, each political conscience is a lawgiver and a law to itself. You can not fly principles with a string as boys fly kites. Once enunciated they have nothing to control them. If every man has the ultimate right of refusing obedience to the law upon the dictates of his own conscience, then we are in a state of unlimited license, which is potentially a state of unlimited revolution. And such, in truth, since 1789 has been the state of the west of Europe. It is in a state of chronic instability and continuous change. More than forty revolutions have sprung from this essential lawlessness.

Secondly, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the rights of individual conscience are secured not only against external coercion, but against its own aberrations. The obedience of Catholic subjects to their Civil Rulers is a positive precept of

*Rom. xiii. 5.

religion. The rising against legitimate authority is forbidden as the sin of rebellion. The Syllabus has condemned the propositions:—

"Authority is nothing else but the result of numerical superiority and material force."—Prop. 60.

"It is allowable to refuse obedience to legitimate Princes, and also to rebel against them."—Prop. 63.

The political conscience of Catholics is not left to the individual judgment alone. It is guided by the whole Christian morality, by the greatest system of ethical legislation the world has ever seen, the Canon Law and the Moral Theology of the Catholic Church. Not only all capricious and willful resistances of the Civil Law, but all unreasonable and contentious disobedience is condemned by its authority. It is a doctrine of faith that legitimate sovereignty exists not only in the unity of the Church, but outside of the same; and not only among Christian nations, but also among the nations that are not Christian.* Moreover, that to all such legitimate sovereigns subjects are bound by the Divine Law† to render obedience in all lawful things. It is certain, therefore, that Catholics are bound to Civil Allegiance by every bond, natural and supernatural, as absolutely as their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen; and, I must add, more explicitly. And further, that they can hardly be reduced to the necessity of using their private judgment as to the lawfulness of obeying any law. In all matters of ordinary civil and political life, the duty of Catholics is already defined by a whole code which enforces obedience for conscience' sake. In the rare case of doubt which may arise in times of religious persecution, political revolution, civil wars, or wars of succession, Catholic and non-Catholic subjects are alike in this,—they are both compelled to choose their side. But the non-Catholic subject has hardly law or judge to aid his conscience: the Catholic has both. He has the whole traditional moral law of Christendom, which has formed and perpetuated the civil and political order of the modern world, and he has a multitude of principles, maxims, and precedents on which to form his own judgment. Finally, if he be unable so to do, he can seek for guidance from an authority which the whole Christian world once believed to be the highest judicial tribunal and the source of its civil order and stability. And is this to place "his mental and moral freedom at the mercy of another?" As much as and no more than we place ourselves "at the mercy" of the Christian Church for our salvation. Let us take an example: It is certain, by the natural and Divine Law, that every man may defend himself, and that every people has the right of self-defense. On this all defensive wars are justifiable. But if the Sovereign levy war upon his people, have they the right of self-defense? Beyond all doubt. But at what point may they take up arms? and what amount of oppression justifies recourse to resistance? For the non-Catholics there can only be these answers: "He must go by the light of his own conscience, or he must be guided by the judgment of the greater number, or by the wiser heads of his nation."

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*Rom. xiii. 1–4. †St. Peter ii. 13–15.

But the greater number may not be the wiser; and to judge who are the wiser throws the judgment once more upon himself. The Catholic subject would use his own judgment, and the judgment of his countrymen, but he would not hold himself at liberty to take up arms unless the Christian law confirmed the justice of his judgment. But from whom is this judgment to be sought? He would ask it of all those of whom he asks council for the salvation of his soul. If this is to be at the mercy of another, we are all at the mercy of those whom we believe to be wiser than ourselves.

Let us take an example: The Italian people have been for twenty years spectators of a revolution which has overthrown the Sovereigns of Naples and Tuscany. I will ask two questions: First, would any Italian place himself at the mercy of another, if he should ask of the head of his religion what course as a Christian he ought to pursue?

And, secondly, what has been the action of the Pope in respect to the Italian revolution? He has said that to co-operate in the Italian revolution is not lawful. Surely, if Italians are free to form their conscience on the doctrines of the revolution, they are equally free to form their conscience on the doctrines of their religion. To deny this is to have two weights and two measures. The non-Catholic theory tells us that the conscience of subjects is the ultimate test. Be it so; my conscience tells me that it is right to obey my religion rather than the revolution. If this be a divided allegiance, then it is Christianity which has introduced it, and not the Church. It was Our Lord himself who, by instituting His Church, separated for ever the two powers, Civil and Spiritual, thereby redeeming the conscience and the religion of men from the dominion of princes, and conferring upon the Civil Power the consecration by which it is confirmed, and the higher law by which its sphere is defined. It is all this, and not* "our old friend the deposing power alone," which I have described as teaching obedience to subjects and moderation to princes.† In all conflicts between the Civil and Spiritual, the consciences of Christians will be decided by the Christian law.

I conclude, therefore, this part of the subject by re-asserting:

1. That the relations of the Church to the State were never so much as proposed for discussion in the Vatican Council.

2. That in its Constitutions or Definitions it has in no way touched the subject.

3. That the Definitions of the Council are "declaratory" of doctrine already of Divine Faith, and that no new "enactment" whatsoever was made.

4. That the relations of the Church to the Civil Power were left by the Vatican Council as they were known and declared by the Council of Trent and all previous Councils.

I will therefore answer Mr. Gladstone's questions in page 44 of his "Expostulation." He tells us that "what is not wanted is

* *Expostulation*, p. 52.

† *Temporal Power of the Pope*, pp. 44–46, second ed. 1862.

vague and general assertion of whatever kind, and howsoever sincere. What is wanted, and that in the most specific form and in the clearest terms, I take to be one of two things, that is to say, either—

"1. A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their Civil Allegiance; or else,

"2. That if, and when such claim is made, it will even, although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected."*

I have shown that the Pope is not able, by the Vatican Council, to make any claim in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, which he was not able to make before the Vatican Council existed.

To Mr. Gladstone's first question, therefore, I answer, that neither in virtue of the Vatican Decrees, nor of any other decrees, nor of his supreme authority as Head of the Christian Church, can the Pope make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their Civil Allegiance.

To his second question, therefore, the answer is already given. I have no need to declare myself ready to repel and reject that which the Pope can not do. He can not do an act contrary to the Divine Law; but to impair my Civil Allegiance would be contrary to the Law of God.

It is strange to me that so acute a reasoner should have begged the question, which is this: By whom are the limits of Civil Allegiance to be determined? If Mr. Gladstone should say by the State, I would ask: Does he mean that the State is infallible in morals? or that subjects have no conscience, or that the State may coerce their conscience, or that the State can create a morality which all consciences must obey? Some of these postulates are inevitably assumed in his question, if it has any meaning.

My reasons for saying this will be seen in the following chapter.

II. The Relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers.

We will now go on to my second proposition, that the relations of the Catholic Church to the Civil Powers have been fixed immutably from the beginning, because they arise out of the Divine constitution of the Church and out of the Civil Society of the natural order.

I. Inasmuch as the natural and civil society existed before the foundation of the Christian Church, we will begin with it; and

* *The Vatican Decrees*, p. 44.

here my concessions, or rather my assertions, will, I hope, satisfy all but Cæsarists.

1. The civil society of men has God for its Founder. It was created potentially in the creation of man; and from him has been unfolded into actual existence. The human family contains the first principles and laws of authority, obedience, and order. These three conditions of society are of Divine origin; and they are the constructive laws of all civil or political society.

2. To the Civil Society of mankind supreme authority is given *immediately* by God; for a society does not signify mere number, but number organized by the laws and principles which its Divine Founder implanted in the human family. Sovereignty, therefore, is given by God immediately to human society; and *mediately*, or *mediante societate*, to the person or persons to whom society may commit its custody and its exercise. When once the supreme power or sovereignty has been committed by any society to a king, or to consuls, or to a council, as the case may be—for God has given no special form of Civil Government—though it be not held by those who receive it by any Divine right, as against the society which gave it, nevertheless it has both a Divine sanction and a Divine authority. For instance, it has the power of life and death. God alone could give to man this power over man. God gave it to man for self-defense. It passes to society at large, which likewise has the right of self-defense. It is committed by society to its chief executive. But, inasmuch as the supreme power is still given by God to the Civil Ruler, even though it be *mediately*, it has a Divine sanction; and so long as the Civil Ruler does not deviate from the end of his existence, the society has no power to revoke its act. For example: the Civil Ruler is for the defense of the people; but if he should make war upon the people, the right of self-defense would justify resistance. I am not now engaged in saying when or how; but the right is undeniable. Manslaughter is not murder, if it be in self-defense; wars of defense are lawful; and just resistance to an unjust prince is not rebellion. All this is founded upon the Divine sanctions of the civil and political society of man, even in the order of nature. It has, then, God for its Founder, for its Legislator, and by His divine Providence for its Supreme Ruler.

3. The laws of such society are the laws of nature. It is bound by the natural morality written on the conscience and on the heart. The ethics which govern men become politics in the government of States. Politics are but the collective morals of society. The Civil Ruler or Sovereign is bound by the laws: the subject within the sphere of these laws owes to him a civil allegiance. The Civil Ruler may bind all subjects by an oath of allegiance. He may call on all to bear arms for the safety of the State.

4. The State has for its end, not only the safety of person and property, but, in its fullest sense, the temporal happiness of man. Within the sphere of natural morality, and in order to its end, the State is supreme: and its power is from God. This is the meaning of St. Paul's words:—

"Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation. . . . For he is God's minister to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake." *

The State, then, is a perfect society, supreme within its own sphere, and in order to its own end: but as that end is not the highest end of man, so the State is not the highest society among men; nor is it, beyond its own sphere and end, supreme. I have drawn this out in greater fullness to show that the Church is in the highest degree conservative of all the natural authority of rulers, and of the natural allegiance of subjects. It is mere shallowness to say that between the Civil authority, as Divinely founded in nature, and the spiritual authority of the Church there can be opposition.

Now, as to the Divine institution of the Civil Society of the world and of its independence in all things of the natural order, what I have already said is enough. The laws of the order of nature are from God. So long as a father exercises his domestic authority according to the law of God, no other authority can intervene to control or to hinder his government. So likewise of the Prince or Sovereign power, be it lodged in one or in many. There is no authority upon earth which can depose a just sovereign or release such subjects from their obedience.†

II. There is, however, another society, the end of which is the eternal happiness of mankind. This also has God for its Founder, and that immediately; and it has received from God its form and constitution, and its rulers receive their authority immediately, ‡ with a special Divine sanction and authority, from God.

Two things follow at once from this:—

1. That the society which has for its end the eternal happiness of man is of an order higher than the society which aims only at the natural happiness of man.

2. That as the temporal and the eternal happiness of man are both ordered by Divine laws, these two societies are, of necessity, in essential conformity and harmony with each other. Collision between them can only be if either deviates from its respective laws.

The natural society of man aims *directly* at the temporal happiness of its subjects, but *indirectly* it aims also at their eternal happiness: the supernatural society aims *directly* at their eternal happiness, and *indirectly* at their temporal happiness, but always in so far only as their temporal happiness is conducive to their eternal end.

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* Romans xiii. 1–5.

† "Etiam nocentium potestas non est nisi a Deo."—St. Augustine, *De Natura Boni contra Manich*, cap. xxxii.

‡ Suarez, *Defensio Fidei*, lib. iii. cap. ii. sect. 5, 15, 16.

From this again two other corollaries follow:—

1. That the higher or supernatural society is supreme because it has no other society, above it or beyond it, with an end higher than its own.

2. That the office of the supernatural society is to aid, direct, and perfect the natural society; that its action upon it is always *ædificationem non in destructionem*, inasmuch as it is governed by the same Divine Lawgiver, and it is directed to an end which includes and insures the end of the natural society also.

To put this briefly: The State has for its end the temporal happiness of its subjects; the Church has for its end their eternal happiness. In aiming directly at temporal happiness, the State aims also indirectly at the eternal; for these things are promoted by the same laws. In aiming at eternal happiness, the Church also indirectly aims at the temporal happiness of men.

III. The Divine Founder of the Christian Church said: "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven."* And again: "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going therefore, teach all nations," . . . "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." †

If these two commissions do not confer upon the Christian Church a supreme doctrinal authority, and a supreme judicial office, in respect to the moral law, over all nations, and over all persons, both governors and governed, I know not what words could suffice to do so.

That authority and that office are directive and preceptive, so long as Princes and their laws are in conformity with the Christian law; and judicial, *ratione peccati*, by reason of sin, whensoever they deviate from it.

If any man deny this, he would thereby affirm that Princes have no superior upon earth; which is the doctrine of the heathen Cæsarism.

But no man will say that Princes have no superior. It is unmeaning to say that they have no superior but the law of God: for that is to play with words. A law is no superior without an authority to judge and to apply it.

To say that God is the sole Lawgiver of Princes is a doctrine unknown, not only to the Catholic Church, but to the Constitution of England. When we say, as our old Jurists do, *Non Rex facit legem*, but *Lex facit Regem*, we mean that there is a will above the King; and that will is the Civil Society, who judges if and when the King deviates from the law. But this doctrine, unless it be tempered by vigorous restraint, is chronic revolution. What adequate restraint is there but in a Divine authority higher than the natural society of man?

The Supreme Judicial Power of the Church has no jurisdiction

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* St. Matthew xvi. 19. † Ibid. xxviii. 18, 19.

over those that are not Christian; and the entire weight of its authority, if it were applied at all to such a state, would be applied to confirm the natural rights of sovereignty and to enforce the natural duty of allegiance: and that, upon the principle that the supernatural power of the Church is for edification, not for destruction; that is, to build up and to perfect the order of nature, not to pull down a stone in the symmetry of the natural society of man. St. Thomas says:

"Power and authority are established by human right; the distinction between the faithful and those who do not believe is established by Divine right. But the Divine right, which comes by grace, does not destroy the human right, which is in the order of nature." *

Let us suppose that the Sovereign Power of a heathen people were to make laws contrary to the law of God, would the Church intervene to depose such a sovereign? Certainly not, on the principle laid down by the Apostle, "What have I to do to judge those that are without?" †

Such a people is both individually and socially outside the Divine jurisdiction of the Church. The Church has, therefore, in this respect, no commission to discharge towards it except to convert it to Christianity.

But if it be the office of the Church to teach subjects to obey even Heathen Rulers, as the Apostle did, how much more, in the case of Christian Princes and their laws, is it the office of the Church to confirm, consecrate, and enforce the sanctions of religion and of conscience, of doctrine and of discipline, the whole code of natural and political morality, and all laws that are made in conformity with the same.

If Christian Princes and their laws deviate from the law of God, the Church has authority from God to judge of that deviation, and by all its powers to enforce the correction of that departure from justice. I do not see how any man who believes in the Revelation of Christianity can dispute this assertion; and to such alone I am at present speaking.

Mr. Gladstone has quoted a passage from an "Essay on Cæsarism and Ultramontanism," in which I have claimed for the Church a supremacy in spiritual things over the State, and have made this statement:

"Any power which is independent and can alone fix the limits of its own jurisdiction, and can thereby fix the limits of all other jurisdictions, is, *ipso facto*, supreme. But the Church of Jesus Christ, within the sphere of revelation—of faith and morals—is all this, or is nothing or worse than nothing, an imposture and an usurpation; that is, it is Christ or Antichrist." ‡

It is hardly loyal to take the conclusion of a syllogism without the premises. In the very page before this quotation I had said:

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* St. Thomas, 2*da* 2*dæ*, *quæst.* x. art. 10.
† 1 Cor. v. 12.
‡ *Cæsarism and Ultramontanism*, p. 36.

"In any question as to the competence of the two powers, either there must be some judge to decide what does and what does not fall within their respective spheres, or they are delivered over to perpetual doubt and to perpetual conflict. But who can define what is or is not within the jurisdiction of the Church in faith and morals, except a judge who knows what the sphere of faith and morals contains, and how far it extends? And surely it is not enough that such a judge should guess or opine, or pronounce upon doubtful evidence, or with an uncertain knowledge. Such a sentence would be, not an end of contention, but a beginning and a renewal of strife.

"It is clear that the Civil Power can not define how far the circumference of faith and morals extends. If it could, it would be invested with one of the supernatural endowments of the Church. To do this it must know the whole deposit of explicit and implicit faith; or, in other words, it must be the guardian of the Christian revelation. Now, no Christian, nor any man of sound mind, claims this for the Civil Power. . . . If, then, the Civil Power be not competent to decide the limits of the Spiritual Power, and if the Spiritual Power can define with a Divine certainty its own limits, it is evidently supreme. Or, in other words, the Spiritual Power knows with Divine certainty the limits of its own jurisdiction; and it knows therefore the limits and the competence of the Civil Power. It is thereby in matters of religion and conscience supreme." *

If the Church can not fix the limits of its jurisdiction, then either nobody can or the State must. But the State can not unless it claim to be the depository and expositor of the Christian Revelation. Therefore it is the Church or nobody. This last supposition leads to chaos. Now if this be rejected, the Church alone can: and if the Church can fix the limits of its own jurisdiction, it can fix the limits of all other jurisdiction; at least, so far as to warn it off its own domain. But this was my conclusion; and though I have seen it held up to odium, I have not yet seen it answered.

But the Church being the highest society, and independent of all others, is supreme over them, in so far as the eternal happiness of man is involved.

From this, again, two consequences follow: —

1. First, that in all things which are purely temporal, and lie *extra finem Ecclesiæ*, outside of the end of the Church, it neither claims nor has jurisdiction.

2. Secondly, that in all things which promote, or hinder, the eternal happiness of men, the Church has a power to judge and to enforce.

IV. Such propositions are no sooner enunciated than we are met by a tumult of voices, such as those of *Janus*, *Quirinus*— and I lament to detect the tones of a voice, hitherto heard in behalf of the authority of Christianity and of the Christian Church,—affirming that the Church of Rome and its Pontiffs

* *Cæsarism and Ultramontanism*, pp. 24, 35.

claim supreme temporal * power, and that direct, over all Temporal Princes and things; to be used at their discretion even to the deposing of Kings, to the absolution of subjects from allegiance, to the employment of force, imprisonment, torture, and death.

If such be the state of our highest minds, we can not regret that this discussion has been forced upon us. It has come not by our act. It has arisen in its time appointed. It will for awhile raise alarm and suspicion; it will kindle animosity and encourage bigotry: but it will manifest the truth with a wider light than England has seen for three hundred years. I will therefore freely and frankly enter upon this debate, and, in order to be clear, I will treat the subject under the following propositions: —

1. The authority of Princes and the allegiance of subjects in the Civil State of nature is of Divine ordinance; and, therefore, so long as Princes and their laws are in conformity to the law of God, the Church has no power or jurisdiction against them, nor over them.

2. If Princes and their laws deviate from the law of God, the Church has authority from God to judge of that deviation, and to oblige to its correction.

3. The authority which the Church has from God for this end is not *temporal*, but *spiritual*.

4. This spiritual authority is not direct in its incidence on temporal things, but only indirect: that is to say, it *directly* promotes its own *spiritual* end; it *indirectly* condemns and declares not binding on the conscience such *temporal* laws as deviate from the law of God, and therefore impede or render impossible the attainment of the eternal happiness of man.

5. This spiritual authority is inherent in the Divine constitution and commission of the Church; but its exercise in the world depends on certain moral and material conditions, by which alone its exercise is rendered either possible or just.

I have affirmed that the relations of the Catholic Church to the Civil powers are fixed primarily by the Divine constitution of the Church and of the Civil Society of men. But it is also true that these relations have been declared by the Church in acts and decrees which are of infallible authority. Such, for instance, is the Bull of Boniface VIII., *Unam Sanctam*. As this has become the text and center of the whole controversy at this moment, we will fully treat of it. This Bull, then, was beyond all doubt an act *ex cathedra*. It was also confirmed by Leo X. in the Fifth Lateran Ecumenical Council. Whatever definition, therefore, is to be found in this Bull is to be received as of faith. Let it be noted that the *Unam Sanctam* does not depend upon the Vatican Council for its infallible authority. It was from the date of its publication an infallible act, obliging all Catholics to receive it with interior assent. Doctrines identical with those of the *Unam Sanctam* had been declared in two Ecumenical Councils—namely,

* *Expostulation*, p. 27.

in the Fourth Lateran in 1215, and the First of Lyons in 1245.* On this ground, therefore, I have affirmed that the relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers were immutably fixed before the Vatican Council met, and that they have been in no way changed by it.

V. We will now examine, (1) the complete text of the *Unam Sanctam;* (2) the interpretations of its assailants and its defenders; (3) the interpretation which is of obligation on all Catholics.

1. The Bull was published by Boniface VIII., in 1302, during the contest with Philip le Bel of France.

Before the Bull was published, the Regalists or partisans of the King declared that the Pope had claimed, as Mr. Gladstone also supposes, to be supreme over the King, both in spiritual and in temporal things. The Chancellor Flotte made this assertion in the year 1301, at Paris, in the Church of Notre Dame. The cardinals sent by Boniface declared that the Pope made no such claim; that he claimed no temporal, but only a spiritual power.† Nevertheless this prejudice, once created, before the publication of the *Unam Sanctam*, ensured its being misinterpreted when it was issued. Boniface, by the Bull *Ausculta Fili*, had promptly exposed this misinterpretation. But the prejudice was already established.‡

I will now give the whole text of the Bull, before commenting upon it. It runs as follows:—

"We are bound to believe and to hold, by the obligation of faith, one Holy Church, Catholic and also Apostolic; and this (Church) we firmly believe and in simplicity confess: out of which there is neither salvation nor remission of sins. As the Bridegroom declares in the Canticles, 'One is my dove, my perfect one, she is the only one of her mother, the chosen of her that bore her;' §. who represents the one mystical Body, the Head of which is Christ; and the Head of Christ is God. In which (the one Church) there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.‖ For in the time of the Flood the ark of Noe was one, prefiguring the one Church, which was finished in one cubit,¶ and had one governor and ruler, that is Noe; outside of which we read that all things subsisting upon earth were destroyed. This also we venerate as one, as the Lord says in the Prophet, 'Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword: my only one from the hand of the dog.'**

"For He prayed for the soul, that is, for Himself; for the Head together with the Body: by which Body he designated the one only Church, because of the unity of the Bridegroom, of the Faith, of the Sacraments, and of the charity of the Church. This is that coat of the Lord without seam,†† which was not rent, but went by lots. Therefore of that one and only Church there is one body and one Head, not two heads as of a monster;

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* Bellarmin. *De Potest. Papæ.* in præf. p. 844, Cologne, 1617.
† Döllinger's *Church History*, vol. iv. *p.* 90.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 91. § Cant. vi. 8. ‖ Ephesians iv. 5.
¶ Genesis vi. 16. ** Psalm xxi. 21. †† St. John xix. 23, 24.

namely, Christ and Christ's Vicar, Peter and Peter's successor; for the Lord Himself said to Peter, 'Feed my sheep.'* Mine, he says generally; and not, in particular, these or those: by which He is known to have committed all to him. If, therefore, Greeks or others say that they were not committed to Peter and his successors, they must necessarily confess that they are not of the sheep of Christ, for the Lord said (in the Gospel) by John, that there is 'One fold, and one only shepherd.'† By the words of the Gospel we are instructed that in this his (that is Peter's) power there are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. For when the Apostles say, 'Behold, here are two swords,' that is,‡ in the Church, the Lord did not say, 'It is too much,' but 'it is enough.' Assuredly, he who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter, gives ill heed to the word of the Lord, saying, 'Put up again thy sword into its place.'§

"Both, therefore, the spiritual sword and the material sword are in the power of the Church. But the latter (the material sword) is to be wielded ON BEHALF OF the Church; the former (the spiritual) is to be wielded BY the Church; the one by the hand of the priest; the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the suggestion and sufferance of the priest. The one sword ought to be subject to the other, and the temporal authority ought to be subject to the spiritual power. For whereas the Apostle says, 'There is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God;'‖ they would not be ordained (or ordered) if one sword were not subject to the other, and as the inferior directed by the other to the highest end. For, according to the blessed Dionysius, it is the law of the Divine order that the lowest should be guided to the highest by those that are intermediate. Therefore, according to the order of the universe, all things are not in equal and immediate subordination; but the lowest things are set in order by things intermediate, and things inferior by things superior. We ought, therefore, as clearly to confess that the spiritual power, both in dignity and excellence, exceeds any earthly power, in proportion as spiritual things are better than things temporal. This we see clearly from the giving, and blessing, and sanctifying of tithes, from the reception of the power itself, and from the government of the same things. For, as the truth bears witness, the spiritual power has to instruct, and judge the earthly power, if it be not good; and thus the prophecy of Jeremias is verified of the Church and the ecclesiastical power: 'Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations and over kingdoms,' etc.¶ If, therefore, the earthly power deviates (from its end), it will be judged by the spiritual; but if a lesser spiritual power transgresses, it will be judged by its superior; but if the supreme (deviates), it can be judged, not by man, but by God alone, according to the words of the Apostle: 'The spiritual man judges all things; he himself is judged by no

* St. John xxi. 17. † St. John x. 16. ‡ St. Luke xxii. 38.
§ St. Matthew xxvi. 52. ‖ Romans xiii. 1. ¶ Jeremiah i. 10.

* Christ forbad its use Matt 26-52

one.' * This authority, though given to man and exercised through man, is not human, but rather Divine—given by the Divine voice to Peter, and confirmed to him and his successors in Him whom Peter confessed, the Rock, for the Lord said to Peter: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.' †

"Whosoever therefore resists this power that is so ordered by God, resists the ordinance of God,‡ unless, as Manichæus did, he feign to himself two principles, which we condemn as false and heretical; for, as Moses witnesses, 'God created heaven and earth not in the beginnings, but in the beginning.' § Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

2. We will next take the interpretations. They may be put into three classes:—

(1) First, of those who assailed it at the time.

The theologians and doctors of the school at Paris had always taught by a constant tradition that the Popes possessed a spiritual and indirect power over temporal things. John Gerson may be taken as the representative of them all. He says the ecclesiastical power does not possess the dominion and the rights of earthly and of heavenly empire, so that it may dispose at will of the goods of the clergy, and much less of the laity; though it must be conceded that it has in these things an authority (*dominium*) to rule, to direct, to regulate, and to ordain.‖ Such was the doctrine of Almain, Alliacus, John of Paris, and of the old Sorbonne. It was also the doctrine of the theologians of the Council of Constance; who are always quoted as opponents of the Infallibility of the Pope, because they held that, though the See of Rome could not err, he that sat in it might err. They likewise held the deposing power, which alone is enough to show how little the definition of the Infallibility has to do with the deposition of Kings.

When the *Unam Sanctam* was published, Egidius Romanus, the Archbishop of Bourges, wrote against it, being deceived into a belief that Boniface claimed a direct temporal power over the King of France, over and above that power which had always been admitted in France according to the Bull *Novit* of Innocent III.—viz., an indirect spiritual power in temporal matters when involving sin.¶ The same course was taken by other French writers.

Boniface had already declared in a Consistory in 1302 that he had never assumed any jurisdiction which belonged to the King;

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* 1 Corinthians ii. 15.
† St. Matthew xvi. 19.
‡ Romans xiii. 2.
§ Genesis i. 1.
‖ Joann. Gerson, *De Potest. Eccles.* Consid. xii. Bianchi, *Della Potestà et della Politia della Chiesa*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. xi.
¶ Bianchi, lib. i. cap. x.

but that he had declared the King to be, like any other Christian, subject to him only in regard to sin.*

(2) Secondly, the Regalists once more assailed the *Unam Sanctam* in the reign of Louis XIV.

Bianchi says that there is not to be found a writer in France, before Calvin, who denied this indirect spiritual power; that the denial was introduced by the Huguenots about the year 1626; that the Sorbonne began to adhere to it, and reduced it to a formula in 1662.† Bossuet endeavors to fasten on the *Unam Sanctam* the old Regalist interpretation, and affirms that it was withdrawn by Clement V.: which statement is contrary to the fact. Clement V., on the contrary, interprets the Bull in the true sense, as Boniface had done, declaring that Boniface did not thereby subject the King, or the Kingdom of France, in any greater degree to the authority of the Pontiff than they had been before, that is, according to the Bull of Innocent III. *Novit*, and the doctrines of the old Sorbonne.‡

The history of the Four Gallican Articles, and of the writers who defended them, is too well known to need repetition.

(3) We come, lastly, to those who have assailed it at this time. It is not a little wearisome to read the same old stories over again; and to be told as "scientific history" that Boniface VIII. claimed to have received both swords as his own, to be held in his own hand, and wielded by him in direct temporal jurisdiction over temporal princes. We have all this raked up again in *Janus*. From *Janus* it goes to newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets. Any body can interpret a Pope's Bull. There is no need of a knowledge of contemporary facts, or of the terminology of the Civil or Canon Law, or of Pontifical Acts, or of the technical meaning of words. A dictionary, and a stout heart to attack the Pope, is enough. Such men would have us believe, against all the Popes, that they have claimed temporal power, properly so called, over temporal Princes.

VI. I will, therefore, now give what may be affirmed to be the true and legitimate interpretation of the *Unam Sanctam*.

It can not be better stated than in the words of Dr. Döllinger.§ He writes thus:—

"Boniface opened the council, at which there were present from France four archbishops, thirty-five bishops, and six abbots, in November, 1302. One consequence of this council appears to have been the celebrated decretal *Unam Sanctam*, which was made public on the 18th of November, and which contains an exposition of the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers. In the Church, it says, there are two powers, a temporal and spiritual, and as far as they are both in the Church, they have both the same end; the temporal power, the inferior,

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* Döllinger's *History of Church*, vol. iv. p. 91.

† Lib. i. cap. xiii.

‡ In the Appendix A will be found in full the Text of the three Pontifical Acts, *Novit*, *Unam Sanctam*, *Meruit*.

§ *Hist.* iv. p. 91.

is subject to the spiritual, the higher and more noble; the former must be guided and directed by the latter, as the body is by the soul; it receives from the spiritual its consecration and its direction to its highest object, and must therefore, should it ever depart from its destined path, be corrected by the spiritual power. It is a truth of faith that all men, even kings, are subject to the Pope; if, therefore, they should be guilty of grievous sins, in peace or in war, or in the government of their kingdoms, and the treatment of their subjects, and should thus lose sight of the object to which the power of a Christian Prince should be directed, and should give public scandal to the people, the Pope can admonish them, since in regard to sin they are subject to the spiritual power; he can correct them; and, if necessity should require it, compel them by censures to remove such scandals. For if they were not subject to the censures of the Church, whenever they might sin in the exercise of the power entrusted to them, it would follow that as kings they were out of the Church; that the two powers would be totally distinct from each other; and that they were descended from distinct and even opposed principles, which would be an error approaching to the heresy of the Manichees. It was therefore the indirect power of the Church over the temporal power of kings which the Pope defended in these Bulls; and he had designedly extracted the strongest passages of them from the writings of two French theologians, St. Bernard and Hugo of St. Victor."

The interpretation given here by Dr. Döllinger is undoubtedly correct. All Catholics are bound to assent to the doctrines here declared; for though they are not here defined, yet they are certainly true. The only definition, properly so called, in the Bull is contained in the last sentence.

Now, upon the doctrines declared by the Bull it is to be observed:—

1. That it does not say that the two swords were *given* by our Lord to the Church; but that the two swords are *in potestate Ecclesiæ*, "in the power of the Church."

2. That it at once goes on to distinguish "Both (swords) are *in the power* of the Church, the spiritual, that is, and the material. But this (the material) is to be used *for* the Church; that (the spiritual) is to be used *by* the Church. This, indeed (by the hand), of the Priest; that, by the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the bidding and sufferance of the Priest."

3. That though both swords are *in* the Church, they are held in different hands, and to be used by the subordination of the one to the other. *Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio:* the one sword must be subordinate to the other, the lower to the higher.

4. That Boniface VIII., in this very Bull *Unam Sanctam*, expressly declares that the power given to Peter was the "*Suprema Spiritualis potestas*," not the Temporal, or a mixed power, but purely Spiritual, which may judge all Powers, but itself is judged of God alone.

Now, on the principles already laid down, there ought to be no difficulty in rightly and clearly understanding this doctrine.

1. For first the Material Sword is as old as human society. It was not given by grace, nor held by grace, which is a heresy condemned in Wicklif by the Council of Constance; but it belongs to the Civil Ruler in the order of nature, as St. Paul, speaking of the heathen empire, says: "He beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God to execute wrath."

Nothing but want of care or thought could have led men to forget this, which is a truth and fact of the natural order.

When any prince by baptism became Christian, he became subject to the law of God and to the Church as its expositor. He became subject, not only as a man, but as a prince; not only in the duties of his private life, but in the duties of his public life also. But this did not deprive him of the civil sword, nor of any of the rights of the natural order.* *Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio.* The Bull declares that the Material Sword which he brought with him when he was baptized ought to be subject to the Spiritual Sword. But it nowhere says that the Material Sword was given to the Church, or that the Church gave it to the Imperial Ruler. It is *in* the Church, because he that bears it is in the Church. It is the office of the Church to consecrate it, and (*instituere*) to *instruct* it. But it belongs essentially to the natural order, though it is to be exercised according to the supernatural order of faith.

2. When it is said that both Swords are "*in the power of the Church*," it means that the Church in a Christian world includes the natural order in its unity. The conception of the Church included the whole complex Christian Society, made up of both powers, united in a complete visible unity.

Mr Bryce, in his excellent work on the Holy Roman Empire, says:—

"Thus the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire are one and the same thing in two aspects; and Catholicism, the principle of the universal Christian Society, is also Romanism: that is, rests upon Rome as the origin and type of universality, manifesting itself in a mystic dualism which corresponds to the two natures of its Founder. As Divine and eternal, its head is the Pope, to whom all souls have been entrusted; as human and temporal, the Emperor, commissioned to rule men's bodies and acts."†

Mr. Bryce has here clearly seen the concrete unity of the Christian world; but he has missed the order which creates that unity. His description is what Boniface VIII. calls "a monster with two heads." Mr. Bryce quotes this saying in a note. If he had mastered the spiritual element as he has mastered the political, Mr. Bryce's book would have ranked very high among great authors.

Mr. Freeman in an article on Mr. Bryce's book, is nearer to the true conception. He writes as follows:

"The theory of the Mediæval Empire is that of an universal

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*Bianchi, lib. i. cap. iv.

† *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 108. (Macmillan, 1871.)

Christian Monarchy. The Roman Empire and the Catholic Church are two aspects of one Society." . . . "At the head of this Society, in its temporal character as an Empire, stands the temporal chief of Christendom, the Roman Cæsar; at its head, in its spiritual character as a Church, stands the spiritual chief of Christendom, the Roman Pontiff. Cæsar and Pontiff alike rule by Divine right." *

Now here are two things to be noted. First, that the Emperor holds an office of human creation; the Pontiff an office of Divine creation. Secondly, that the office of Divine creation is for a higher end than the office which is of human origin. The former is for the eternal, the latter for the earthly happiness of man.

But as I have said before, the office of Divine creation, ordained to guide men to an eternal end, is higher than the office of human origin, directed to an earthly and temporal end; and in this the perfect unity and subordination of the whole is constituted and preserved.

Nevertheless, both Mr. Bryce and Mr. Freeman bring out clearly what Boniface means when he says that the two swords are *in Ecclesia, in* the Church, and *in potestate Ecclesiæ, in the power* of the Church.

To this I may add the following passage from the late Cardinal Tarquini, † who states the whole subject with great precision :—

"The Civil Society of Catholics is distinguished from others by this—that it consists of the same assemblage of men as the Church of Christ, that is, the Catholic Church, consists of: so that it in no way constitutes a real body diverse and separate from the Church; but both (societies) together have the character of a twofold federative association and obligation inhering in the same multitude of men, whereby the Civil Society under the government of the Civil Magistrate exerts its powers to secure the temporal happiness of men, and, under the government of the Church, to secure eternal life; and in such wise that eternal life be acknowledged to be the last and supreme end to which temporal happiness and the whole temporal life is subordinate; because if any man do not acknowledge this, he neither belongs to the Catholic Church, nor may call himself Catholic. Such, then, is the true notion of the Civil Society of Catholics. It is a society of men who so pursue the happiness of this life as thereby to show that it ought to be subordinate to the attainment of eternal happiness, which they believe can be attained alone under the direction of the Catholic Church."

We have here the full and genuine doctrine of the *Unam Sanctam*—the one body, the two swords, the subordination of the material to the spiritual sword, the indirect power of the spiritual over the temporal whensoever it deviates from the eternal end.

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* Freeman's *Historical Essays*, pp. 136–137. (Macmillan, 1872.)

† Tarquini, *Juris Eccl. Publici Institutiones*, p. 56. (Rome, 1873.)

Dr. Döllinger's interpretation, then, is strictly correct—namely, "It was therefore," he says, "the indirect power of the Church over the temporal power of Kings which the Pope defended in these Bulls;" but that power of the Pope is itself Spiritual.

VIII. From this doctrine Cardinal Tarquini draws the following conclusions:

1. In things temporal, and in respect to the temporal end (of Government), the Church has no power in Civil society.

The proof of this proposition is that all things merely temporal are (*præter finem Ecclesiæ*) beside, or outside of the end of the Church. It is a general rule that no society has no power in those things which are out of its own proper end.

2. In whatsoever things, whether essentially or by accident, the spiritual end, that is, the end of the Church, is necessarily involved, in those things, though they be temporal, the Church may by right exert its power, and the Civil State ought to yield.*

In these two propositions we have the full explanation of the indirect spiritual power of the Church. I give it in Cardinal Tarquini's words—

"*Directly* the care of temporal happiness alone belongs to the State, but *indirectly* the office also of protecting morals and religion; so, however, that this be done dependently on the Church, forasmuch as the Church is a society to which the care of religion and morals is directly committed.

"That which in the Civil Society is indirect and dependent, is direct and independent in the Church; and, on the other hand, the end which is proper and direct to the Civil State, that is, temporal happiness, falls only *indirectly*, or so far as the spiritual end requires, under the power of the Church.

"The result of all this is—

"1. That the Civil Society, even though every member of it be Catholic, is not subject to the Church, but plainly independent in temporal things which regard its temporal end.

"2. That the language of the Fathers, which seems to affirm † an absolute independence of the Civil State, is to be brought within this limit."

VIII. I will now give a summary of this matter in the words of Suarez, and also his comment on the terminology used by Canonists and theologians on this subject.

He says that the opinion which gives to the Pontiff *direct temporal* power over all the world is false.

Next, he sets aside the opinion that the Pontiff has this direct temporal power over the Church.

He then gives as the true opinion that which has been affirmed—namely, that the Pontiff has not *direct temporal* power, except in those States of which he is Temporal Prince; but that he has a *spiritual* power *indirectly* over temporal things, in so far as they affect the salvation of men or involve sin. ‡

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*Tarquini, *Juris Eccl. Publici Institutiones*, p. 57.
† Ibid. p. 55 and note.
‡ Suarez, *De Legibus*, lib. iii. c. vi.

One chief cause of the confusion of Regalists and our non-Catholic adversaries has been the uncertain use of language, and the want of a fixed terminology until a certain date.

The word *Temporal* was used in two senses. It was used to signify the power of Civil Rulers in the order of nature. And in this sense the Church has never claimed it for its head. It was used also to signify the *spiritual* power of the Pontiff *when incident indirectly upon temporal things.* The spiritual power, then, had a temporal effect, and took, so to speak, its color and name from that use, remaining always spiritual as before.

For instance, we speak of the "Colonial power" of the Crown, meaning the Imperial power applied to the government of the Colonies; in like manner the spiritual power of the Pope, applied indirectly to temporal things, was (*improprie*) improperly called Temporal, and this *usus loquendi* gave rise to much misinterpretation.

What I have here stated was the judgment of Bellarmine, who, in his answer to Barclay, writes as follows: —

"Barclay says that there are two opinions among Catholics (on the power of the Pontiff). The one, which most Canonists follow, affirms that in the Supreme Pontiff, as Vicar of Christ, both powers, Spiritual and Temporal, exist; the other, which is the common opinion of Theologians, affirms that the power of the Supreme Pontiff, as Vicar of Christ, is strictly spiritual in itself; but that, nevertheless, he may, by the same, dispose temporal things so that they be ordered for spiritual ends." *

Barclay argued that the power of the Pope in temporal things was a free and open opinion among Catholics: Bellarmine, in replying, says: —

"That this power is in the Pope is not opinion but certitude among Catholics, though there may be many discussions as to *what* and *of what quality* the power is: that is to say, whether it be *properly* and *in itself* of a *temporal* kind, or whether it be not rather *spiritual*, but by a certain necessary consequence, and in order to spiritual ends, it dispose of temporal things." †

Bellarmine states his own opinion in these words:

"Temporal Princes, when they come to the family of Christ, lose neither their princely power nor jurisdiction; but they become subject to him whom Christ has set over His family, to be governed and directed by him in those things which lead to eternal life." ‡

Now, from these passages it would appear that in Bellarmine's judgment the opinions of the Canonists and the Theologians practically came to one and the same thing, though their language was different. By Temporal Power some earlier Canonists may perhaps have intended a power temporal in itself; but the later Canonists did not intend more than a Spiritual power over temporal things: which the Theologians also asserted. But this use

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* Bellarmine, *De Potestate Summi Pontificis*, cap. i. p. 848 A, Cologne, 1617.

† *Ibid.* cap. iii. p. 852 A.

‡ *Ibid.* cap. iii. p. 858 A.

of the word *temporal* seemed to imply that the *quality* of the power was not *spiritual*, as the Theologians asserted. This ambiguity is the source of the misunderstandings which we daily read in attacks upon the Catholic Church. I can the more readily believe the good faith of those who so misconceive it, because I can remember that I was misled by the same mistake for many years. For instance, the Canonists affirm that the whole world is the territory of the Pontiff (*Territorium Pontificis*). But they do so in answering the objection, that where the Pontiff acts spiritually in the territory of any temporal Prince, he is invading the territory of another. The meaning is evident: namely, that the Pontiff has universal jurisdiction over the whole world. But this does not say that his jurisdiction is temporal. It affirms only that it runs into all the world. It merely affirms that it is universal; and the same writers assert that in itself it is only Spiritual.*

We have been told that Bellarmine's book was put upon the Index. But, after a judicial examination, it was removed by order of the Holy See, and its perfect soundness acknowledged.

Suarez lays down precisely the same doctrine as Bellarmine. He says:—

"Those authors who teach absolutely that the Pope has Supreme Power, and that *temporal*, in the whole world, mean this, 'that the Pontiff, in virtue of his *Spiritual* Power and jurisdiction, is superior to Kings and temporal Princes, so as to direct them in the use of their *temporal* Power in order to *Spiritual* ends.'"

He then goes on:—

"For though they sometimes speak indistinctly, and without sufficient clearness, or even (*improprie*) incorrectly—because the power of the Pope is not temporal but spiritual, which contains under itself things temporal, and is exercised about them *indirectly*, that is, for the sake of Spiritual things—nevertheless they often make this sense clear, and lay down their distinctions either expressly or virtually; for they affirm that the Pontiff can do some things *indirectly*, but deny that he can do them *directly*."†

But if the Pope had *temporal* power properly so called, he could do all things *directly*. This negative proves that the power of which they spoke was only Spiritual.

Suarez further says:—

"Subjection is of two kinds—direct and indirect. Subjection is called *direct* when it is within the end and limits of the same power; it is called *indirect* when it springs from direction to a higher end, which belongs to a higher and more excellent power. The proper Civil Power in itself is directly ordained for the fitting state and temporal happiness of the human commonwealth in time of this present life; and therefore the power itself is

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*Tarquini, p. 46.

†Suarez, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*, tom. xxiv. lib. iii. c. xxii. 2d ed. Paris, 1869.

called temporal. The Civil Power, therefore, is then called supreme in its own order when within the same, and in respect to its end, the ultimate resolution (of power) is made within its own sphere." . . . "The chief ruler is, then, subordinate to no superior in order to the same end of Civil Government. But, as temporal and civil happiness are related to that which is spiritual and eternal, it may happen that the matter of Civil Government must be otherwise ordered and directed, in order to spiritual welfare, than the Civil policy alone seems to require. And then, though the temporal Prince and his power do not directly depend in their acts upon any other power in the same (*i. e.* the temporal) order, which also regards the same end only, nevertheless it may happen that it needs to be directed, helped, and corrected in the matter of its government by a superior power, which governs men in order to a more excellent and eternal end; and then this dependence is called *indirect*, because that higher power is not exercised in respect to temporal things (*per se*) of its own nature, nor for its own sake, but indirectly, and for another end." *

It will be seen here:—

1. That the superior power can not be temporal, or its jurisdiction would be direct.

2. That, if temporal, it would not be of a *higher*, but of the *same order*.

3. That, therefore, the claim of indirect power is an express exclusion of temporal power, properly so called, from the spiritual supremacy of the Head of the Church.

Suarez states, but rejects, the opinion of certain early Canonists and Jurists who taught that the power of the Pontiff over any temporal thing was also temporal in itself. He then states and proves that this indirect power is *Spiritual* only. After speaking of the power of the Keys, he says:—

"In no other place did Christ imply that He gave to Peter or to the Church temporal dominion, or a proper and direct royalty; nor does Ecclesiastical tradition show this, but rather the reverse." †

With these authorities before us, there can be little difficulty in explaining the texts usually quoted by adversaries, who desire to fasten on the *Unam Sanctam* and upon the Catholic Church a claim to temporal power, that is, temporal in its root and in itself.

The passages usually quoted from Pope Nicholas, St. Bernard, St. Thomas, Alvarez, Hugo of St. Victor, St. Bonaventura, Durandus, and others, are fully discussed and proved by Bellarmine to affirm no more than Spiritual power; and that indirectly over temporal matters, when they involve the Spiritual end of the Church.‡

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*Suarez, *Defensio Fidei, &c.* lib. iii. cap. v. sect. 2.

†Suarez, *Defensio Fidei, &c.* lib. iii. cap. v. sect. 14.

‡ This may be seen in his *Controversia de Summo Pontifice*, cap. v.; and in Bianchi's work, *Della Potestà*, tom. i. p. 91, lib. i. ch. x. xi.

IX. I hope sufficiently to prove hereafter what I asserted—namely, that though a supreme spiritual authority be inherent in the Divine constitution and commission of the Church, its exercise in the world depends on certain moral and material conditions, by which alone its exercise is rendered possible or just. This shall be shown by treating the subjects raised by the "Expostulation;"* namely, the deposing power, and the use of political force or penal legislation in matters of religion. I hope, and I believe, that I am able to show that the moral condition of the Christian world made justifiable in other ages that which would be unjustifiable in this; and that the attempt to raise prejudice, suspicion, and hostility against the Catholic Church at this day and in England by these topics, is an act essentially unjust; from which a real science of history ought to have preserved Mr. Gladstone. I must repeat here again that between the Vatican Council and these subjects there is no more relation than between jurisprudence and the equinox. Some fifteen Councils of the Church, of which two are General, have indeed recognized and acted upon the supremacy of the Spiritual authority of the Church over temporal things; but the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is one thing, his supreme judicial authority is another. And the Definition of Infallibility by the Vatican Council has in no way, by so much as a jot or tittle, changed or affected that which was infallibly fixed and declared before. But, as I will go on to show, even infallible laws cease to apply when the subject matter is wanting, and the necessary moral conditions are passed away.

I must acknowledge, therefore, that the following words fill me with surprise. Speaking of Dr. Doyle and others, he says:—

"Answers in abundance were obtained, tending to show that the doctrines of deposition and persecution, of keeping no faith with heretics, and of universal dominion, were obsolete beyond revival." †

This passage implicitly affirms what I hope explicitly to prove. How can laws become *obsolete*, but by the cessation of the moral conditions which require or justify their exercise? How can laws, the exercise of which is required by the permanent presence of the same moral conditions which called them into existence, become obsolete? I pass over the "no faith with heretics," which is an example of the injustice which pervades the Pamphlet. I should have thought it impossible for Mr. Gladstone not to know the true meaning of this controversial distortion: but I am willing to believe that he did not know it; for if he had, it would have been impossible for such as he is to write it.

The moral principles on which the exercise of supreme powers and rights was justifiable in the age of Boniface VIII. exists no longer in the nineteenth century in England. Let no one cynically pretend that this is to give up or to explain away. I read the other day these words:—

"The Pope has sent forth his prohibitions and his anathemas

* *Expostulation*, p. 26. † *Expostulation*, p. 26.

to the world, and the world has disregarded them. The faithful receive them with conventional respect, and then hasten to assure their Protestant friends that Papal edicts can make no possible difference in the conduct of any human being."*

Nothing can be less true. The first principles of morals forbid the exercise of the supreme judicial power of the Church on such a civil order as that of England. When it was *de facto* subject to the Church, England had by its own free will accepted the laws of Christendom. It can never be again subject to such laws except on the same condition—namely, by its own free will. Till then the highest laws of morality render the exercises of such Pontifical acts in England impossible.

Mr. Gladstone has called on Pius IX. to repudiate such powers.† But Pius IX. can not repudiate powers which his predecessors justly exercised, without implying that their actions were unjust. He need not repudiate them for himself, for the exerise of them is impossible, and, if physically possible, would be morally impossible, as repugnant to all equity, and, under correction, I will say to natural justice. The infallible witness for justice, and equity, and charity among men, can not violate these laws which unerringly govern his office.

X. The command of our Lord to the Apostles: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned"‡—clearly invests the Church with the authority to baptize every creature. But the exercise of this right was suspended upon a moral condition. It conveyed no right to baptize any man against his will: nor without an act of faith on his part. But an act of faith is a spontaneous and voluntary act of submission, both of intellect and will, to the truth, and to the teacher who delivers it. The absolute and universal authority therefore of the Church to baptize depends upon the free and voluntary act of those who believe, and, through their own spontaneous submission, are willing to be baptized.

The Church so regards the moral conditions on which its acts depend, that as a rule it will not even suffer an infant to be baptized unless at least one of the parents consents.

In like manner the power of absolution, which has no limit of time or of subject, can be exercised only upon those who are willing. Confession and contrition, both voluntary acts of the penitent, are absolutely necessary to the exercise of the power of the Keys.

This principle will solve many questions in respect to the Spiritual authority of the Church over the Civil State.

First, it shows that, until a Christian world and Christian Rulers existed, there was no subject for the exercise of this spiritual authority of judgment and correction. Those who amuse themselves by asking why St. Peter did not depose Nero, will do well to find

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* *Times*, Wednesday, December 30, 1874, in leading article on the Pope.

† *Expostulation*, p. 26.

‡ St. Mark xvi. 15, 16.

out whether people are laughing with them or at them. Such questions are useful. They compendiously show that the questioner does not understand the first principles of his subject. If he will find out why St. Peter neither baptized nor absolved Nero, he will have found out why he did not depose him. Until a Christian world existed there was no *apta materia* for the supreme judicial power of the Church in temporal things. Therefore St. Paul laid down as a rule of law that he had nothing to do in judging those that were without the unity of the Church.

But when a Christian world came into existence, the Civil society of man became subject to the Spiritual direction of the Church. So long, however, as individuals only subjected themselves, one by one, to its authority, the conditions necessary for the exercise of its office were not fully present. The Church guided men, one by one, to their eternal end; but as yet the collective society of nations was not subject to its guidance. It is only when nations and kingdoms become socially subject to the supreme doctrinal and judicial authority of the Church that the conditions of its exercise are verified. When the senate and people of the Roman Empire were only half Christian, the Church still refrained from acts which would have affected the whole body of the State. When the whole had become Christian, the whole became subject to the Divine Law, of which the Roman Pontiff was the supreme expositor and executive.

It would be endless to state examples in detail. I will take, therefore, only one in which the indirect spiritual power of the Church over the temporal State is abundantly shown. Take, for instance, the whole subject of Christian Matrimony: the introduction of the Christian law of the unity and indissolubility and sacramental character of marriage; the tables of consanguinity and of affinity; the jurisdiction of the Church over matrimonial cases. This action of the Pontifical law upon the Imperial law, and the gradual conformity of the Empire to the Church, exhibits in a clear and complete way what is the power claimed by the Church over the temporal laws of Princes.

The Council of Trent reserves matrimonial causes to the Ecclesiastical Tribunals; and in the Syllabus the proposition is condemned that they belong to the Civil jurisdiction.*

In like manner, in prohibiting duels, the Council declares temporal penalties against not only the principals, but those also who are guilty of permitting them.†

In like manner, again, the Christian law of faith and morals passed into the public law of Christendom. Then arose the Christian jurisprudence, in which the Roman Pontiff was recognized as the supreme Judge of Princes and of People, with a twofold coercion: spiritual by his own authority, and temporal by the secular arm. These two acted as one. Excommunication and deposition were so united in the jurisprudence of Christendom, that he who pronounced the sentence of excommunication

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*Sess. xxiv. De Ref. can. xii.

†Sess. xxv. cap. xix.

pronounced also the sentence of deposition; as before the repeal of our Test Acts, if a member of the Church of England became Catholic, or even Nonconformist, he was *ipso facto* incapable of sitting in Parliament or holding office of State. And by the first of William III. the heir to the Crown, if he become Catholic, or marry a Catholic, *ipso facto* forfeits the succession. Nothing is more certain upon the face of history, and no one has proved more abundantly than Dr. Döllinger, that in every case of deposition, as of Philip le Bel, Henry IV. of Germany, Frederic II., and the like, the sentence of the Electors, Princes, States, and people, and the public opinion and voice of nations, had already pronounced sentence of rejection upon those tyrants before the Pontiffs pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition. It was only by the faith and free will of nations that they became socially subject to this jurisprudence; it was by their free will that it was maintained in vigor; and it was in conformity with their free will that it was exercised by the Pontiffs. Their free sentence preceded the Pontifical sentence. It was at their prayer, and in their behalf, that it was pronounced. The moral condition of spontaneous acceptance, and the material conditions of execution, were alike present, rendering these supreme Pontifical acts legitimate, right, lawful, wise, and salutary.

XI. And here I shall be met with the answer: "You justify, then, the deposition of princes, and therefore you hold that the Pope may depose Queen Victoria." Such, I am sorry to say, is the argument of the "Expostulation;" for if it be not, why was it implied? I altogether deny the argument, or inference, or call it what you will. I affirm that the deposition of Henry IV. and Frederic II. of Germany were legitimate, right, and lawful; and I affirm that a deposition of Queen Victoria would not be legitimate, nor right, nor lawful, because the moral conditions which were present to justify the deposition of the Emperors of Germany are absent in the case of Queen Victoria; and therefore such an act could not be done.

This is not a mere personal opinion of my own, or even a mere opinion of theologians. What I have affirmed has been declared by the authority of Pius VI. In a letter from the Congregation of Cardinals of the College of Propaganda, by order of His Holiness Pius VI., addressed to the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, dated Rome, June 23, 1791, we read as follows:—

"In this controversy a most accurate discrimination should be made between the genuine rights of the Apostolical See and those that are imputed to it by innovators of this age for the purpose of calumniating. The See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox—that an oath to kings separated from Catholic communion can be violated—that it is lawful for the Bishops of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We, too, consider an attempt or design against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime."

I may add that this passage was not unknown to Dr. Döllinger,

who quotes it at p. 51 in his work on "The Church and the Churches."

But lest any one should reply that this was said when Catholics were under penal laws, and with a view to blinding the English Government, I will add that no one has more frankly and forcibly expressed this than Pius IX., in the very text of which Mr. Gladstone has quoted a part. The Holy Father, on July 20, 1871, thus addressed a Literary Society in Rome:—

"In the variety of subjects which will present themselves to you, one appears to me of great importance at this time; and that is, to defeat the endeavors which are now directed to falsify the idea of the Infallibility of the Pope. Among all other errors, that is malicious above all which would attribute (to the Infallibility of the Pope) the right of deposing sovereigns, and of absolving people from the obligation of allegiance.

"This right, without doubt, has been exercised by the Supreme Pontiffs from time to time in extreme cases, but it has nothing to do with the Pontifical Infallibility; neither does it flow from the Infallibility, but from the authority of the Pontiff.

"Moreover, the exercise of this right in those ages of faith which respected in the Pope that which he is, that is to say, the Supreme Judge of Christendom, and recognized the benefit of his tribunal in the great contentions of peoples and of sovereigns, was freely extended (by aid, as was just, of public jurisprudence, and the common consent of nations) to the gravest interests of States and of their rulers."

So far Mr. Gladstone quoted from what was before him. Unfortunately, he appears not to have known what followed. Pius IX. went on to say:—

"But altogether different are the conditions of the present time from the conditions (of those ages); and malice alone can confound things so diverse, that is to say, the infallible judgment in respect to truths of Divine Revelation with the right which the Popes exercised in virtue of their authority when the common good demanded it. They know better than we, and every body can discern the reason why such an absurd confusion of ideas is stirred up at this time, and *why hypothetical cases are paraded of which no man thinks.* It is because every pretext, even the most frivolous and furthest from the truth, is eagerly caught at, provided it be of a kind to give us annoyance, and to excite civil rulers against the Church.

"Some would have me interpret and explain even more fully the Definition of the Council.

"I will not do it. It is clear in itself, and has no need of other comments and explanations. Whosoever reads that Decree with a dispassionate mind has its true sense easily and obviously before him." *

Now, the Holy Father in these words has abundantly shown two things: first, that they who connect Infallibility with the Deposing Power are talking of what they do not understand;

* *Discorsi di Pio Nono*, July 20, 1871, p. 203, Rome, 1872.

and, secondly, that the moral conditions which justified and demanded the deposition of tyrannical Princes, when the mediæval world was both Christian and Catholic, have absolutely ceased to exist, now that the world has ceased to be Catholic, and has ceased to be even Christian. It has withdrawn itself socially as a whole, and in the public life of nations, from the unity and the jurisdiction of the Christian Church. In this it differs altogether from the mediæval world. And it differs also from the ancient world. For, the ancient world had never yet believed the faith; the modern world has believed, but fallen from its faith. The ancient world was without the unity of the Christian Church *de facto et de jure*. The modern world is without *de facto*; and this has changed all the moral conditions of the subject. The Church never, indeed, loses its jurisdiction *in radice* over the baptized, because the character of baptism is indellible; but unless the moral conditions justifying its exercise be present, it never puts it forth. As Mr. Gladstone has cited the example of Queen Elizabeth, implying that he sees no difference between Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria, I will add that Queen Elizabeth was baptized a Catholic; that she was crowned as a Catholic; that she received Holy Communion in the High Mass of her consecration as a Catholic; that she was both *de jure* and *de facto* a subject of the Catholic Church; that the majority of the people of England were still Catholic. What one of all these conditions is present in the case which I refuse to put in parallel? The English Monarchy has been withdrawn for three centuries from the Catholic Church; the English people are wholly separate; the Legislation of England has effaced every trace of the jurisprudence which rendered the Pontifical acts of St. Gregory VII. and Innocent IV. legitimate, just, and right. The public laws of England explicitly reject and exclude the first principles of that ancient Christian and Catholic jurisprudence. Not only is every moral condition which could justify such an act absent, but every moral condition which would render such an act unjustifiable, as it would seem to me, is present.* This is a treatment of history which is not scientific, but shallow; and a dangerous use of inflammatory rhetoric, when every calm dictate of prudence and of justice ought to forbid its indulgence. "The historic spirit," † commended in the "Expostulation," would have led to such a treatment of this question as Mr. Freeman wisely recommends.

"The cause of all this diversity and controversy—a diversity and controversy most fatal to historic truth—is to be traced to the unhappy mistake of looking at the men of the twelfth century with the eyes of the nineteenth; and still more of hoping to extract something from the events of the twelfth century to do service in the controversies of the nineteenth."‡

XII. For the same reasons I deplore the haste, I must say the

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*Appendix B. † *Expostulation*, p. 14.

‡ Freeman's *Historical Essays*, "St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers," p. 80.

passion, which carried away so large a mind to affirm or to imply that the Church at this day would, if she could, use torture, and force, and coercion in matters of religious belief. I am well aware that men of a mind and calibre as far removed from Mr. Gladstone as almost to constitute a different species, have at times endeavored to raise suspicion and animosity against Catholics, by affirming that if they became the majority in this country—a danger certainly not proximate—they would use their power to compel men to conform to the Catholic faith. In the year 1830 the Catholics of Belgium were in a vast majority, but they did not use their political power to constrain the faith or conscience of any man. The "Four Liberties" of Belgium were the work of Catholics. This is the most recent example of what Catholics would do if they were in possession of power. But there is one more ancient and more homely for us Englishmen. It is found at a date when the old traditions of the Catholic Church were still vigorous in the minds of men. It will therefore show that in this at least we owe nothing to modern progress, nor to the indifference of Liberalism. If the modern spirit had any share in producing the Constitution in Belgium, it certainly had no share in producing the Constitution of Maryland. Lord Baltimore, who had been Secretary of State under James I., in 1633, emigrated to the American Plantations, where, through Lord Strafford's influence, he had obtained a grant of land. He was accompanied by men of all minds, who agreed chiefly in the one desire to leave behind them the miserable religious conflicts which then tormented England. They named their new country Maryland, and there they settled. The oath of the Governor was in these terms: "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." Lord Baltimore invited the Puritans of Massachusetts, who, like himself, had renounced their country for conscience' sake, to come into Maryland. In 1649, when active persecution had sprung up again in England, the Council of Maryland, on the 21st of April, passed this Statute: "And whereas the forcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in the Commonwealth where it has been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of the Province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within the Province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be anyways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof."* The Episcopalians and Protestants fled from Virginia into Maryland. Such was the Commonwealth founded by a Catholic upon the broad moral law I have here laid down—that faith is an act of the will, and that to force men to profess what they do not believe is contrary to the law of God, and that to generate faith by force is morally impossible. It was by convic-

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. i. pp.. 233, 235, 255, etc.

tion of the reason and by persuasion of the will that the world-wide unity of faith and communion were slowly built up among the nations. When once shattered, nothing but conviction and persuasion can restore it. Lord Baltimore was surrounded by a multitude scattered by the great wreck of the Tudor persecutions. He knew that God alone could build them up again into unity; but that the equity of charity might enable them to protect and to help each other, and to promote the common weal.

I can not refrain from continuing the history. The Puritan Commonwealth in England brought on a Puritan revolution in Maryland. They acknowledged Cromwell, and disfranchised the whole Catholic population. "Liberty of conscience" was declared, but to the exclusion of "Popery, Prelacy, and licentiousness of opinion." Penal laws came, of course. Quakers in Massachusetts, for the first offense, lost one ear; for the second, the other; for the third, had their tongue seared with a red-hot iron. Women were whipped, and men were hanged, for religion. If Catholics were in power to-morrow in England, not a penal law would be proposed, nor the shadow of constraint be put upon the faith of any man. We would that all men fully believed the truth; but a forced faith is a hypocrisy hateful to God and man. If Catholics were in power to-morrow, not only would there be no penal laws of constraint, but no penal laws of privation. If the Ionian Islands had elected, some years ago, to attach themselves to the Sovereignty of Pius IX., the status of the Greek Church separate from Catholic Unity would have been tolerated and respected. Their Churches, their public worship, their Clergy, and their religious rites would have been left free as before. They were found in possession, which was confirmed by the tradition of centuries; they had acquired Civil rights, which enter into the laws of political justice, and as such would have been protected from all molestation.*

I have drawn this out, because a question absolutely chimerical has been raised to disturb the confidence of the English people in their Catholic fellow-countrymen. And I have given the reason and the principle upon which, if the Catholics were to-morrow the "Imperial race" in these Kingdoms, they would not use political power to molest the divided and hereditary religious state of our people. We should not shut one of their Churches, or Colleges, or Schools. They would have the same liberties we enjoy as a minority. I hope the Nonconformists of England are prepared to say the same. As we are in days when some are

* Our older writers, such as Bellarmine and Suarez, when treating of this subject, had before their eyes a generation of men who all had been in the unity of the faith. Their separation therefore was formal and willful. Their separation from the unity of the Church did not release the conscience from its jurisdiction. But if Bellarmine and Suarez were living at this day, they would have to treat of a question differing in all its moral conditions. What I have here laid down is founded upon the principles they taught, applied to our times. Cardinal Tarquini, in treating the same matter, has dealt with it as it has been treated here.—*Juris Eccl. Publ. Institutiones*, p. 78.

"invited," and some are "expected," and some are "required" to speak out, I will ask my fellow-countrymen of all religious kinds to be as frank as I am.

XIII. I have now given, I hope, sufficient evidence to prove the assertion made in the second letter quoted at the outset of these pages; namely:—

"That the relations of the Catholic Church to the Civil Powers have been fixed immutably from the beginning, because they arise out of the Divine constitution of the Church, and out of the civil society of the natural order."

And we have also seen how far from the truth are the confident assertions put forward lately, that the Church ascribes to its head Supreme Temporal as well as Supreme Spiritual Power.*

Further, we have seen with what strange want of reflection and of depth the Pontifical acts of the old Catholic world are transferred *per saltum* to a world which has ceased, in its public life and laws, to be Catholic, I may almost say, to be even Christian.

Finally, I have shown, I hope, what are the relations of the Church to the Civil Powers of the world; and I have given evidence to prove that those relations have been fixed from the beginning by reason of the Divine constitution of the Church, and have been declared by Councils, not only before the Council of the Vatican, but before the Council of Trent; and, therefore, that to charge upon the Vatican Council a change in these relations is not only an assertion without proof, but an assertion contrary to historical fact.

III. Aggressions of the Civil Power.

Mr. Gladstone says:—

"It is the peculiarity of Roman theology that, by thrusting itself into the temporal domain, it naturally, and even necessarily, comes to be a frequent theme of political discussion. To quiet-minded Roman Catholics it must be a subject of infinite annoyance that their religion is on this ground more than any other the subject of criticism; more than any other the occasion of conflicts with the State and of civil disquietude. I feel sincerely how much hardship their case entails, but this hardship is brought upon them altogether by the conduct of the authorities of their own Church." †

His pamphlet from beginning to end bristles with the same accusations against the Catholic Church. His whole argument might be entitled, "Reasons to show that in all Conflicts the Christian Church is always in the wrong, and the Civil State always in the right;" or, "On the outrageous Claims" ‡ and "Exorbitances of Papal Assumptions," § contrasted with the Innocence and Infallibility of Civil States." This seems to me to be

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* *Expostulation, etc.*, p. 27.
† *Vatican Decrees*, p. 9. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 11. § *Ibid.* p. 25.

history read upside down; and not history only, but also Christianity. I can hardly persuade myself that Mr. Gladstone would contend that even in the Constitutions of Clarendon * St. Thomas of Canterbury was the aggressor, and Henry II. was within the law; or that either the Pope or Archbishop Langton began the conflict with the "Papal minion John;" or, again, that in the question of Investitures and Ecclesiastical Simony, the Emperors of Germany were on the side of law and justice, and St. Gregory VII. and Innocent III. were aggressors. And yet all this is necessary to his argument. If he is not prepared to maintain this, the whole foundation is gone. But I do not know how any man who believes in the Divine office of the Christian Church can maintain such a thesis. And I have always believed that Mr. Gladstone does so believe the Christian Church to have a Divine office, which, within some limit at least, is independent of all human authority.

But as the contention before us is not of the past so much as of the present, I will come to the facts of the days in which we live.

My third proposition, then, is, that any collisions now existing between the Catholic Church, and the States of Europe have been brought on by changes, not on the part of the Church, much less of the Vatican Council, but on the part of the Civil Powers, and that by reason of a systematic conspiracy against the Holy See. No one will ascribe to the Vatican Council the Revolution in Italy, the seizure of Rome in 1848, the invasion of the Roman State in 1860, the attacks of Garibaldi against Rome, ending with Mentana. And yet there are people who ascribe to the Vatican Council the breach at the Porta Pia, and the entry of the Italians into Rome. Such reasoners are proof against history, chronology, and logic. If anybody will persist in saying that the two and twenty years of aggression against the Holy See, from 1848 to 1870, were caused by Pius IX., I must address myself to other men. That Pius IX. has been in collision with those who attacked him is true enough. So is every man who defends his own house. Who, I ask, began the fray? From the Siccardi laws down to the laws of the Guarantees, who was the aggressor? But where the Pope is concerned logic seems to fail even in reasonable men. The other day Prince Von Bismarck told the Catholics of the Reichstag that they were accomplices of Kulmann, and therefore, as he implied, his assassins. Moreover, he affirmed that the

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* Mr. Gladstone says, upon what evidence I do not know, "The Constitutions of Clarendon, cursed from the Papal Throne, were the work of the English Bishops."* St. Thomas himself says that "Richard de Luci and Jocelin de Balliol, the abettors of the Royal tyranny, were the fabricators of those heretical pravities."† Herbert of Bosham, who was present at Clarendon, says that they were the work of "certain nobles (*proceres*) or chief-men of the kingdom."‡ The Bishops were indeed terrified into submitting to them, but the Constitutions were in no sense their work.

* *Vatican Decrees*, pp. 57, 58. † *Ep. St. Thomæ*, tom. iii. p. 12, ed. Giles, 1845.
‡ *Vita St. Thomæ*, tom. vii. p. 115, ed. Giles.

war of France against Prussia was forced on the French Emperor by the Pope and the Jesuits. How providentially, then, though altogether fortuitously, no doubt, had Prussia been for three years massing its munitions of war and putting France in the wrong by intrigues in Spain, and fables from Ems. Nevertheless, all these things are believed. Prince Von Bismarck has said them. But surely they belong to the Arabian Nights.

Now, I have already shown that, before the Vatican Council assembled, there was an opposition systematically organized to resist it. It was begun by certain Professors at Munich. The Munich Government lent itself as an agent to Dr. Döllinger, and endeavored to draw the other Governments of Europe into a combined attempt to hinder or to intimidate the Council. And this was done on the plea that the Council would not be free. I well remember that at one time we were told in Rome, that if the Council persevered with the Definition of the Infallibility, the French troops would be withdrawn. That is to say, that the Garibaldians would be let in to make short work of the Definition. It was said that the presence of the French troops was an undue pressure on the freedom of the Council, and that their departure was essential to its true liberty. There was a grim irony amounting to humor in this solicitude for the liberty of the Council.

I will now trace out more fully the history of this conspiracy, in order to put beyond question my assertion that the plan of attack was prepared before the Council met, and that the Falck Laws are a deliberate change made by the Civil Power of Prussia, the status of the Catholic Church in Germany being still unchanged.

I will here ask leave to repeat what I stated two years ago:

"In the year 1869 it was already believed that the Bavarian Government, through Prince Hohenlohe, had begun a systematic agitation against the Council. It was known that he had addressed a circular note to the European Governments. But the text of that note was not, so far as I know, ever made public. I am able now to give the text in full. It affords abundant proof of the assertion here made, that a deliberate conspiracy against the Council was planned with great artifice and speciousness of matter and of language. Moreover, the date of this document shows how long before the opening of the Council this opposition was commenced. The Council was opened on December 8, 1869. Prince Hohenlohe's note is dated on the 9th of the April preceding, that is to say, about eight months before the Council began. It runs as follows:—

"'Monsieur,—It seems to be certain that the Council convoked by His Holiness Pope Pius IX. will meet in the month of December next. The number of prelates who will attend it from all parts of the world will be much greater than at any former Council. This fact alone will help to give to its decrees a great authority, such as belongs to an Œcumenical Council. Taking this circumstance into consideration, it appears to me indispensable for every government to give it their attention, and it is with this view that I am about to address to you some observations.

"'It is not probable that the Council will occupy itself only

with doctrines appertaining to pure theology; there does not exist at this moment any problem of this nature which requires a conciliar solution. The only dogmatic thesis which Rome would wish to have decided by the Council, and which the Jesuits in Italy and Germany are now agitating, is the question of the Infallibility of the Pope. It is evident that this pretension, elevated into a dogma, would go far beyond the purely spiritual sphere, and would become a question eminently political, as raising the power of the Sovereign Pontiff, even in temporal matters, over all the princes and peoples of Christendom. This doctrine, therefore, is of such a nature as to arouse the attention of all those Governments who rule over Catholic subjects.

"'There is a circumstance which increases still more the gravity of the situation. I learn that among the commissions delegated to prepare matter, which later on is to be submitted to the deliberations of the Council, there is one which is occupied only on mixed questions, affecting equally international law, politics, and canon law. All these preparations justify our believing that it is the fixed intention of the Holy See, or at least of a party at present powerful in Rome, to promulgate through the Council a series of decrees upon questions which are rather political than ecclesiastical. Add to this that the *Civiltà Cattolica*—a periodical conducted by the Jesuits, and bearing an official character through the brief of the Holy Father—has just demanded that the Council shall transform into conciliar decrees the condemnations of the Syllabus, published on December 8, 1864. Now, the articles of this encyclical being directed against principles which are the base of modern public life, such as we find it among all civilized nations, it follows that Governments are under the necessity of asking themselves if it is not their duty to invite the serious consideration both of the Bishops who are their subjects, and of the future Council, to the sad consequences of such a premeditated and systematic overturning of the present relations between Church and State. It can not, indeed, be denied that it is a matter of urgency for Governments to combine, for the purpose of protesting, either through their agents in Rome, or in some other way, against all decisions which the Council may promulgate without the concurrence of the representatives of the secular power, in questions which are at the same time of a political and religious nature.

"'I thought that the initiative in so important a matter should be taken by one of the great Powers; but not having as yet received any communication on this subject, I have thought it necessary to seek for a mutual understanding which will protect our common interests, and that without delay, seeing that the interval between this time and the meeting of the Council is so short. I therefore desire you to submit this matter to the Government to which you are accredited, and to ascertain the views and intentions of the Court of * * * in respect to the course which it deems advisable to follow. You will submit, for the approbation of M. * * *, the question whether it would not be advisable to fix beforehand the measures to be taken, if not jointly, at least

identically, in order to enlighten the Holy See as to the attitude which the Governments of the Continent will assume in reference to the Ecumenical Council; or whether conferences composed of representatives of the States concerned would not be considered as the best means to bring about an understanding between their Governments.

"'I authorize you to leave a copy of this dispatch with the Minister for Foreign Affairs at * * *, if he desires it; and I wish you to inform me as early as possible of the manner in which this communication may be received.

"'I have the honor, etc.,

"'HOHENLOHE.

"'*Munich, April* 9, 1869.'"

No one could fail to see that this Circular had not Prince Hohenlohe for its author. We shall hereafter trace it to its legitimate origin.

"The indiction of the Council was no sooner published than the well-known volume called *Janus* appeared. It was said to be the work of many hands, and of various nations—of two at least. The chief object of its animosity was Rome, and its detailed hostility was levelled against the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff and the Syllabus. The book was elaborately acrimonious and extravagantly insolent against Rome. Its avowed aim was to rouse the Civil Governments against the Council. The Sovereign Pontiff had, with great wisdom and justice, dealt with the Governments of Europe on the ground chosen by themselves. They had renounced the Catholic relations of union hitherto subsisting between the Civil and Spiritual Powers. Pius IX. took them at their word. He convened the Spiritual Legislature of the Church; he did not invite those who have gloried in their separation from it. This, again, sharpened the jealously and suspicion of the Governments. At this time came forth certain publications—to which I will not more explicitly refer—avowedly intended to excite the Civil Powers to active opposition.

"About the month of September, 1869, as I have already said, a document containing five questions was proposed by the Bavarian Government to the Theological Faculty at Munich. No one could for a moment doubt by what hand those interrogatories also were framed; they were intended to elicit the answer, that the action of the Council, if it were to define the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, would be irreconcilable not only with Catholic doctrine, but with the security of Civil Governments. In due time the answers appeared, leaving no doubt that both the questions and the replies were inspired by one mind, if not written by one and the same hand.

"We have already seen that Prince Hohenlohe, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs in Bavaria, addressed a letter to the French and other Catholic Governments, calling on them to interfere and to prevent the 'fearful dangers' to which the Council would expose the modern world. Next, the Spanish Minister, Olozaga, hoped that the Council would not meet,

or at least would 'not approve, sanction, or ratify the Syllabus, which is in contradiction with modern civilization.' He then threatened the Church with the hostility of a league formed by the Governments of France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Bavaria. An Italian infidel then took up the game, and proposed an Anti-Ecumenical Council to meet at Naples. A French infidel was invited, who promised that his soul should be present, and said: 'It is an efficacious and noble idea to assemble a council of ideas to oppose to the council of dogmas. I accept it. On the one side is theocratic obstinacy, on the other the human mind. The human mind is a divine mind, its rays on the earth, its star is above. . . . If I can not go to Naples, nevertheless I shall be there. My soul will be there. I cry, Courage! and I squeeze your hand.' The reader will forgive my repeating this trash, which is here inserted only to show how the liberals and infidels of Europe rose up at the instigation of Dr. Döllinger to meet the coming Council.

"About the month of June, in 1869, another dispatch had been addressed by Prince Hohenlohe to the other Governments, inviting them to make common cause against the Council. It was extensively believed to be inspired by Prussia, the policy of which was thought to be, to put in contrast the liberty accorded to its own Catholic subjects in respect of the Council with the pedantic meddling of the Bavarian Government. At this time General Menabrea, under the same inspiration, addressed a circular to his diplomatic agents, proposing to the Powers to prevent the assembling of the Council, on the ground of their not having been invited to it. It was supposed at that time that this policy also was secretly supported by Berlin. A joint dispatch was sent by Prince Hohenlohe and the Italian Government to the French Government, urging the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome during the Council, *to insure its freedom of deliberation.*"

These preparations to oppose the Council were made before it had assembled. It met on December 8, 1869. In the following January, Dr. Döllinger received the freedom of a German city, in reward for his attacks on the Holy See.

"When the well-known *postulatum* of the Bishops, asking that the definition of the Papal Infallibility should be proposed to the Council, was made public, Dr. Döllinger openly assailed it; and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Daru, addressed a letter to the Holy See with a view to prevent the definition. Rome was at that time full of rumors and threats that the protection of the French army would be withdrawn. I had personally an opportunity of knowing that these threats were not mere rumors.

"At the same moment, while France was attacking the definition of the Pope's Infallibility, the Protestant Chancellor of Austria, Count Von Beust, addressed himself to the Canons of the Schema published in the *Augsburg Gazette*, which he declared would 'provoke deplorable conflicts between the Church and State.' Every European Government from that time put a pressure more or less upon the Council to prevent the definition.

"The source of this opposition, then, was Munich. The chief agent, beyond all doubt, was one who in his earlier days had been greatly venerated in Germany and in England. Truth compels me to ascribe to Dr. Döllinger the initiative in this deplorable attempt to coerce the Holy See, and to overbear the liberty of the Bishops assembled in Council. Prince Hohenlohe is assuredly no theologian. The documents published by him came from another mind and hand. Such was the opposition before and during the Council.

"What I have hitherto said to prove the conspiracy of certain European Governments, and the intrigues of the Old Catholics against the Council, both before the assembling and during its sessions, would not have been needed if the *Diary of the Council* by Professor Friedrich had sooner come into my hands. I have been feeling in the dark for proofs which he brings to light by a series of astounding confessions. I had always believed in the conspiracy; but I never knew how systematic and how self-confident it was. I had always known that the Gnostic vain-glory of German scientific historians was its chief instigator; but I never before imagined the stupendous conceit or the malevolent pride of its professors. A critique of Professor Friedrich's Diary, by some strong German hand has appeared lately in one of our journals, and I can not refrain from giving certain passages in final confirmation of what I have said above.

"And first as to the Governments. Professor Friedrich puts into the mouth of a diplomatist the following words: 'The means by which the greatest amount of influence might be brought to bear on the Council would be a determined and plain manifestation of the public opinion of Europe in favor of the minority. Clearly the *Curia* could not prevent this; and it would add strength and numbers to the opposition, by giving it the assurance, that if at the last moment it found itself obliged to protest and appeal to the nation, the Governments and all intelligent laymen would support it. This measure would also secure "weak and doubtful bishops"' (*Diary*, p. 184). On the 26th of December, 1869, Friedrich wrote, 'That he was considered by many persons to be residing in Rome as the representative of an approaching schism, if the majority obtained the upper hand in the Council' (p. 41). He says in another place: 'It would not be the first time in the history of the Church that a schism had broken out. Church history recounts many such, besides that of the Greeks' (p. 196). The critic of Professor Friedrich's book writes as follows: 'The alliance between "German science" and diplomacy was not productive of all the results which at first had been looked for. Friedrich expresses himself very bitterly on this point; nevertheless he endeavored all the more to excite German science to fresh efforts.' Under date of the 27th of March (p. 202) he writes: 'The Governments are by degrees acting an almost ridiculous part towards the Council—first boasts; then embarrassment connected with meaningless threats; and at last the confession that the right time has passed by, and that the Curia has command of the situation. If German science

had not saved its position, and been able to establish a firm opposition in the Council, even in contradiction to its own will, and kept it alive; and if our Lord God had not also set stupidity and ignorance on the side of the Curia and of the majority, the Governments would have been put to shame in the sight of the whole world. Prince Hohenlohe, in fact, is the only statesman possessed of a deeper insight in this question, and by degrees he has come to be looked upon as belonging to the minority.' *

"Of all the foreign sources from which the English newspapers drew their inspiration, the chief perhaps was the *Augsburg Gazette*. This paper has many titles to special consideration. The infamous matter of Janus first appeared in it under the form of articles. During the Council it had in Rome at least one English contributor. Its letters on the Council have been translated into English, and published by a Protestant bookseller in a volume by Quirinus."

A distinguished bishop of Germany, one of the minority opposed to the definition, whose cause the *Augsburg Gazette* professed to serve, delivered at the time his judgment on Janus, and the letters on the Council.

"Bishop Von Ketteler of Mainz, publicly protested against 'the systematic dishonesty of the correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette*.' 'It is a pure invention,' he adds, 'that the Bishops named in that journal declared that Döllinger represented, as to the substance of the question (of Infallibility), the opinions of a majority of the German Bishops.' And this, he said, 'is not an isolated error, but part of a system which consists in the daring attempt to publish false news, with the object of deceiving the German public, according to a plan concerted beforehand.' . . . . 'It will be necessary one day to expose in all their nakedness and abject mendacity the articles of the *Augsburg Gazette*. They will present a formidable and lasting testimony to the extent of injustice of which party-men, who affect the semblance of superior education, have been guilty against the Church.' Again, at a later date, the Bishop of Mainz found it necessary to address to his diocese another public protest against the inventions of the *Augsburg Gazette*. 'The *Augsburg Gazette*,' he says, 'hardly ever pronounces my name without appending to it a falsehood.' . . . 'It would have been easy for us to prove that every Roman letter of the *Augsburg Gazette* contains gross perversions and untruths. Whoever is conversant with the state of things here, and reads these letters, can not doubt an instant that these errors are voluntary, and are part of a concerted system designed to deceive the public. If time fails me to correct publicly this uninterrupted series of falsehoods, it is impossible for me to keep silence when an attempt is made with so much perfidy to misrepresent my own convictions.'

"Again, Bishop Hefele, commenting on the Roman correspondents of the *Augsburg Gazette*, says: 'It is evident that there are people not bishops, but having relations with the Council, who

* Preface to Vol. III. *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, p. xxv., etc.

are not restrained by duty and conscience.' We had reason to believe that the names of these people, both German and English, were well known to us.

"Now the testimony of the Bishop of Mainz, as to the falsehoods of these correspondents respecting Rome and Germany, I can confirm by my testimony as to their treatment of matters relating to Rome and England. I do not think there is a mention of my own name without, as the Bishop of Mainz says, the appendage of a falsehood. The whole tissue of the correspondence is false." *

I have quoted all this to show the small chance the people of England had of knowing the truth as to the state and acts of the Council, and also how systematic was the opposition organized against it in Germany.

After the suspension of the Council, the action of this conspiracy, hitherto secret, became open. Dr. Von Döllinger and certain Professors openly rejected the Vatican Council, accusing it of innovation. They therefore either took, or were called by, the name of "Old Catholics." This schism has never been in one stay. Its development has had three progressive stages. At first the Old Catholics professed to hold by the Council of Trent, and to reject only the Council of the Vatican. As such they claimed to be recognized by the Prussian law. But next, at a meeting at Augsburg, a large infusion of German Rationalists compelled them to enlarge their comprehension, and to include those who rejected most of the doctrines of the Council of Trent.

Lastly, at Cologne and Bonn, they received the accession of Anglicans, American Episcopalians, Greeks, and various Protestants.

The Old Catholic schism, therefore, has lost its meaning and its character, and has become a body without distinctive creed. Dr. Von Döllinger, at Bonn, last September, declared (if the report be correct) that Old Catholics are not bound by the Council of Trent.

In the sphere of theology and religion the movement is already paralyzed, and has no future; but in the sphere of politics it has a great power of mischief. I have already shown how the first acts of the diplomatic and political hostility to the Council began at Munich. There can be little doubt that it reached Berlin through the Circular of Prince Hohenlohe, the present German Ambassador at Paris. The Berlin Government supported the Old Catholic Professors who rejected the Vatican Decrees, on the plea that the Council of Trent was known to the law in Prussia, but that the Council of the Vatican was not known to it. It was *exlex*. Therefore the Government recognized the legal status of the Old Catholics who held to the Council of Trent. How they will still recognize them as Old Catholics now that they have rejected the Council of Trent at Bonn, it is not so easy to say. However, Dr. Reinkins was consecrated Bishop by a Jansenist Prelate, and received from the Berlin Government both legal rec-

Petri Priv. part iii. pp. 4–7.

ognition and a good salary. We shall see hereafter that the Government would thereby try to tempt the Catholic Clergy to its friendship, and to use the "Old Catholic" schism as a weapon against the Catholic Church. The "Old Catholic" schism has an attraction for certain minds in which there is a strong hankering after the Catholic Church without the courage to suffer for the truth's sake. An attempt, we have been told, was made to set up an "Old Catholic" Church in London, but it met with little encouragement.

There is not a doubt that the Berlin Government aims at changing all the Catholics in Germany into Old Catholics.

The Old Catholics, in their appeal to the Civil Power, are doing what the Arians did after the Council of Nicæa. They have been, and they will be, the instigators of persecution against the Catholic Church. But they are blindly doing God's will. When the Church has been purified, their place will know them no more.

To return to the politicians and diplomatists. What was believed as to the conspiracy at Munich before the Council met has since been confirmed by the letters of Count Arnim, which ascribe his own action to the instigation of Dr. Döllinger. The Berlin Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*,* after noticing the discrepancy between the dispatch of Count Arnim, published by Prince Bismarck, and his "Pro Memoria," which appeared in the *Vienna Presse*—the first "treating the dogma of Infallibility as a mere theological dissertation," and the second, "seeing in it an event that must overthrow Catholicism and the peace of Catholic States"—proceeds to explain the contradiction thus:—

"When Prince Hohenlohe, as leader of Bavarian foreign affairs, sent his well-known circular to different Powers, explaining the dangers of that dogma, the German Chancellor applied to Count Arnim, who answered that the Bavarian Minister exaggerated the danger, being influenced by Döllinger. After this answer was sent to Berlin, Count von Arnim went on his holidays, and in passing Munich visited Prince Hohenlohe. There they spoke about Infallibility, *and Prince Hohenlohe acknowledged that the Circular was written under Döllinger's inspiration.* The Prince asked the Count to visit Döllinger, which he did. Döllinger convincingly explained to Arnim the importance of the dogma; and, on his return, Arnim tried every thing to prevent the result of the Council by repeatedly advising Prince Bismarck to interfere; so the change, in Arnim's opinion, must be traced to Döllinger."

Before we enter upon the present conflict in Germany, so carelessly touched and dismissed by Mr. Gladstone, it is necessary to record the fact that, in the year 1849, the 15th Article of the German Constitution affirmed, that "Every religious Society shall order and manage its own affairs independently, but shall re-

**Tablet Newspaper*, Oct. 31, 1874, p. 546.

main subject to the general power of the State." The Prussian Constitution also recognized this independence. Such was the law until 1872. Under this law the Catholics were loyal, peaceful, and of unimpeachable allegiance to the State. They served it in peace; they fought for it in war. They helped to found the Empire in their blood. Who made the change? The Government of Berlin. The laws of 1849 have been violated, and a series of laws, which I will hereafter describe, have been forced upon the Catholics of Prussia. The conflict was thus begun, not by the Catholics nor by the Church, but by the Civil Power. Prince Von Bismarck is so conscious of this fact, that he has spared no accusation, how wild soever, against the Catholics to disguise and to mask it. The laws resisted now by the Bishops and Catholics of Prussia are not the old laws of their country, but innovations, intolerable to conscience, newly introduced, and inflicted upon them by the fine and imprisonment of five Bishops and 1,400, it is even said 1,700, clergy. Surely the day is past when any one believes that the Falck Laws were caused by the Vatican Council. The French war was scarcely ended when Prince Von Bismarck accused the Catholics of Germany of disloyalty and conspiracy against the Empire. They had not even had time to be disloyal or to conspire. The Catholic blood shed in the war was not yet dry. He said then, as he said the other day, that he had secret evidence. Not a particle has ever been produced. For a time Englishmen were perplexed. They did not know what to believe. They could not conceive that Prince Von Bismarck would make such charges without evidence; but, little by little, the truth has come out. The Old Catholic conspiracy has been laid open to the world. The manly and inflexible constancy of the Catholic Bishops, Priests, and people of Germany has roused the attention of Englishmen, and they have come to know that no body of men were more gladly loyal to the Prussian Government than the Catholics on the basis of the laws of their country from 1848 to 1872; that no change whatsoever, by a jot or tittle, was made on their part; that, on the part of Government, a new and elaborate legislation, anti-Catholic and intolerable to conscience, was introduced in 1872. The whole innovation was on the part of Government. The new laws excluded the Clergy from the schools; banished the religious orders; made Government consent necessary to the nomination of a Parish Priest; fined and imprisoned Bishops for the exercise of their Spiritual office; subjected to the State the education of the Clergy, even to the examination for orders; and established a final tribunal of Ecclesiastical appeal in Berlin. And yet men were found who had still the hardihood to say that the Church had begun the conflict. At last, Dr. Friedberg, Professor of Law at Leipsic, and one of the chief advisers of Government, in its Ecclesiastical policy, let out the real cause. With an incautious candor he has told us the truth.

I will take the account of Dr. Friedberg's book, "The German Empire and the Catholic Church," from a pamphlet of the Bishop

of Mayence, entitled, "The New Prussian Bills on the Position of the Church in reference to the State." *

Bishop Ketteler begins by asking, "What could prompt the Liberal party to denounce as Ultramontane presumption, and as a surrender of the essential rights of the State, that which, in the years 1848–1850, it had acknowledged as the necessary 'consequence of its own principles?'" (p. 9).

Bishop Ketteler answers, "The true reason of the thorough systematic change of the Liberal party, as well as of all those measures aimed against the lawful rights of the Church, is 'the spiritual power of the Church based upon the foundation of freedom'" (p. 11).

He then quotes an Address of Dr. Friedberg, in which he says, "The Doctrinaries will still tell us that the all-sufficient remedy of this is the separation of the Church from the State; but, on the contrary, under actual circumstances, this would be a very injurious measure, *for the Church has become too much united to the people.*"

He then shows that wherever the Church is free, as in the United States, it is powerful, because it is the Church of the people. "What would be the consequence," he asks, "with us if the Church were freed from the control of the State?" "On the contrary," says Dr. Friedberg, "as the whole question has become now *one of main force*, the State must go so far as to deprive the Church of her influence over the people, in order that its own power may be firmly established" (pp. 10, 11).

Dr. Newman, more than thirty years ago, said that Governments establish and endow Churches as people cut the wings of magpies, that they may hop upon the lawn and pick up worms. "Liberals love a tame Church."

I quote this in answer to those who have been taunting the German Bishops with complaining of persecution and of yet holding to their legal status: Pharaoh has taught all oppressors "not to let the people go."

"Our crime as endangering the State," says Bishop Ketteler, "consists in this—that wheresoever the people and the Church are free, the people turn to the Church, and not to the doctrines of the Liberal party" (p. 13).

"Here we have the whole undisguised truth. To separate the Christian people from the Church, to deprive it of freedom, to subjugate it by force to Liberal Statecraft and human wisdom, thus reducing it to a Liberal State-religion—this is the triumph of modern science and knowledge which Liberalism and its professors offer to the German people" (p. 14).

Bishop Ketteler then goes on to give Dr. Friedberg's argument: "The Protestant Church is, at this day, *an essential political agent*—solely by its opposition to Catholicism."

Dr. Von Holzendorff says of the Protestant Church, that "it has no intellectual unity, because a short-sighted orthodoxy has

* A translation made in Germany has been published by Messrs. Burns & Oates, 17 Portman Street.

sown and fostered indifference toward the Church; and also from the fact that the Protestant Church did not create a constitution suited to its own spirit. Who could count upon the High Consistory Court of Berlin outliving for a day the separation of the Church from the State? or that the fiercest party strife would not break it up into sects? But what an opportunity for the compact mass of the Catholic Church as opposed to these dismembered elements," etc.* This lets in light.

Bishop Ketteler than sums up: "These confessions of a pretended Liberal deserve notice.

"First, the Protestant Church is 'an essential political agent,' and especially so by her opposition to Catholicism.

"Secondly, the Protestant Church can not endure freedom and independence. 'After separation from the State it would be "dismembered." The high Consistory of Berlin would scarcely survive a day.'

"Thirdly, out of these dismembered elements an increase would fall to the Catholic Church. Principles truly Liberal. No longer shall the power of truth under the protection of equal freedom decide between the different creeds. In the hands of the Liberals the Protestant Church is to become a 'political agent,' 'a tool of the State,' to fight against Catholicism. Even liberty of conscience on the part of the people is to be destroyed to avert the danger of their turning to the Catholic Church.

"Lastly, Dr. Friedberg refused to separate the Church from the State, because it would be a 'severity and an injustice,' forsooth, to the Old Catholics. If the Church were set free, the Government would lose 'an immediate support and a *co-operation so necessary* to the State for *the internal reform of the Church*.'"

The Bishop then sums up as follows:—The Government has changed its relations to the Catholic Church, "not because the Catholic Church is dangerous to the State, nor because it is hostile to the Empire, nor because it will overbear the State; these are not the motives, though they are daily expressed in Parliament and in the press by the Liberal party, to show that the Catholic Church must be robbed of her liberty, but because the German people must be torn away by force from the Church; and in order to attain this end, the Protestant State Church and the 'Old Catholics' are to be used as weapons to fight the Catholic Church, and to destroy it internally," etc. (p. 17).

Such is the end and aim: now for the means. Dr. Friedberg says, "One must first attempt to draw off the waters carefully, letting them flow into other channels, and conducting them into reservoirs; what remains will then be easily absorbed into the air" (p. 19). In other words, dry up the Church; draw from it all intellectual, moral, and spiritual influence over the people; paralyze the action of its Pastors; substitute Bureaus, Registrars, Professors, State Teachers, and State Officials; make its worship

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* *Year-Book of the German Empire.* By Dr. F. von Holzendorff, Leipzig, p. 478, 1872.

a State Ritualism, a ceremonial of subjective feelings, not of objective Truth. This done, religion will soon evaporate. The sum of all, Bishop Ketteler says, is that—

"The State will regard the Church as a historical established institution, which may be very useful to the State by fulfilling its peculiar and necessary mission for the civilization of the German people, but which, on the other hand, may become dangerous to the State, and has become so.

"For the first reason the Church shall be not only tolerated but also be authorized by the State. For the second reason, it is to be rendered harmless.

"This will dry up the stream, and the rest will evaporate."

After this I think even an English Nonconformist would read the *Unam Sanctam* with new eyes.

Now, the proximate means of accomplishing this draining of the Pontine Marshes is "the inward and outward release" of the Clergy from all dependence on powers "outside our nation," and "strangers to our national consciousness;" that is to say, a spiritual blockade against the Church throughout the world, or "our German consciousness" against Christianity.

The inward release of the Clergy is to be effected "through their education" (pp. 29, 30). Their education is to be as follows:—

1. Every Priest is to go through an examination at a German College.

2. He is to study Theology for three years in a German *State University*.

All independent seminaries and religious colleges for boys are interdicted.

3. He is finally to be examined in the presence of a Commissary of the Government.

4. The State has the superior direction of all instruction of the Clergy.

5. It fixes the method of their teaching.

6. It decides the qualifications of their teachers.

The Bishop is to be, in all these relations, dependent on the State; the state forms the Catholic Clergy to its own fashion; and the Bishop has only to receive them and to give them cure of souls.

The Bishop of Mayence justly says: "A Clergy inwardly deprived of faith, falling under the bondage of unbelief and the spirit of the times, would, no doubt, become the perfect ideal of national education" (pp. 35, 36).

Next for the "outward release" of the Clergy.

First it means that the State will regulate the appointment and deposition, and the correctional discipline of the Clergy by local Civil authorities, and partly by a Supreme Royal court for Clerical affairs.

The Clergy are therefore perfectly released:

First, from the jurisdiction of the Head of the Church.

Secondly, from the jurisdiction of their own Bishops.

The effect of this release is:

First, that any fit and worthy Priest may be kept out of

the cure of souls and all spiritual offices by the veto of the State.

Second, that any unfit or unworthy, any immoral or heretical, Priest may be supported in defiance of his Bishop, to the scandal of the Church and the perdition of Souls.

An unlimited veto is an unlimited right of patronage.

What kind of man will grow up out of the soil of State Universities, and under the sun of State Patronage?

What priest of fidelity to the Church and of personal dignity of character will sell or lend himself to such a despotism?

We have read lately a little too much of the "pliancy and servility" and "degradation" of the Catholic Episcopate. What is the ideal of a Bishop in those who assail the Vatican Council and sympathize with the Old Catholics? By these laws the Clergy and Bishops are *liberated* or released from the foreign oppression of Rome. The Pope can not suspend one of them. But the Royal Court may depose them all. Is Dr. Reinkens, with his sixteen thousand thalers a year, under the Falck Laws, independent, high-minded, and manly? Is the Archbishop of Posen, in his prison, pliant, servile, and degraded? This seems to me to "put light for darkness, and darkness for light." It would be an anxious sign of our time and state if an inverted moral sense should grow upon us.

The Bishop of Mayence finally sums up this external release of their Clergy as follows:

These laws amount to—

1. Separation of the Church in Germany from Rome.
2. Annihilation of the powers of the Bishops.
3. The breaking up of all authority and discipline over the Clergy and people.
4. Unlimited control of the State over the Clergy, and over religion.
5. Universal and moral corruption of the whole Church.
6. Introduction and encouragement of every form of error contrary to faith and to Christianity among the teachers.
7. Loss of Christian faith among the people.

The Bishop then protests against these laws as—

"A violation of all Christian liberties, and of all Constitutional rights; as an attempt to force on the Catholic Church the Royal Supremacy of the Protestant Reformation; as a violation of the Divine constitution and authority of the Catholic Church; and, finally, as leading men back again into the Cæsarism of the Pagan world, in which the temporal and spiritual sovereignty were united in one person. The separation of the two powers which the Divine Founder of Christianity has introduced for the protection of the liberties of human life in faith, conscience, and religion, would be once more extinguished in Germany. It would then be easy to overthrow, one after another, the other safeguards of the freedom of the people. The army, the official State press, or State school, or State Church, all united together would transplant the old despotism of the Pagans to German soil" (p. 49).

He concludes in these words:—

"Finally, these laws are in their whole substance revolutionary, and a denial of the historical positive development of the rights, and an uprooting of all the constitutional privileges, of the people. They will bring about a conflict with the Catholic Church, with its essential constitution and its doctrines; they attempt to force upon the Catholic Church a constitution similar to that of the Protestant Church. By placing all earthly power in the hands of one man they introduce the system of the heathen despotism into Germany.

"May God guard our German Fatherland from the disastrous consequences of such laws."

Before this noble protest was published these Bills became law. I hope no Englishman will now say that the conflict in Germany was brought on by the Church. The pretext of the Vatican Council is as transparently false as the plea of the wolf against the lamb. Such, then, are the Falck Laws; and I have read no part of Mr. Gladstone's "Expostulation" with more sadness than the following words:—

"I am not competent to give any opinion upon the particulars of that struggle. The institutions of Germany, and the relative estimate of State power and individual freedom, are materially different from ours." *

Are faith and conscience "institutions" to be "estimated" "relatively"? Is religious freedom, to the vindication of which Mr. Gladstone has given a long public life, a matter to be measured by geographical or political conditions? I do not recognize this voice.

It may, I think, with safety be affirmed, that in the lamentable conflict now waging in Germany, the Berlin Government, urged on by the conspiracy of the "Old Catholics," aided, no doubt, at a later stage, by the pseudo-Liberals of Prussia, has been the aggressor.

The same could be abundantly proved in respect to the persecution of the Church in Switzerland. I have before me full and authentic evidence of the aggression of the Cantonal Governments of Bâle, Soleure, and Berne, and others. But I will not prolong this chapter by a recital. The proof will be found in the Appendix C.

It would be as easy also to show that in Brazil the Government was the aggressor. The Bishop of Olinda is at this moment in penal servitude, for refusing religious rites at the burial of an excommunicated person.

This will, I hope, be deemed a sufficient proof of my third proposition, which in sum is this, that the present collisions between the Civil and Spiritual Powers have not been caused by the Church. There is every-where a party aiming at the subversion of Christianity. The great barrier in their way is the Catholic Church. They are now openly conspiring for its overthrow.

In England our old craters are extinct and the mountains are

* *The Vatican Decrees, etc.*, p. 48.

quiet. Such a conflict has, happily, not yet been rekindled among us. No change on the part of the Catholic Church, of a kind to provoke such a conflict, either has been or will be made. The declining to accept a scheme of education based on principles dangerous to Catholic Faith is certainly no such cause. To reject a tempting gift is no aggression. If we are again to be distracted by religious conflicts, the responsibility will rest undividedly upon the head of any one who shall break our present public confidence and peace. And that misdeed would be indelibly written in our history.

IV. True and False Progress.

I will now go on to the fourth proposition—that by these collisions with the Church the Civil Powers every-where are at this time destroying the first principle of their own stability.

Mr. Gladstone has represented me as saying that "the civil order of all Christendom is the offspring of the Temporal Power, and has the Temporal Power for its keystone; that on the destruction of the Temporal Power 'the laws of nations would at once fall in ruins.'"

Understood as I wrote these words I fully affirm them; understood as they may be in this garbled form, they have an exaggeration which is not mine. I was speaking strictly of the Temporal Power of the Pope over his own State: whereby, as a King among Kings, he sustained the Christian character of Sovereignty. I was not speaking of Temporal Power over the Temporal Government of Princes. And I was speaking in defense at a time when every journal in the country, with hardly an exception, was day after day assailing, and I must add misrepresenting, the origin and office of the Temporal Government of the Pope. My own words were as follows:—

"Now, the last point on which I will dwell is this: that as the Church of God has created—and that specially through the action of the Supreme Pontiffs in their civil mission to the world—this vast and fair fabric of Christian Europe, so it has perpetually sustained it. I ask, what has given it coherence? What is it that has kept alive the governing principle among men, but that pure faith or knowledge of God which has gone forth from the Holy See, and has filled the whole circumference of Christendom? What has bound men together in the respect due to mutual rights, but that pure morality which was delivered to the Church to guard, and of which the Holy See is the supreme interpreter? These two streams—which, as St. Cyprian says in his treatise on the unity of the Church, are like the rays that flow from the sun, or like the streams that rise and break from the fountain—illuminated and inundated the whole Christian world. Now, I ask, what has preserved this in security, but the infallibility of the Church of God vested chiefly and finally in the person of the Vicar of Jesus Christ? It will rather belong to the next lecture to note how, by contrast, this may be proved, and

how those nations, which have separated themselves from the Unity of the Catholic Church, and therefore are in opposition to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, have lost these two great principles of their preservation. I ask, then, what has preserved Christian Europe, but the principle of obedience—the precept of submission, which has been taught throughout the whole of its circuit by the Church of God, especially through the mouths of its Pontiffs? By them subjects have been taught obedience and rulers have learned justice. What, I ask, has limited monarchy? What has made monarchy a free institution, and supreme power compatible with the personal liberty of the people, but the limitations which the Holy See, acting through its Pontiffs, has imposed upon the Princes of the world? Does anybody doubt these two propositions? To them I would say, the Pontiffs, with their temporal power, have been accused of despotism; at least, then, let us give them the credit of having taught the people to submit. They have been also accused of tyranny over Princes; at least let us give them the honor of having taught Kings that their power is limited. The dread chimera at which the English people especially stands in awe,—the deposing power of the Pope,—what was it but that supreme arbitration, whereby the highest power in the world, the Vicar of the Incarnate Son of God, anointed high-priest and supreme temporal ruler (*i. e.*, as Sovereign in his own State), sat in his tribunal impartially to judge between nation and nation, between people and prince, between sovereign and subject? The deposing power grew up by the providential action of God in the world, teaching subjects obedience and princes clemency.

"Now, in this twofold power of the Popes, which has been, I may say, the centre of the diplomacy of Christian Europe, we see the sacerdotal and royal powers vested in one person, the two powers of king and priest, which are the two conservative principles of the Christian world. All Christian kings and all Christian priests stand related to the one person who bears in fullness that twofold character; and it is by adherence to that one person as the centre of the civil and spiritual system, which grew up under his hand, that Christian Europe is preserved. I should say further, that, vast and solid as Christendom may seem, like a vault of stone, the temporal power of the Pope is the keystone; strike it out, and the family of nations would at once fall in ruins."*

In the very same chapter from which Mr. Gladstone has quoted, at page 46, the following statements occur at pages 32 and 33:—

(1) "Our Divine Lord committed to His Church and to His Vicar—the head on earth of that Church—His *Spiritual* sovereignty, reserving to Himself His *Temporal* or providential sovereignty. . . . Therefore the *Spiritual sovereignty* of the Church is a Divine institution, and has a power *directly* ordained of God. (2) There are other powers in the world which are indirectly ordained of God—viz., all temporal sovereignties. . . .

* *Temporal Power of the Popes*, lecture ii. pp. 44–47. (Burns, 1862.)

(3) By an indirect but Divine providence our Divine Lord has liberated His Vicar upon earth, in the plenitude of His Spiritual sovereignty, from all civil subjection. . . . (4) By the same Providence—indirect, indeed, but nevertheless Divine—our Lord clothed His Vicar with the possession of a patrimony. . . . (5) Upon the basis of this temporal possession our Lord has raised a temporal power by His indirect operation, and therefore the temporal power of the Pope is a Divine ordinance, having a Divine sanction, at least equally with every other sovereignty in the world."* It may not be amiss to add, lest it should be thought that this statement is merely a private opinion, that the text from which I quote was translated into Italian, in Rome, in 1862, was examined by the censorship, and printed at the Propaganda press.

This is still my unchanged belief, confirmed by the twelve years since these words were spoken, and by the shattered state of Christian Europe in 1875. Now I am not afraid of defending the condensed statement of Donoso Cortes: "The history of Civilization is the history of Christianity; the history of Christianity is the history of the Church; the history of the Church is the history of the Pontiffs." St. Augustine's work *De Civitate Dei* is enough to prove that the civilization of the old world had run itself out by incurable corruption, and that the civilization of the modern world is the new creation of Christianity. Two other witnesses would also prove this: St Paul in his first Chapter to the Romans, and Dr. Döllinger in his work on "The Jewish and the Gentile Nations." I am indeed one of those who still believe that we owe Christian homes to Christian marriage, that we owe Christian men to Christian homes, that we owe Christian nations to Christian men, and that the transmission of national Christianity depends on Christian education. We owe, therefore, the civilizatian of Europe to Christian nations, and we owe the whole, not to "modern thought," but to Christianity.

Moreover, I know of no agent by which Christianity was thus brought to bear upon mankind but the Christian Church; and, lastly, the heads of the Christian Church were the chief legislators, guides, judges, and protectors of this Christian civilization. I can not think that Mr. Gladstone would deny this, or that we have read history, all this while, in an inverted sense.

But there is another sense in which the Temporal Power of the Popes—that is, their local sovereignty—has in an especial manner created modern Europe. To them and to the Civil Government of the Patrimonies of the Church, when the Byzantine Empire had ceased to protect the West, may be ascribed the Christendom of which Charlemagne was the first Temporal Head. From that germ the Christian civilization of Europe has been propagated by Christian marriage, Christian education, and Christian faith. Until "Luther's mighty trumpet" was blown it was bound together by unity of faith, unity of worship, and unity of jurisdiction under one Head, and that Head united in himself

* *Temporal Power of the Popes*, pp. 32, 33.

the twofold character of Christian Pontiff and Christian King. Luther's blast has brought this down at last. First, by regalism in Protestant nations; and, secondly, by revolution in Catholic States. The principles of 1789 are Lutheranism applied to politics. We have already reached the time of civil marriage, of secular education, and of States in their public life without Christianity. But let us not think that we have reached our place of rest. Luther's blast, I fear, has yet more to do. Faith is dying out of the public life and action of all Governments. There is hardly a Catholic or a Christian Government left. The people they govern are divided in religion, and "the religious difficulty" forces them to become simply secular in legislation and in action. So long as there was a Christian world, the Head of the Christian Church was recognized as the Vicar of a Divine Master, and had a Temporal Power among Christian Sovereigns, and a sovereignty of his own; but now that the nations have become secular, and no longer recognize his sacred office, his direction in temporal things is rejected by their rejection of faith. I am not arguing or lamenting, but explaining our actual state. And what is now the state and condition of the Christian world? Where are the Christian laws which formed it in the beginning? I was not far wrong in saying that the temporal Power of the Head of the Christian Church was the keystone of a world which has crumbled from its Christian unity into a dismembered array of secular and conflicting nations, of armed camps and retarded maturity. And it is with this "progress and modern civilization that the Roman Pontiff is invited to conform and to reconcile himself." This is the sum and exposition of "modern thought," save only that it omits the Agnostic theology *De Deo non existente*, and the anthropology of Apes. Mr. Gladstone quotes this contemned proposition, recited in the Syllabus, as a *gravamen* against the Pope and the Catholics of these kingdoms. We have no desire to see the Christian Commonwealth of England decompose before our eyes under Luther's blast. We are content with the English Monarchy, founded and consolidated by our Catholic forefathers; and with our English Constitution, of which the solid and unshaken base and the dominant constructive lines are Christian and Catholic. We Englishmen were once perfectly one in faith. Luther's blast has given us nearly three hundred years of penal laws, bitter contentions, a "bloody reign of Mary," a relentless shower, indeed, between two seas of blood, in the reigns of her father and her sister; and when these horrors relaxed, streams of blood still flowed on for another hundred years. For nearly three centuries we have been divided in politics, because politics were mixed up with religion. Our Legislature teemed with penal laws such as the world has never seen, and that against nearly a half of the English population. We were weakened because we were divided; haunted by suspicions of conspiracy and scared by fancied dangers, because we were consciously doing wrong, as Prussia is at this day. But now for fifty years we have had peace, because we have common interests, and a solid common weal. The three Kingdoms are

without anxiety and without fear. And why? Because we have eliminated religious conflicts from our Legislation, because we have learned to be just, because we have learned also that the Civil Ruler may punish what men do, but not what men think, unless they issue in acts against the State. All men, so far as conscience and faith extend, are now equal before the law. No man is molested for his religion. Although this is not the golden age of unity in truth, which the Christian Church once created and Pius IX. declares to be the only civilization and the only progress to which he can conform himself, though he tolerates what he can not cure; nevertheless, it is a silver age in which we can peaceably accept what we can not either justify as the will of God, or extol as the normal state of the Christian world. In our shattered state of religious belief and worship there is no way of solid civil peace, but in leaving all men free in their amplest liberty of faith. It is because this is vital to our welfare as an Empire, and because, as it seems to me, the late sudden and needless aggression on the Catholic religion is dangerous to the social and political tranquillity of these Kingdoms, that I have pointed to Germany, as a warning. A monarchy of a thousand years is a majestic thing in this modern world of fleeting dynasties and of chronic revolutions. We possess a royal lineage the least broken and the most closely united to the people that the world has ever seen, save one. The line of Pontiffs ruled before the crowned heads of to-day came into existence. It has been the vital chord of the Christian people of the world. Next after the line of Pontiffs, there is nothing in history more time-honored or grander than the Monarchy of Alfred, which reigns to this day. Does Mr. Gladstone think that the Vatican Council binds me to desire its overthrow? Next to seeing again the laws and the faith of good King Edward restored throughout the land, we desire to see the Sovereign of England reigning by equal laws over a people united at least in every thing that is right and just and lawful in this world, if indeed they must still be in higher laws and truths divided.

One thing is most certain, Catholics will never lend so much as a finger or a vote to overturn by political action the Christianity which still lingers in our public laws. They will cherish all of it that remains in our popular education. If we could see the tradition of our national Christianity healed of its wounds and taken up into the full life and unity of perfect faith by the spiritual forces of conviction and of persuasion, as that supernatural unity was created in the beginning, we should rejoice with thanksgiving; but no Catholic will diminish by a shade the Christianity which still survives. We can not, indeed, co-operate by any direct action to uphold what we believe to be erroneous; but it will find no political hostility in us. They who wish its overthrow would pull it down not for what we think erroneous in it, but for what is true; and what is true in it we revere as the truth of God. In our divided religious state the public revenues, once paid into the treasury, have passed beyond the individual conscience. Thenceforward they fall under the impartial adminis-

tration of our mixed commonwealth. I am not responsible for the application of them. My conscience is not touched if public revenues are given to a Presbyterian or to a Baptist School. My conscience is not ill at ease even if grants are made to a school in which no religion at all is taught. A people divided in religion pays its taxes, and a Parliament divided in religion votes the public money by an equitable balance for our manifold uses in the midst of our manifold divisions. No one has a right to control this mixed administration to satisfy his private conscience, or to claim to have it all his own way. No Secularist can regard my schools with more aversion than I regard his; but I am passive when he receives his share of the public money. I trust the day will never come when any one section or sect among us shall gain a domination over the equities which render tolerable our divided state. I hope no Puritans will rise up again to do in England, by the help of Secularists and unbelievers, what they did in Maryland. There they destroyed the fairest promise of peace that a wrecked world ever saw. England at this time is Maryland upon an imperial scale. He who shall break our religious peace will go down to history with those whose names Englishmen try to forget.

It is for this reason that I lament when six millions of British subjects are told by a voice of great authority that they are loyal indeed, but in spite of their religion. When men are so taught they are very apt to learn the lesson. They will be ready to say, if by my whole life I am loyal, but by my religion I ought, as I am told, to be disloyal, I am, therefore, either a traitor or a heretic. If I am a heretic I shall lose my soul; but for imputed treason I can only lose my life. If men of Mr. Gladstone's age and fame say these things, the masses will be very apt to believe them. And if he should also say that Pius IX. and the whole Episcopate, and the Vatican Council, and the Clergy of England and Ireland, so believe and teach, I can hardly find fault with a plain man who says, "Your arguments and quotations are above me, but I know that the Pope and the Church can not mislead me; they must know the Catholic faith better than you. At all costs I must believe them." I could not blame such a man in refusing for so obvious a reason to listen to Mr. Gladstone when he expostulates with the Vatican Council. Indeed, I can conceive that it will not promote loyalty in England or Ireland to hold up passages from books written even by me in proof that Catholics must choose between their loyalty and their religion. They may be more likely to choose to err even with me than to correct their faith at the voice of any politician. Moreover, they may even be tempted to think that if I am not loyal they need not be. It is a dangerous thing to tell a flock of many millions that the Pastors they trust are, or ought to be, disloyal. They will be apt to say, "We do not understand it; but if it be true, there must be some very strong and sufficient reason." I can conceive that the Catholic peasants in Germany may have argued in this plain way, even before they understood the merits of the cause. They saw the Archbishop of Posen carried off to prison. De-

pend upon it their confidence went with him. This is playing with edged tools, and in a matter where it is hardly moral to play at all. Great public disasters might be caused by the game, and the costs of the game would fall, not upon the gamester, but upon innocent men, and women, and children.

I could not refrain from saying thus much of England. But I have little fear that the stream of our equal legislation will be turned aside, much less turned back; or that our public peace will be broken. The destinies of the British Empire are in strong hands, guided by calm heads, and supported by a balanced and steady public opinion, which in the last two months has manifested a self-command and an equity which do honor to our country.

As to Germany I shall say no more. Luther's mighty trumpet has already rung twice through Germany. It rang long and loud from 1535 to 1542, and again longer and louder from 1618 to 1648. The old Germany that heard it has ceased to exist.* God grant that it may not give such notes again. Every one who bears a human heart, and a love for the Christian world, and a good-will to Germany, will share in this desire.

But if the conflicts of Governments against the Church are fatal to the public peace and to themselves, as assuredly they would be to the British Empire if our accusers should rekindle old strifes, and as they assuredly will be in the German Empire, whether the policy of Prince Von Bismarck fail or succeed, there can be found no sadder example of this disastrous imprudence in statesmen than in the case of Italy. For eight and twenty years a wanton and mischievous aggression against the Holy See has been carried on. I say wanton, because it has been without a cause. I say mischievous, because it has retarded and endangered the unity and independence of Italy, and the public and private prosperity of the Italian people. As Mr. Gladstone has reviewed his relation to the Italian question in its bearing on his Expostulation, I may do the same.

At the outset of their task of unifying and vindicating the independence of Italy, the Italian politicians began by assailing the principle of all unity among men. They engaged all the pride and all the passion of Italy in a deadly conflict with the special source of all its greatness. Had they worked from that center of their moral life, Italy at this day would have been united, peaceful, and strong. These are, indeed, my convictions, but not my words. Neither the present party which rules Italy, nor the party which has encouraged them in this country, will, perhaps, listen to me. But they will listen, I hope, to one who was an Italian, and a lover of the unity and independence of Italy. Vincenzo Gioberti, in his "Primato degli Italiani," after proving that religion is the source of all civilization, says:—

"If, then, the whole culture of a people has its impulse and origin from religion, how can we treat of its culture without speaking of its religion? If the culture of Europe in general,

* See Archbishop Trench's *Gustavus Adolphus*, pp. 88, 89, 161.

and that of Italy in particular, were the work of the New Rome and of its belief, how is it possible to discuss this twofold argument, and to be silent about Catholicism and about the Pope? In writing a book upon Italy I protest that I desire to speak of the living and real Italy as it exists at this day, not of the Italy that is dead these fourteen hundred years, nor of an abstract allegorical Italy that is not to be found in the outward world, but only in the brain of some philosopher." . . . "Italy is differenced from the Gentile nations by its Christianity: from those that are in heresy and schism by its Catholicism; and from the other nations which are Catholic by the fact that it is placed in the center of Catholicism, and not in the outline or circumference." . . . "But among the Catholic populations, the Italian has the privilege of occupying the first place, because it possesses in its heart the first See.

"I hope that these suggestions will be enough to justify the small amount of theology that I have put into this book. . . . Two facts seem to me conspicuous in the political (*civile*) world at this day" . . . "the first is the exclusion of the Theology of Revelation from the field of the Encyclopedia of human knowledge; the second is the removal of the Catholic clergy from the influence in civil affairs." . . . . "I count it to be the duty of a writer, above all if he be a philosopher, Catholic and Italian, to combat these two grand aberrations of modern civilization, and to recall things to their first principles; endeavoring to restore the universal primacy of religion in the circle of things and of knowledge." . . . . "I therefore do not believe that I deceive myself in affirming that every scientific reform is vain, if it do not make chief account of religion, and that every scheme of Italian renovation is null, if it have not for its base the cornerstone of Catholicism."*

After a contrast of the theoretical abstractions of the Ghibelline party and the practical and popular policy of the Guelphs, Gioberti continues:—

"The Italy of that day was not the Italy of the ancient Latins, corrupted by the incapacity of the later Emperors, and destroyed by the ferocity of the northern barbarians. In its stead a new Rome had been created, under the auspices, not of Romulus, but of Peter, not of the Conscript Fathers of Old Rome, but of the Episcopate, and of the councils which are the Patrician order and the Senate of the universal Christendom. The Guelphs, therefore, did not separate the civil constitution of Italy from the Pontificate, and, without confounding the human order with the divine, they believed that God, having privileged the Peninsula with the first See of the faith, mother of all others . . . . it ought to exercise the chief part in the political order of Italy." . . . "But in this day many think otherwise, and in their opinion the Pope has about as much to do with the national condition of Italy as he has with that of China. This comes from the weakness into which foreign influences have led

* Gioberti, *Primato degli Italiani*, vol. ii. pp. 28–31.

the Papacy, and from the springing up again for the last century of the ancient spirit of the Nominalists and the Ghibellines, under the form of Gallicanism, Jansenism, Cartesianism, Voltairianism, or under the disguise of rationalism and German pantheism, prompted by the same principles, and springing from the same countries respectively as those former heresies. And the evil will last as long as men persist in substituting a heathen or chimerical Italy in the place of a real and a Christian Italy, which God, and a life of eighteen hundred years, has created; that is to say, a French or German Italy in the place of an Italy of the Italians. But I can not understand how men can ascribe the civilization of Europe in general to Christianity (of which there is at this day no writer of any force who doubts), and not award in particular the culture of our Peninsula to the Holy See; for the Pope is to the universal Church that which the civilization of Italy is to that of Europe." *

I will add but one more passage, which will enunciate in the words of an Italian patriot the affirmation I have made:—

"The separating of the national personality of Italy from its religious principle, and from the dignity which spreads throughout it from the Christian monarchy of which it is the home (*residenza*), is not, in my opinion, the least of the causes which, for many centuries, weakens the minds of Italians. This error sprung in part from the habit of arguing and judging of Christian Italy after the manner of pagans, and in part from the custom of reasoning, according to the canons of a philosophy which is governed, not by rational ideas nor by living and concrete facts, but by empty abstractions." †

Such was the estimate of a man who loved Italy with all his heart, and desired to see it united, and independent of all foreign dynasties.

This is no mere speculation as to what the Catholic religion and the Pope may be to Italy, but a strict historical fact. The Pontiffs have been for fourteen hundred years the chief popular power in Italy. I say popular, not dynastic; not despotic, but Guelf. In the fifth century the Pontiffs saved Italy from the Gothic invasions. St. Innocent I. saved Ravenna and Rome. St. Leo saved Italy from Atilla, and Rome from Genseric. In the sixth and seventh centuries St. Gregory was the chief defender of Italy and Rome against the Lombards. The same is true in the time of Gregory II. and Adrian I. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries the Pontiffs Leo IV. and Gregory IV. saved Italy from the Saracens. So also John VIII., John X., Benedict VIII. beat back the Saracens, and finally drove them from Sardinia. The Crusades of Urban II. and St Pius V. saved Italy and Europe from the Mohammedan Power. In the great contest about Investitures, the Pontiffs from Gregory VII. to Calistus II., saved the Church from subjection to the Empire, and Italy from subjection to Germany. The ecclesiastical and po-

* Gioberti, *Primato degli Italiani*, vol. ii. pp. 66, 67.
† Gioberti, *Primato degli Italiani*, vol. ii. p. 60.

litical liberties of Italy were both at stake, and were both vindicated together by the action of the Pontiffs. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the liberty of the Italian communes was saved from the feudal despotism of the Hohenstaufen by the Popes. Alexander III. and the Lombard League defended popular liberty against Frederick Barbarossa. The City of Alexandria is to this day the monument of the gratitude of the Lombard people. The City of Cæsarea has ceased to exist. Innocent III. and the Tuscan League saved the liberties of Central Italy. Gregory IX and Innocent IV. resisted the tyranny of Frederick II., and finally saved the independence of Italy from the Imperial despotism. Then came the contest of the people and the Empire, the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. In these conflicts the Popes and the people were indivisible. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Popes were the soul and the strength of the Italian Leagues, whereby the people and their liberties were protected from the enormities of tyrants and adventurers and Free Companies. In the fifteenth century Nicholas V. maintained peace among the Princes and people of Italy, and drew Naples, Milan, Florence, Venice, and Genoa into a Confederation to maintain the Italian independence.

Pius II protected, in like manner, the liberty of Italy from the intrusions of France. Paul II. leagued together all the Princes of Italy in defense of Italian freedom. Julius II. labored to drive all foreign domination out of Italy. Leo X. made it his chief policy to liberate Italy from all foreign dominion, and to unite all the Princes of Italy in a Confederation of independence.

Paul IV., though unsuccessful, was the champion of the independence of Italy against the Spaniards. From that time onward the Pontiffs were ever in conflict against Spain or France to save the liberties of Italy and of the Church. The histories of Pius VI. and Pius VII. are too well known to need recital.

It is therefore too late in the day to go about to persuade men that the Pontiffs were ever opposed to Italian unity, Italian freedom, Italian independence. These three things have been the aim and the work of the whole line of Popes, down to Pius IX. Even Mr. Gladstone acknowledges that Pius IX. is "an Italian."* Beyond all doubt there is not one in the long line I have quoted who has loved Italy more than he. There is not one who had at heart more ardently the unity, freedom, and independence of Italy. His first act was to set free every political prisoner with a full pardon. By that act he showed that he recognized the misdirected love of country in those who had been seduced into false or unlawful ways of seeking the unity and the liberties of their country.

In 1847 Pius IX. invited all the Princes of Italy to a League of Customs, by which the principle of Federal Unity would have been established. From this germ the National Unity would have steadily grown up, without shock or overthrow of right or justice.

* *Expostulation*, p. 49.

Once confederated, there was no identity of interests, no unity of power, which might not have grown solid and mature. This and the Supreme Council for the Government of the Pontifical State are proof enough of his desire for Italian unity, and of the far-reaching foresight with which he aimed at the elevation of Italy. And as for Italian independence, let the following letter, written by himself to the Emperor of Austria on the 2d of May, 1848, suffice:—

"Your Imperial Majesty, this Holy See has been always wont to speak words of peace in the midst of wars that stain the Christian world with blood; and in our Allocution of the 29th of last month, while we declared that our paternal heart shrunk from declaring war, we expressly declared our ardent desire to restore peace. Let it not be displeasing, therefore, to your Majesty that we turn to your piety and religion, and exhort you with a father's affection to withdraw your armies from a war which, while it can not reconquer to the Empire the hearts of the Lombards and Venetians, draws after it the lamentable series of calamities that ever accompany warfare, and are assuredly abhorred and detested by you. Let it not be displeasing to the generous German people, that we invite them to lay aside all hatreds and to turn a domination which could not be either noble or happy while it rests only on the sword, into the useful relations of friendly neighborhood. Thus we trust that the German nation, honorably proud of its own nationality, will not engage its honor in sanguinary attempts against the Italian nation, but will place it rather in nobly acknowledging it as a sister, as indeed both nations are our daughters, and most dear to our heart; thereby mutually withdrawing to dwell each one in its natural boundaries with honorable treaties and the benediction of the Lord. Meanwhile, we pray to the Giver of all lights and the Author of all good to inspire your Majesty with holy counsels, and give from our inmost heart to you and Her Majesty the Empress, and to the Imperial family, the Apostolic benediction.

"Given in Rome at Santa Maria Maggiore, on the third day of May, in the year 1848, the second of our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. IX."

The following passage, from an impartial observer, will attest what were the intentions and desires of Pius IX.:—

"The opposition of Austria has been constant and intense from the moment of his election. The spectacle of an Italian Prince, relying for the maintenance of his power on the affectionate regard and the national sympathies of his people; the resolution of the Pope to pursue a course of moderate reform, to encourage railroads, to emancipate the press, to admit laymen to offices in the State, and to purify the law; but, above all, the dignified independence of action manifested by the Court of Rome, have filled the Austrians with exasperation and apprehension. There is not the least doubt that the Cabinet of Vienna is eager to grasp at the slightest pretext for an armed intervention south of the Po. If such a pretext do not occur, it is but too probable that it may be created; and any disturbances calculated to lead to such a result

would at once betray their insidious origin. Meanwhile, the Pope is menaced in Austrian notes, which have sometimes transgressed the limits of policy and decorum; and the minor Princes of Italy are terrified by extravagant intimations of hostile designs entertained against them by the National Party, headed by the Pope and the House of Savoy, in order to persuade them that their only safeguard is the Austrian army. These intrigues may be thought necessary to the defense of the tottering power of Austria south of the Alps, for every step made in advance by Italy is a step toward the emancipation of the country."*

But the evil genius of revolution had begun to work. Across the field of the Christian and Catholic traditions of Italy, a chimerical theory of a Communistic State, a Republic without Christianity, a democracy without King or Pontiff, forced itself.

Mazzini had been crying for years, "The Papacy is extinct, Catholicism is a corpse, and the Pope knows this. . . . Read the Evangelical Letter."† He had taught Young Italy the three degrees, of Guerrilla Bands, Insurrection, Revolution.‡ The mine was charged and the fuse already lighted. This widespread Secret Association covered the face of Italy. What followed all men know: the murder of Rossi, the siege of the Quirinal Palace, the wreck of all authority, the Socialist Revolution, the Roman Republic, impunity of sacrilege, and a reign of terror.

Now let us suppose that in the period of our history, when the unity of the English people was gradually consolidating, some organized Apostleship of Socialism had begun to whisper in private and to preach in public such doctrines of conspiracy as these, and to teach that the people could never be free so long as King or Priest existed; that all monarchical power and ecclesiastical authority were enemies of the public weal; that the overthrow of the Monarchy and the extinction of the Church were the only remedies of present evils, the only means of future progress. Such a foreign element of discord, mistrust, conspiracy would have divided the hearts, intellects, and wills of the people of England, and rendered its unification impossible. The unity of religion in faith and worship, the unity of the Spiritual authority which spoke to the reason and the will of men, was then, as it is at this hour, the only principle of unity. Without this, legislation is merely mechanical; a dynamic power is wanted to bind men into one people. Our forefathers had it, and the English Monarchy of a thousand years is its fruit. The Italians have it at this hour in great vividness; but Philosophers and Doctrinaires, Conspirators and Communists, are perverting the intellect and dividing the wills of the rising men of Italy. If such a conspiracy had crossed our early unification, we should have been, it may be, at this day, I will not say a Heptarchy, but assuredly a divided people, with a paralyzed national will. May God save Italy from this danger. It is not too late. It was said in an elo-

* *Times*, March 28, 1847.
† *Life and Writings of Mazzini*, vol. i. p. 248.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 108, and Appendix, 1864.

quent speech, the other day, that a people which breaks with its past is doomed to division and to instability. The rupture of France with its ancient traditions in 1789 has generated the brood of political parties, which, from month to month, thwart and defeat each other's action, like palsied limbs. If Italy should break with its past: if it should forget the labors, and sufferings, and dangers which united its Pontiffs and its people in the wars of its independence, freedom, and unity; if it should forget the confederations wrought by the Pontiffs, by which they made all the divisions of Italy work together for the liberties of the whole Peninsula, from the Alps to its foot—then, indeed, I should despair of its future. It could have no other in store than a chronic warfare of parties, and the final sway of some successful soldier.

Of the population of 26,000,000 Italians not three millions have launched themselves in the revolution of the last twenty years. The great bulk of the people are, as they have always been, Christian, Catholic, and loyal. The Electoral body who have votes to return the Italian Parliament do not exceed in number some half million. Of these hardly one-half record their vote. The Italian Deputies are, therefore, chosen by one-hundredth part of the population. The whole Chamber is, therefore, revolutionary, and may be divided into two parties—the moderate revolution and the extreme revolution. The Catholic voters abstain from all participation in such a state. They are not revolutionists, either extreme or moderate. They could elect no deputy but one of their own principles; and no such deputy could sit, because to take his place he must bind himself by oath to the existing state of things, including, therefore, the violation of the sovereignty of the Pontiff. More than this, the existing state of the law has invaded the liberties and jurisdiction of the Church. It has abolished religious orders and institutions, it has harshly turned out their inmates upon a pittance, which, if paid, would not suffice for food. It has confiscated property, seized upon colleges, abolished theology from the universities, and the Christian doctrine from schools. And all this, be it remembered, not to meet the distracted state of a people who have lost their religious unity, and must be provided with civil marriage and secular education, but in the midst of a population absolutely and universally Catholic. This, and not what Mr. Gladstone, with a strange want of accuracy, supposes, is what the Syllabus condemns. It nowhere condemns the civil policy which is necessary for a people hopelessly divided in religion. For us this may be a necessity. In Italy it is a doctrine of the Doctrinaires. To force upon the united people of Italy that which is necessary for the divided people of England is a senseless legislation, and a mischievous breaking with the glorious past of Italy. I do not now stay to dwell upon the unpatriotic and un-Italian agitation of men who for twenty-five years have threatened Pius IX. with violence, and assailed him as the Vampire, the Canker, the Gangrene of Italy. Such men, from Aspromonte to this day, have been the chief hinderance to the unification and pacification of Italy. And those who in this country have encouraged and abetted those agita-

tors—not that they know any thing but that Garibaldi was fighting against the Pope—have been among the worst friends of Italy; I might say among the unconscious but most mischievous enemies. It is strange how this one taint of bigotry will pervert every thing. Garibaldi was raising insurrection in Sicily and Naples against a lawful sovereign; and those who put us now to question about our loyalty cheered and aided him by all moral influence. More than this, when the leader of rebellion came to England he was received with royal honors, and red carpets were spread for him at the threshold of aristocratic houses, until his name was found to be contagious. Then, in twenty-four hours he was sped from England with the profuse facilities of departure which wait upon an unwelcome guest. In my judgment—and I have formed it not in London from newspaper correspondents, but in Rome during many a long residence, extending in all over seven years—those who have encouraged this chronic agitation against the religion of Italians and the independence of Rome, have been among the chief causes of the present disorders of Italy. They could put no surer bar to its unity or to the solution of the Roman question which they confidently believe to be settled. They are keeping it open by encouraging the Government of the day to persist in quarrelling with the Catholic Church and with its Head. But this part of the subject has outgrown its proportion. I return, therefore, to the proposition I set out to prove,—that by the collisions which now exist between the Civil Powers and the Church, the Governments of Europe are destroying the main principle of their own stability. And I must add that they who are rekindling the old fires of religious discord in such an equal and tempered Commonwealth as ours, seem to me to be serving neither God nor their country.

V. The Motive of the Definition.

My last proposition is that the motive of the Council of the Vatican for defining the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was not any temporal motive, nor was it for temporal ends; but that the Definition was made in the face of all temporal dangers, in order to guard the Divine deposit of Christianity, and to vindicate the Divine certainty of Faith.

I have read many things in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet which are unlike himself, but none seems more so to me than this question, "Why did that Court, with policy forever in its eye, lodge such formidable demands for power of the vulgar kind in that sphere which is visible, and where hard knocks can undoubtedly be given as well as received?" *

Would it not have been more seemly and more dignified if the question had been couched in some such words as these: "Why has the Catholic Church, in a moment of great peril, when a revolution is at the gates of Rome, and the Civil Powers of the world

* *Expostulation*, p. 47.

are uniting, not only to forsake it, but even to threaten it with opposition—why has it at such a time, in spite of every inducement of policy, and every motive of interest, and in defiance of every pleading of worldly wisdom, persisted in defining the Infallibility of the Pope—a doctrine which is sure to bring down upon the Church the animosities of all its enemies without, and the conspiracies of all its faithless members within?" Even Mr. Gladstone can see that this was most impolitic. Why, then, will he accuse the Church of always having a policy in its eye? By his own confession it is not always so; for he is witness that it is not so in this case. Why, then, would he not say so? I will gladly answer the question he has put.

The reasons, then, why the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff ought to be defined were publicly stated as follows, in 1869, before the Vatican Council met; and some or all of them, I believe, prevailed in determining the Council to make that definition:—

"Those who maintain that the time is ripe, and that such a definition would be opportune, justify their opinion on the following reasons:—

"1. Because the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, in matter of faith and morals, is true.

"2. Because this truth has been denied.

"3. Because this denial has generated extensive doubt as to the truth of this doctrine, which lies at the root of the immemorial and universal practice of the Church, and therefore at the foundation of Christianity in the world.

"4. Because this denial, if it arose informally about the time of the Council of Constance, has been revived, and has grown into a formal and public error since the closing of the last General Council.

"5. Because, if the next General Council shall pass it over, the error will henceforward appear to be tolerated, or at least left in impunity; and the Pontifical censures of Innocent XI., Alexander VIII., Innocent XII, and Pius VI. will appear to be of doubtful effect.

"6. Because this denial of the traditional belief of the Church is not a private, literary, and scholastic opinion; but a patent, active, and organized opposition to the prerogatives of the Holy See.

"7. Because this erroneous opinion has gravely enfeebled the doctrinal authority of the Church in the minds of a certain number of the faithful; and if passed over in impunity, this ill effect will be still further encouraged.

"8. Because this erroneous opinion has at times caused and kept open a theological and practical division among pastors and people; and has given occasion to domestic criticisms, mistrusts animosities, and alienations.

"9. Because these divisions tend to paralyze the action of truth upon the minds of the faithful *ad intra;* and, consequently, by giving a false appearance of division and doubt among Catholics, upon the minds of Protestants and others *ad extra.*

"10. Because, as the absence of a definition gives occasion for

these separations and oppositions of opinion among pastors and people, so, if defined, the doctrine would become a basis and a bond of unity among the faithful.

"11. Because, if defined in an Ecumenical Council, the doctrine would be at once received throughout the world, both by those who believe the Infallibility of the Pontiff and by those who believe the Infallibility of the Church, and with the same universal joy and unanimity as the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

"12. Because the definition of the ordinary means whereby the faith is proposed to the world is required to complete the treatise 'De Fide Divina.'

"13. Because the same definition is required to complete the treatise 'De Ecclesia, deque Dotibus ejus.'

"14. Because it is need to place the Pontifical Acts during the last three hundred years, both in declaring the truth, as in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and in condemning errors, as in the long series of propositions condemned in Baius, Jansenius, and others, beyond cavil or question; and still more, to make manifest that the active Infallibility of the Church, between council and council, is not dormant, suspended, or intermittent; and to exclude the heretical supposition that infallible decrees are left to the exposition and interpretation of a fallible judge.

"15. Because the full and final declaration of the divine authority of the Head of the Church is needed to exclude from the minds of pastors and faithful the political influences which have generated Gallicanism, Imperialism, Regalism, and Nationalism, the perennial sources of error, contention, and schism.

"For these, and for many more reasons which it is impossible now to detail, many believe that a definition or declaration which would terminate this long and pernicious question, would be opportune; and that it might forever be set at rest by the condemnation of the propositions following:—

"1. That the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs in matter of faith and morals do not oblige the conscience unless they be made in a General Council, or before they obtain at least the tacit consent of the Church.

"2. That the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks in matter of faith and morals, as the universal Doctor and Teacher of the Church, may err." *

I will now, as briefly as I can, state what the Definition is. The greater part of the excitement and alarm on this subject arises from a want of just and clear perception of what the doctrine of Infallibility signifies.

"The fourth and last chapter of the 'Constitution on the Church' defines the infallible doctrinal authority of the Roman Pontiff as the supreme teacher of all Christians.

"The chapter opens by affirming that to this supreme jurisdiction

* *Petri Privilegium*, part ii. pp. 119–122. (Longmans, 1869.)

is attached a proportionate grace, whereby its exercise is directed and sustained.

"This truth has been traditionally held and taught by the Holy See, by the *praxis* of the Church, and by the Œcumenical, Councils, especially those in which the East and the West met in union together; as, for instance, the fourth of Constantinople, the second of Lyons, and the Council of Florence.

"It is then declared that, in virtue of the promise of our Lord, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not,'* a perpetual grace of stability in faith was Divinely attached to Peter and to his successors in his See.

"The definition then affirms that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church—by the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, is possessed of that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith and morals; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.

"In this definition there are six points to be noted:

"First, it defines the meaning of the well-known phrase, *loquens ex cathedra;* that is, speaking from the seat, or place, or with the authority of, the supreme teacher of all Christians, and binding the assent of the Universal Church.

"Secondly, the subject-matter of his infallible teaching; namely, the doctrine of faith and morals.

"Thirdly, the efficient cause of Infallibility; that is, the Divine assistance promised to Peter, and in Peter to his successors.

"Fourthly, the act to which this Divine assistance is attached; namely, the *defining* of doctrines of faith and morals.

"Fifthly, the extension of this infallible authority to the limits of the doctrinal office of the Church.

"Lastly, the dogmatic value of the definitions *ex cathedra;* namely, that they are in themselves irreformable, because in themselves infallible, and not because the Church, or any part or member of the Church, should assent to them.

"These six points contain the whole definition of Infallibility.

"1. First, the definition limits the Infallibility of the Pontiff to the acts which emanate from him *ex cathedra.* This phrase, which has been long and commonly used by theologians, has now, for the first time, been adopted into the terminology of the Church, and in adopting it the Vatican Council fixes its meaning. The Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra* when, and only when, he speaks as the Pastor and Doctor of all Christians. By this all acts of the Pontiff as a private person, or a private doctor, or as a local bishop, or as sovereign of a State, are excluded.† In all

* St. Luke xxii. 31, 32.

† Cardinal Sfondrati, writing in 1684, explained this truth as follows:—"The Pontiff does some things as man, some as prince, some

these acts the Pontiff may be subject to error. In one and one only capacity he is exempt from error; that is, when, as teacher of the whole Church, he teaches the whole Church in things of faith and morals.

"Our Lord declared 'Super Cathedram Moysi sederunt Scribæ et Pharisæi—the Scribes and Pharisees have sat in the chair of Moses.' The seat or *cathedra* of Moses signifies the authority and the doctrine of Moses; the *cathedra Petri* is in like manner the authority and doctrine of Peter. The former was binding by Divine command, and under pain of sin, upon the people of God under the Old Law; the latter is binding by Divine command, and under pain of sin, upon the people of God under the New.

"I need not here draw out the traditional use of the term *cathedra Petri*, which in St. Cyprian, St. Optatus, and St. Augustine, is employed as synonymous with the successor of Peter, and is used to express the center and test of Catholic unity. *Ex cathedra* is therefore equivalent to *ex cathedra Petri*, and distinguishes those acts of the successors of Peter which are done as supreme teacher of the whole Church.

"The value of this phrase is great, inasmuch as it excludes all cavil and equivocation as to the acts of the Pontiff in any other capacity than that of supreme Doctor of all Christians, and in any other subject-matter than the matters of faith and morals.

"II. Secondly, the definition limits the range, or, to speak exactly, the object of Infallibility, to the doctrine of faith and morals. It excludes, therefore, all other matter whatsoever.

"The great commission or charter of the Church is, in the words of our Lord, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations . . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.' *

"In these words are contained five points:

"First, the perpetuity and universality of the mission of the Church as the teacher of mankind.

"Secondly, the deposit of the Truth and of the Commandments, that is, of the Divine Faith and Law intrusted to the Church.

"Thirdly, the office of the Church, as the sole interpreter of the Faith and of the Law.

"Fourthly, that it has the sole Divine jurisdiction existing upon earth, in matters of salvation, over the reason and the will of man.

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as doctor, some as pope; that is, as head and foundation of the Church; and it is only to these (last-named) actions that we attribute the gift of Infallibility. The others we leave to his human condition. As, then, not every action of the Pope is papal, so not every action of the Pope enjoys the papal privilege. This, therefore, is to act as Pontiff, and to speak *ex cathedra*, which is not within the competency of any (other) doctor or bishop."—*Regale Sacerdotium*, lib. iii. sec. 1.

* St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

"Fifthly, that in the discharge of this office, our Lord is with His Church always, and to the consummation of the world.

"The doctrine of faith and the doctrine of morals are here explicitly described. The Church is infallible in this deposit of revelation.

"And in this deposit are truths and morals both of the natural and of the supernatural order; for the religious truths and morals of the natural order are taken up into the revelation of the order of grace, and form a part of the object of Infallibility.

"The phrase, then, 'faith and morals' signifies the whole revelation of faith; the whole way of salvation through faith; or the whole supernatural order, with all that is essential to the sanctification and salvation of man through Jesus Christ.

"This formula is variously expressed by the Church and by theologians; but it always means one and the same thing.

"The Fourteenth Ecumenical Council of Lyons in 1274 says, 'If any questions arise concerning faith, they are to be decided by the Roman Pontiff.' *

"The Council of Trent uses the formula 'In things of faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine.' †

"The object of Infallibility, therefore, is the whole revealed word of God; and all that is so in contact with revealed truth, that without treating of it the Word of God could not be guarded, expounded, and defended. As, for instance, in declaring the Canon, and authenticity, and true interpretation of Holy Scripture, and the like.

"Further, it is clear that the Church has an infallible guidance, not only in all matters that are revealed, but also in all matters which are opposed to revelation. For the Church could not discharge its office as the Teacher of all nations, unless it were able with infallible certainty to proscribe doctrines at variance with the Word of God.

"From this, again, it follows that the *direct* object of Infallibility is the Revelation, or Word, of God; the *indirect* object is whatsoever is necessary for its exposition or defense, and whatsoever is contrariant to the Word of God, that is, to faith and morals. The Church, having a divine office to condemn errors in faith and morals, has therefore an infallible assistance in discerning and proscribing false philosophies and false science. ‡ . . .

"I will not here attempt to enumerate the subject matters which fall within the limits of the Infallibility of the Church. It belongs to the Church alone to determine the limits of its own

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* "Si quæ subortæ fuerint quæstiones de fide, suo (i. e. Rom. Pont,) debent judicio definiri."—Labbe, *Concil.* tom. xiv. p. 512, Venice, 1731.

† "In rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium."—Sess. iv. *Decret de Edit et Usu Sac. Lib.*

‡ "Further, the Church, which, together with the Apostolic office of teaching, has received a charge to guard the deposit of faith, derives from God the right and the duty of proscribing false science, lest any should be deceived by philosophy and vain deceit (Coloss. ii. 8)."—*Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, chap. iv. "Of Faith and Reason."

Infallibility. Hitherto it has not done so except by its acts, and from the practice of the Church we may infer to what matter its infallible discernment extends. It is enough for the present to show two things:—

"Firstly, that the Infallibility of the Church extends, as we have seen, directly to the whole matter of revealed truth, and indirectly to all truths which, though not revealed, are in such contact with revelation that the deposit of faith and morals can not be guarded, expounded, and defended without an infallible discernment of such unrevealed truths.

"Secondly, that this extension of the Infallibility of the Church is, by the unanimous teaching of all theologians, at least theologically certain; and, in the judgment of the majority of theologians, certain by the certainty of faith.

"Such is the traditional doctrine respecting the Infallibility of the Church in faith and morals. By the definition of the Vatican Council, what is traditionally believed by all the faithful in respect to the Church is expressly declared of the Roman Pontiff. But the definition of the extent of that Infallibility, and of the certainty on which it rests, in matters not revealed, has not been treated as yet, but is left for the second part of the *Schema de Ecclesia.*

"Again, the definition declares the efficient cause of Infallibility to be a Divine assistance promised to Peter and in Peter to his successors.

"The explicit promise is that of our Divine Lord to Peter, 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.' *

"The implicit promise is in the words, 'On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' † . . .

"The Divine assistance is therefore a *charisma*, a grace of the supernatural order, attached to the Primacy of Peter, which is perpetual in his successors.

"I need hardly point out that between the *charisma*, or *gratia gratis data*, of Infallibility and the idea of impeccability there is no connection. I should not so much as notice it, if some had not strangely obscured the subject by introducing this confusion. I should have thought that the gift of prophecy in Balaam and Caiaphas, to say nothing of the powers of the priesthood, which are the same in good and bad alike, would have been enough to make such confusion impossible.

"The preface to the Definition carefully lays down that Infallibility is not inspiration.

"The Divine assistance by which the Pontiff are guarded from error, when as Pontiffs they teach in matters of faith and morals, contains no new revelation. Inspiration contained, not only assistance in writing, but sometimes the suggestion of truths not otherwise known. The Pontiffs are witnesses, teachers, and judges of the revelation already given to the Church; and in

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*St. Luke xxii. 32. †St. Matt. xvi. 18.

guarding, expounding, and defending that revelation, their witness, teaching, and judgment are by Divine assistance preserved from error." *

I will now answer Mr. Gladstone's question—why the Definition was made. The Vatican Council, then, defined the Infallibility of the Head of the Church, because, if it had failed to do so, the doctrinal authority of the Church would have been weakened throughout the world. Every motive of worldly policy would have tempted the Council to compromise, and to shrink from defining it; but the peremptory obligations of Divine Truth compelled it in defiance of all policy to define it. Necessity was laid upon the Council, and it could not recede. Universal doubt and skepticism are pervading men and nations: therefore the Church defined the Infallibility of its Head, which is the confirmation of its own. As a Divine witness, it declared his commission, and the powers given for its exercise. The Vicar of Jesus Christ testified to the world, wearied with doubt and sick with religious contentions, that the promise of his Master, "He that heareth you heareth Me," has not failed. The definition of the Infallible teaching of the Church by its Head affirms that there is still a divine certainty of faith upon earth; and that, as God is the sole Fountain of all Truth, so the Church is the only channel of its conveyance and custody among men. No other policy prompted the Definition. And even though the combined hostility of Civil Powers, as we now see it, had been heated sevenfold hot before its eyes, the Council would not have swerved from declaring, whether politic or not, the truth delivered to its charge. If I speak without hesitation, it is because I am able to speak of that which I saw with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears.

I hope I shall not violate any confidence which ought to be sacred, or any reserve the delicacy of which I fully recognize, in going on to state a fact of which I am able to give personal testimony.

One day, during the deliberations of the Council, when the pressure of Diplomatists, and Governments, and journals was at its highest, the Holy Father said, "I have just been warned that if the Council shall persist in making this definition, the protection of the French army will be withdrawn." After a pause he added, with great calmness, "As if the unworthy Vicar of Jesus Christ could be swayed by such motives as these." I can with perfect certainty affirm that "policy" had as little influence on the Council of the Vatican as it had on the Council of Nicæa; and that to ascribe the Definition to policy is as strange an aberration of judgment as to ascribe to the Definition the occupation of Rome, or the Franco-German war to the Jesuits and to the Pope. When men say these things, can they believe them?

It needs but little of the historic spirit to perceive that if the Vatican Council, for such motives as these, ought to have abstained from defining the Infallibility of the Head of the Christian Church, the Council of Nicæa ought also to have abstained

* *Petri Privilegium*, part iii. pp. 56-60, 66 78, 84. (Longmans, 1870.)

from defining the *Homöousion*. There was violence all round about it. There was the certainty of a schism. After the Council eighty Bishops apostatized. They appealed, as all heretics ever do, to the Civil Powers. The Arian Schism was formed; it was protected by Emperor after Emperor. Arianism became a State tool against the Catholic Church. It infected Constantinople; it spread into Italy and Spain; it lasted for centuries. But where is it now? And where now is the Creed of Nicæa? The *Homöousion* is at this day in the heart of the whole Church throughout the world. So will it be with the Council of the Vatican. What the Council of Florence implicitly declared, and the Council of Trent assumed as of faith, that the Council of the Vatican explicitly defined. It is very true that since the Council of Constance, that is, since the great schism of the West, when the Civil powers of Europe, for a time, shook the visible unity of the Church by endeavoring to lessen the authority of its Head, the power of the Roman Pontiff has steadily consolidated itself in the intellect and the will of the Church. What was believed from the beginning has been now forced into explicit declaration. But while the Church has thus been more and more defining its faith with a Divine precision, the world has wandered off farther and farther into the wilderness of unbelief. The Council of Trent defined the particular doctrines denied by Luther's Reformation. But it did not deal with the master principle on which it rested. The chief character of the sixteenth century was the denial of the Divine authority of the Church, secured to it in virtue of a perpetual assistance of the Spirit of Truth. Three hundred years have unfolded the consequences of this denial. It is nearly complete in the rationalism and infidelity of Germany. The "Centuria prærogativa" has a mournful privilege of precedence in the Comitia of unbelievers. It has run its course, too, in Switzerland; and I must add, with sadness, it is running its course in the widespread doubt which is undermining the Christianity of England. Day after day I hear the words, "I wish I knew what to believe, and why to believe any thing:" and this from some of the noblest and most masculine natures, who recoil from the incoherence and contradiction of teachers who gainsay one another. But here is a subject on which I have no desire to enter. If I were asked to say what is the chief intellectual malady of England and of the world at this day, I should say, ubiquitous, universal doubt, an uncertainty which came in like a flood after the rejection of the Divine certainty of Faith. This uncertainty has already led multitudes to an entire rejection of Christianity; and they have not rested even in Deism. They have gone on to the rejection even of natural religion. They have no certainty that they have a conscience, or a will, or a soul, or a law of morality, or that there is a God. Three hundred years hence, when men look back upon the Council of the Vatican, as they now look back upon the Council of Trent—I will say even thirty years hence, when the noise and dust of the present conflict is laid—they who have faith left in them will recognize the Divine guidance under which the Council of the Vatican declared the exist-

ence of God, with all the truths radiating from it, as resting upon the witness of the visible world; and also the Divine certainty of the Faith, as resting upon the witness of the Visible Church, and finding its perpetual and infallible expression in the voice of its Visible Head.

But it is now more than time to sum up what I hope has been sufficiently proved.

My first answer to the charge that the Vatican Council has made it impossible for Catholics to render a loyal civil allegiance, is that the Vatican Council has not touched our civil allegiance at all; that the laws which govern our civil allegiance are as old as the revelation of Christianity, and are regulated by the Divine constitution of the Church and the immutable duties of natural morality. We were bound by all these obligations before the Vatican Council existed. They are of Divine institution, and are beyond all change, being in themselves unchangeable. I have shown, I hope, that in the conflicts of the Civil Powers with the Church, the causes have arisen, not from acts of the Church, but from such acts as the Constitutions of Clarendon, the claim of Investitures, the creation of Royal Courts of final appeal, and the like; that these invasions of the Spiritual domain ever have been from the attempts of Government to subject the Church to their own jurisdiction; and now more than ever, from an universal and simultaneous conspiracy against it. A leader of this conspiracy said the other day, "The net is now drawn so close about the Church of Rome that if it escape this time I will believe it to be Divine." If God grant him life, I have hope of his conversion. For, that the Church of Rome will escape out of the net is certain, and that for two reasons: first, for the same reason why its Divine Head rose again from the grave—"it was not possible that He should be holden by it;"* and next, because the Civil Governments, that are now conspiring against it, are preparing for their own dissolution. Finally, I have given the true and evident reason why, when some six hundred Bishops from the ends of the Church were gathered together, they defined the Infallibility of their Head—"*Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis.*"

CONCLUSION.

And now there only remains for me the hardest and saddest part of the task, which has not been sought by me, but has been forced upon me. A few months ago I could not have believed that I should have ever written these pages. I have never written any with more pain, and none of them have cost me so much as that which I am about to write.

Thus far I have endeavored to confine myself to the subject-matter of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet; but before I end, I feel bound by an imperative duty to lay before him, in behalf of his

* Acts ii. 24.

Catholic fellow-countrymen, the nature of the act which he has done.

He has not only invited, but instigated Catholics to rise against the Divine authority of the Catholic Church. He has endeavored to create divisions among them. If Mr. Gladstone does not believe the authority of the Catholic Church to be Divine, he knows that they do.

If he thinks such a rising to be "moral and mental freedom," he knows that they believe it to be what his own Litany calls "schism, heresy, and deadly sin." If he believes religious separations to be lawful, he knows that they believe them to be violations of the Divine law. I am compelled therefore to say that this is at least an act of signal rashness.

No man has watched Mr. Gladstone's career as a statesman with a more generous and disinterested good-will than I have. No one has more gladly appreciated his gifts; no one has more equitably interpreted certain acts of his political life, nor has hailed his successes with greater joy. But when he casts off the character of a statesman, for which he has shown so great capacity, to play the Canonist and Theologian, for which he has here shown so little, and that with the intent of sowing discord and animosities among six millions of his fellow-countrymen—and, I must moreover add, with an indulgence of unchastened language rarely to be equalled—I feel bound to say that he has been betrayed into an act for which I can find no adequate excuse. I must tell him that if he would incline the Catholics of the Empire to accept the ministries of his compassion, he must first purify his style both of writing and of thinking. Catholics are not to be convinced or persuaded by such phrases as "the present perilous Pontificate;" "the Papal chair, its aiders and abettors;" "the great hierarchic power and those who have egged it on;" "the present degradation of the Episcopal order;" "the subserviency or pliability of the Council;" "hideous mummies;" "head-quarters;" "the follies of Ecclesiastical power;" "foreign arrogance;" "the myrmidons of the Apostolic Chamber;" "the foreign influence of a caste." I transcribe these words from his pages with repugnance; not, indeed, for our sake against whom they are leveled, but for the statesman who has thought them fitting. Mr. Gladstone can do many things; but he can not do all things. He has a strong hand; but there is a bow which he can not bend. He has here tried his hand at a task for which, without something more than mere literary knowledge, even his varied gifts will not suffice. This Expostulation is, as I have already said, an act out of all harmony and proportion with a great statesman's life.

I have written these words with a painful constraint; but, cost what it may, duty must be done, and I believe it to be my duty to record this judgment, in behalf of the Catholics of this country, on an act unjust in itself, and therefore not only barren of all good results, but charged with grave public dangers.

But, I can not break off with a note so cheerless. If this Expostulation has cast down many hopes both of a public and pri-

vate kind, we can not altogether regret its publication. If such mistrusts and misconceptions existed in the minds of our fellow-subjects the sooner and the more openly they were made public the better. We are not content to be tolerated as suspect or dangerous persons, or to be set at large upon good behavior. We thank Mr. Gladstone for gaining us the hearing which we have had before the public justice of our country; and we are confident that his impeachment will be withdrawn. His own mind is too large, too just, and too upright to refuse to acknowledge an error, when he sees that he has been misled. It is also too clear and too accurate not to perceive that such is now the fact. I see in this the augury of a happier and more peaceful future than if this momentary conflict had never arisen. We shall all understand each other better. Our civil and religious peace at home will be firmer by this trial.

If the great German Empire shall only learn in time, thirteen millions of contented Catholic subjects, reconciled as they still may be by a return of just laws, will give a support to its unity which nothing can shake.

If Italy shall only come to see that the "Roman question" is, and forever will be, a source of weakness, contention, and danger to its welfare; and, seeing this, shall solve it peacefully, as Italy alone can do, by undoing its un-Catholic and therefore un-Italian policy, then its unity and independence will be secured by the spontaneous co-operation of a united people, gathered around the center of all its Christian glories. Such a solution would then be consecrated by the highest sanctions of its faith. If wise counsels prevail, and wise friends of Italy shall gain its ear, it may be again what once it was, the foremost people in the Christian world.

And, lastly, for ourselves, our world-wide Empire can not turn back upon its path without disintegration. It is bound together, not by material force, but by the moral bond of just laws and the glad consent of a free people. But justice and freedom can not be put asunder. They flow from one source; they can be kept pure only by the same stream. They have come down to us from our Christianity. Divided as we are, we are a Christian people still. By religious conflict our Christianity will waste away as a moth fretting a garment. By religious peace, all that is true, and wise, and just, and Christian, will be perpetually multiplied, binding indissolubly in one all men and all races of our Imperial Commonwealth.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Innocentius III. Prælatis per Franciam constitutis. A. D. 1200.

Novit Ille, qui nihil ignorat: *et infra.*

Non putet aliquis, quod jurisdictionem illustris Regis Francorum perturbare, aut minuere intendamus, cum ipse jurisdictionem nostram nec velit, nec debeat impedire. Sed cum Dominus dicat in Evangelio, "Si percaverit in te frater tuus, vade et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum: si te audierit, lucratus eris fratrem tuum; si te non audierit, adhibe tecum unum vel duos, ut in ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum. Quod si te non audierit, dic Ecclesiæ: si autem Ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibe sicut ethnicus et publicanus." * Et Rex Angliæ sit paratus sufficienter ostendere, quod Rex Francorum peccat in ipsum, et ipse circa eum in correctione processit secundum regulam Evangelicam, et tandem quia nullo modo profecit,' dixit Ecclesiæ. Quomodo nos, qui sumus ad regimen universalis Ecclesiæ superna dispositione vocati, mandatum divinum possumus non exaudire, ut non procedamus secundum formam ipsius? Nisi forsitan ipse coram nobis, vel Legato nostro, sufficientem in contrarium rationem ostendat. *Non enim intendimus judicare de feudo, cujus ad ipsum spectat judicium:* nisi forte jure communi per speciale privilegium, vel contrariam consuetudinem aliquid sit detractum: *sed decernere de peccato, cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura, quam in quemlibet exercere possumus et debemus.* . . . . . Cum enim non humanæ constitutioni, sed divinæ potius innitamur, quia potestas nostra non est ex homine, sed ex Deo, nullus qui sit sanæ mentis ignorat, quin ad officium nostrum spectet de quocunque mortali peccato corripere quemlibet Christianum: et si correctionem contempserit, per districtionem ecclesiasticam coercere. Sed forsan dicetur, quod aliter cum regibus et aliter cum aliis est agendum. Cæterum scriptum novimus in lege divina: "Ita magnum judicabis ut parvum; nec erit apud te acceptio personarum." †—Corpus Juris Canonici, *Decret. Gregor.* lib. ii. tit. i. cap. xiii.

Bonifacius VIII., ad perpetuam rei Memoriam. A. D. 1302.

Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam et ipsam Apostolicam urgente fide credere cogimur et tenere. Nosque hanc firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur: extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum, Sponso in Canticis proclamante, "Una est co-

* Matt. xviii. 15–17. † Deut. i. 17.

lumba mea, perfecta mea: una est matri suæ, electa genitrici suæ:" * quæ unum corpus mysticum repræsentat, cujus caput Christus, Christi vero Deus. In qua unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma.† Una nempe fuit Diluvii tempore arca Noe, unam Ecclesiam præfigurans, quæ in uno cubito consummata,‡ unum, Noe videlicet, gubernatorem habuit et rectorem, extra quam omnis subsistentia super terram legimus fuisse deleta. Hanc autem veneramur et unicam; dicente Domino in Propheta, "Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam et de manu canis unicam meam;" § pro anima enim, id est, pro seipso capite simul oravit et corpore: quod corpus unicam scilicet Ecclesiam nominavit, propter sponsi, fidei, sacramentorum et charitatis Ecclesiæ unitatem. Hæc est tunica illa Domini inconsutilis,‖ quæ scissa non fuit sed sorte provenit. Igitur Ecclesiæ unius et unicæ unum corpus, unum caput, non duo capita quasi monstrum, Christus videlicet, et Christi vicarius Petrus Petrique successor; dicente Domino ipsi Petro, "Pasce oves meas," ¶ "meas," inquit, et generaliter non singulariter has vel illas, per quod commisisse sibi intelligitur universas. Sive ergo Græci, sivi alii se dicant Petro ejusque successoribus non esse commissos, fateantur necesse se de ovibus Christi non esse; dicente Domino in Joanne "unum ovile et unicum essee pastorem."** In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem, Evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis, "Ecce gladii duo hic,"†† in Ecclesia scilicet, cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus nimis esse sed satis. Certe qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit domini proferentis, "Converte gladium tuum in vaginam." ‡‡ Uterque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiæ, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati: nam cum dicat Apostolus, "Non est potestas nisi a Deo, quæ autem sunt a Deo ordinata sunt;" §§ non autem ordinata essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio, et tanquam inferior reduceretur per alium in suprema. Nam secundum beatum Dionysium, lex divinitatis est, infirma per media in suprema reduci. Non ergo secundum ordinem universi omnia æque ac immediate, sed infima per media et inferiora per superiora ad ordinem reducuntur. Spiritualem autem et dignitate et nobilitate terrenam quamlibet præcellere potestatem, oportet tanto clarius nos fateri quanto spiritualia temporalia antecellunt. Quod etiam ex decimarum datione, et benedictione, et sanctificatione, ex ipsius potestatis acceptione, ex ipsarum rerum gubernatione claris oculis intuemur. Nam veritate testante, spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare, si bona non fuerit, sic de Ec-

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* Cant. vi. 8.
§ Psalm xxi. 21.
** Joann. x. 16.
§§ Rom. xiii. 1.
† Eph. iv. 5.
‖ Joann. xix. 23, 24.
†† Luc. xxii. 38.
‡ Gen. vi. 16.
¶ Joann. xxi. 17.
‡‡ Matt. xxvi. 52.

clesia et ecclesiastica potestate verificatur vaticinium Hieremicæ: "Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et regna," * et cætera quæ sequntur. Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali, sed si deviat spiritualis minor a suo superiori: si vero suprema, a solo Deo, non ab homine poterit judicari, testante Apostolo, "Spiritualis homo judicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine judicatur." † Est autem hæc auctoritas, etsi data sit homini et exerceatur per hominem, non humana, sed potius divina, ore divino Petro data, sibique suisque successoribus in ipso, quem confessus fuit petra firmata, dicente Domino ipsi Petro, "Quodcunque ligaveris," ‡ etc. Quicunque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatæ resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, § nisi duo sicut Manichæus fingat esse principia: quod falsum et hæreticum judicamus: quia testante Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio cœlum Deus creavit et terram. ‖ Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnio esse de necessitate salutis.

Datum Laterani xiv kal. Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Corpus Juris Canonici. *Extrav. Commun.* lib. i. *De Majoritate et Obedientia*, cap. i.

Clementis V. Diploma. a. d. 1306.

Clemens Episcopus, etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Meruit carissimi filii nostri Philippi regis Francorum illustris sinceræ devotionis ad nos et Ecclesiam Romanam integritas, et progenitorum suorum præclara merita meruerunt, meruit insuper fida regnicolarum pietas, ac devotionis sinceritas, ut tam regnum quam regem favore benevolo prosequamur. Hinc est quod nos dicto regi et regno per definitionem seu declarationem bonæ memoriæ Bonifacii PP. VIII. prædecessoris nostri, quæ incipit *Unam sanctam*, nullum volumus vel intendimus præjudicium generari. Nec quod per illam rex, regnum, regnicolæ prælibati amplius Ecclesiæ sint subjecti quam antea existebant. Sed omnia intelligantur in eodem esse statu quo erant ante definitionem præfatam, tam quantum ad Ecclesiam quam etiam quod regem et regnum et superius nominatos.

Datum Lugduni kalendis Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Labbe, *Concilia, sub ann.* 1305, tom. xiv. p. 1374, ed. Ven. 1731.

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* Hier. i. 10. † 1 Cor ii. 15. ‡ Matt. xvi. 19.
§ Rom. xiii. 2. ‖ Gen. i. 1.

APPENDIX B.

Extract from the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI. "Mirari Vos,' August 15, 1832.

As we have learned that certain writings spread abroad among the people publish doctrines which destroy the loyalty and submission due to princes, and kindle every-where the torch of civil discord, we have to take especial care that the nations may not be deceived thereby, and led away from the right path. Let all bear in mind, according to the words of the Apostle, that "there is no power but from God, and those that are ordained of God; therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation." *

Wherefore both divine and human laws cry out against those who, by basely plotting civil discord and sedition, abandon their allegiance to their princes and unite to drive them from their thrones.

For this reason, to avoid so base a crime, it is a well-known fact that the first Christians, in the midst of persecutions, rendered meritorious service to their Emperors and to the safety of the Empire. This they showed by the clearest proofs, not only in fulfilling with all loyalty and promptitude all that was commanded them not contrary to their religion, but by persevering therein even to shedding their blood in battle for them.

"Christian soldiers," says St. Augustine, "served an unbelieving Emperor, but when the cause of Christ was in question, they acknowledged only Him who is in Heaven. They distinguished between the Eternal Lord and a temporal lord, and were nevertheless subject to the temporal for the sake of their Eternal Lord." †

St. Maurice, the invincible martyr, the captain of the Theban Legion, had this before his eyes when, as St. Eucherius relates, he gave his answer to the Emperor:—"We are your soldiers, O Emperor, but nevertheless, we are free to confess, the servants of God. . . . And now we are not driven into rebellion, even to save our lives, for here we have arms in our hands, and we do not fight, because we have the will to die rather than to slay."

This loyalty of the first Christians to their princes is the more conspicuous if we consider with Tertullian, that Christians at that time "were not wanting in numbers and strength if they had wished for open war. We are but of yesterday, and we are found every-where among you, in your cities, islands, strongholds, towns, public places, in your camps, your tribes, your companies, in your palaces, your senate, and your forum. . . . For what warfare should we not have been able and willing, even at great odds, who so readily offer ourselves to death, if our religion did not oblige us rather to die than to slay? . . . If we, so large a number as we are, had broken away from you and gone

* Rom. xiii. 2. † St. August. *in Psalm* cxxiv. n. 7.

to some distant corner of the world, the loss of so many citizens, even such as we are, would have put your empire to shame, nay, would have punished you by the very loss. Without doubt you would have been daunted in your solitude. . . . You would have asked over whom you were ruling: more enemies would have been left than citizens: but now you have fewer enemies, owing to the number of Christians." *

These luminous examples of immovable loyalty to princes, which necessarily followed from the holy precepts of the Christian religion, at once condemn the detestable pride and wickedness of those who, boiling with unbridled lust for an inordinate liberty, are wholly engaged in destroying and tearing to pieces all the rights of princes in order to reduce the nations to slavery under pretense of liberty.—See *Recueil des Allocutions des Souverains Pontifes.* Paris, Le Clère, 1865, pp. 165–6.

APPENDIX C.

For the accuracy of the following statement I have direct evidence:

For several years past the Radical authorities of the Diocese of Basle have persecuted the Catholic Church, as they still continue to do. Formerly the persecution was carried into effect, partly by violence and partly by underhand means; but it was always specious and very injurious to religion. It was invariably carried on in the name of progress, liberty, and the welfare of the people, whom it pretended to free from the tyranny of the priesthood and the despotism of Rome.

The Catholic populations were thus oppressed by the so-called omnipotence of the State, and, incredible as it would seem under a republican form of government, the State, or rather a few individuals acting in its name, supported by a non-Catholic majority, and backed by the Radical element, have succeeded in monopolizing power, and in maintaining themselves in it by terrorism and bribery for a length of years, assuming to themselves the functions of the Holy See and the Episcopate, and so adding to their temporal rule the spiritual government of souls. Not only have they possessed themselves of the direction of all public schools, and of the administration of all pious foundations, but they have destroyed all the monastic, capitular, and ecclesiastical institutions, claimed the right to regulate the parochial system, the preaching of the Gospel, catechising, confessions, first communions of children, the celebration of public worship, processions, burials and benedictions, and even extended their jurisdiction to matrimonial causes. More than this, by the Federal Constitution, which the recent revolutionary laws have just ex-

* Tertullian *in Apolog.* cap. xxxvii.

tended to the Catholic cantons, contrary to the will of the populations as expressed by the vote of an immense majority, the State has virtually and insidiously suppressed the Catholic Church by the introduction of that article of the Federal Code by which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is abolished. (Art. 58).

Finally, in five cantons of the Diocese of Basle, the Catholic populations have lost all liberty of worship in a more or less degree.

Since the Council of the Vatican more especially, the war against the Church has been waged with greater acrimony in the Diocese of Basle, and since the victories of Prussia, our enemies have acted more openly. The five governments of Soleure, Argovie, Basle-Campagne, Berne, and Thurgovie have sent their delegates to an assembly calling itself a Diocesan Conference, composed, not of ecclesiastics, but in great part of Protestants, and of lay-Catholics notoriously hostile to the Church. Such a body, of course, possessed no legal authority, but notwithstanding its patent incapacity, it committed, among many other illegal and unjust acts, that of pronouncing a sentence of deprivation against the Bishop of Basle, on the 29th of January, 1873. The principal offense imputed to him was, that of having published the definition of Papal Infallibility in his diocese, and of having refused to withdraw the publication. Several minor accusations were brought against him; but it may be remarked that the authorities were unable to prove that he had violated a single law during the whole course of his episcopate. He was therefore deprived of his see solely because he had fulfilled the duties of a Catholic bishop, and because he would not separate himself from the Unity of the Holy See, by refusing to publish the decrees of the Vatican Council.

Since the above attack on the liberties of the Catholic populations, the Holy See, and the Church, a series of laws favoring schism and apostasy have been passed by the five cantonal governments in question. They have forbidden the Bishop of Basle to exercise his episcopal charge throughout the five cantons composing his diocese; and they have also forbidden the clergy to maintain any official relations with him, so that the faithful suffer grievous injury in their most sacred rights, and in their most urgent religious needs, in common with the whole Catholic priesthood, which has been punished in all the cantons for having protested against these unjust acts.

But it is the Protestant Canton of Berne which has signalized itself beyond all others by its despotism and its cruelty. It has suspended all the parish priests of the canton from their pastoral functions, and has since then deprived them, as well as all their curates, to the number of sixty-nine. It next pronounced sentence of exile on the whole clergy, ninety in number, only excepting five or six aged priests, who were, however, forbidden to say mass save in their own rooms, or in any way to exercise their sacred ministry. The government then drove all the priests out of their churches and presbyteries, and confiscated all their benefices and revenues, so that they are deprived of all means of subsistence.

Before the sentence of exile was carried out, many of them were moreover punished by fine and imprisonment. The Catholic laity has suffered there, and still has to suffer from every kind of injustice: fines, imprisonment, dismissal from public employment, are common occurrences, and men, women, nuns, and even children have been imprisoned for their faith.

There are, at the present moment, more than 60,000 Catholics in the Canton of Berne, who are deprived, as far as State influence can effect it, of all religious help, whether in life or in death, the exiled priests of the Bernese Jura being arrested and cast into prison if discovered within the cantonal limits.

The immense majority of the people, however, remain firmly attached to their pastors. In many parishes not a schismatic is to be found, and in others, containing a numerous population, the exceptions are very few. In a word, the Catholics of the Bernese Jura maintain their fidelity to the faith of their fathers, and the only partisans of the schism are apostates or persons long notoriously hostile to the Church.

But the most revolting feature of the present persecution is that the Government of Berne has sought in every part of Europe foreign priests in order to replace the lawfully appointed clergy of the Jura. It has succeeded in finding a certain number of suspended or apostate priests, who have consented to act as the instruments of State persecution. During the fourteen months which have witnessed the exile of the sixty-nine faithful parish clergy, twenty-five strangers have been brought to replace them. These men are of the worst moral antecedents. The government, notwithstanding, has imposed them on the parishioners, gives them profuse supplies of money, makes over the churches and presbyteries to them, and supports them in every way, while the native clergy are despoiled and exiled.

The Catholics of the Jura being thus deprived of their pastors, meet in farms or outhouses for common worship; and yet even this liberty is not always conceded to them. It is only in profound secret they can receive the sacraments, or hear mass, and they even bury their own dead without the assistance of a priest. It is thus that religious animosity, making common cause with Radicalism, tyrannizes over its fellow-citizens, who commit no offense against the public peace, and who bear their proportionate share of the public burdens!

By the course it has pursued the Government of Berne has violated the treaties and constitutions which protect Catholic liberties within the cantons. In order to give a color of legality to future persecutions, it has voted a new Ecclesiastical Constitution, expressly framed against the interests of the Catholic Church in Switzerland, and which it has imposed, against their will, on the Catholics of Berne by a preponderent non-Catholic majority.

One consolation remains to us, namely, the fidelity of the entire body of clergy to the Catholic Church. They have freely chosen to lose all rather than betray their faith.

In order to perpetuate the supply of schismatic or "Old Catholic" priests, the Government has recently established a faculty

of theology in Berne. It has brought professors from Germany, either Protestants or apostate priests, and has induced a small number of students to follow the courses, by paying them highly for their attendance.

In Soleure, too, the Radical authorities carry on the same persecution of the Catholics of the cantons. The government has succeeded in placing three schismatical priests in as many parishes. It has suppressed and confiscated the celebrated and ancient abbey of the Benedictines at Mariastein and the Chapters of Schœnnenwerth and of the Bishopric of Basle at Soleure. In the other mixed cantons where the anti-Catholic Radicals are in a majority, the Catholics have much to suffer.

The Diocese of Basle includes seven cantons—viz. Soleure, Argovie, Thurgovie, Basle-Campagne, Berne, Lucerne, and Zug. The two last-named cantons are Catholic, and possess a just government. In the other cantons the majority is Protestant. To these must be added the city of Basle and the canton of Schaffhausen, both of which form part of the same diocese.

The Diocese of Basle comprises 430,000 Catholics and 800,000 Protestants and other denominations. It contains 800 priests, only seven of whom have become Old Catholics. The so-called Diocesan Conference has pushed its pretensions to the point of prescribing what authors are to be used by ecclesiastical students in the seminary! The bishop was not even free to appoint the superior and his assistants, but was obliged to obtain the "Placet" of the State for such nominations, as well as for his Pastoral Letters.

[FROM THE LONDON WEEKLY REGISTER.]

INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.

BY THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR CAPEL, D.D.

THOUGH a blow is dealt us through the Ritualists, and a severe judgment passed on the converts in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, yet the real stumbling-block of offense on our part is that, according to him, ever since 1870 we have accepted the infallibility of the Pope. This wonderful "change in the constitution of the Latin Church" sorely distresses the author, and leads him to say that Rome "has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith." Yet, as though forgetful of so writing, he proceeds to the contradictory assertion that the Church "has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool which she was fondly thought to have disused." With this definite accusation we wish, therefore, to deal.

We have to remember that previous to 1870 every Catholic was bound to believe:—

1. That the gift of infallibility was given to the Church of God; that Church being none other than the communion under the authority of the See of Rome.

2. That this gift of infallibility was exercised both by the teaching body of the Church united to its head, whether that Church was dispersed throughout the world, or assembled in General Council.

By this no Catholic meant to imply that infallibility was identical with inspiration, much less that the Church was spotless, either in its individual pastors or in its head, but only that the Spirit of God so overruled her utterances that she could not teach the faithful any thing at variance with the truth. As to the object or sphere of this infallibility, every Catholic was further bound to believe that it extended to all truths bearing upon faith and the eternal welfare of mankind; or, in other words, to the whole of faith and morals. Every instructed Catholic further knew and held that the belief *ex animo* in these discussions of the Church was the primary and necessary condition for his communion with her. He believed, however, that until she spoke he had a perfect right to discuss undecided questions, but always subject to the suppressed premise in his mind that he would obey whatever she would declare.

Now, we ask what change after the decision by the Vatican

Council was effected in the creed of a Catholic? None as to the gift of infallibility; none as to the object of infallibility; none as to the double exercise of the infallibility mentioned; but only that the *ex cathedra*, or official utterances of the Head of the Church, were so directed by the Holy Ghost that they could not be at variance with the truth. In fact, the Vatican Council declares that the Head of the Church when teaching *ex cathedra* is as unerring as she herself is in General Council, or when dispersed throughout the world. By this, what had been the unvarying practice of the Popes for so many centuries was declared to be an infallible rule of action for the Church.

How, then, Mr. Gladstone can assert that an essential change in her constitution has taken place passes our comprehension. He must be fully aware that throughout the long history of the Church of God the Popes have not waited to have their infallibility declared, but have acted as possessors of it, condemning unsound doctrines whenever they made their appearance, or proclaiming truths anew when they were in danger of becoming obscured or perverted. Those who obstinately refused submission to any dogmatic decree of the Sovereign Pontiff were ever considered guilty of grave sin. It was not until the fifteenth century that any attempt was ever made to assert that an appeal might be made against the Pope's judgment to a future Œcumenical Council. The promptitude with which the faithful assented to Pope Martin V.'s condemnation of this proposition in 1418 bears witness to the sense of the Church on this question. But we may pass from theory to facts.

Not to go earlier back than the year 516, every Eastern Bishop, without exception, whom Mr. Gladstone would, in common with High Churchmen, hold to have been Catholic, individually asserted his belief that, by Christ's promise, the Apostolic See could not fail in faith, and that communion with the Catholic Church could be defined by saying that a person was in harmony ("*consentiens*") with that See; and that, in so doing, he was following in all things the constitutions of the Fathers. The following is the notable "Regula Fidei" of Pope Hormisdas, which was signed by all the Eastern Bishops who had joined the Acacian schism, and by the Emperor Justinian, and by the Patriarchs of Constantinople—Epiphanius, John, and Mennas. At the 8th General Council (and this has the same authority as the first four) no Bishop took his seat without signing it—*mutatis mutandis*—the grounds of his faith being identical, viz., the infallibility, or, in the language of the day, the immaculateness, by Christ's promise, of the Faith of the See of Peter:—

"The first condition of salvation is to hold firm the Rule of the true Faith, and in no way to deviate from the constitutions of the Fathers. And because the statement of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' etc., can not be set aside; this, which is said, is proved by results, because in the Apostolic See religion has always been preserved undefiled. Desirous, therefore, by no means to be separated from this hope and faith, and following in all

matters the constitutions of the Fathers, we anathematize all heretics, especially . . . ." Then follow certain heretics by name (others of the time being substituted for them at the 8th General Council), and, among them, ". . . Acacius, who persisted in their communion and fellowship; because he has deserved a sentence like that of those whose communion he attached himself to. . . . Wherefore we receive and approve of all the General Epistles (*Epistolas Universas*) of Pope Leo, wherein he wrote concerning the true religion. Hence, as we have said, following in all respects the Apostolic See, and publishing all its constitutions, I hope that I may deserve to be in the one communion with you, which the Apostolic See proclaims, wherein the Christian Religion is effectually and truly consolidated (*in quâ est integra et verax Christianæ religionis soliditas*): promising, also, that the names of those who are cut off (*sequestratos*) from the communion of the Catholic Church; that is, not consentient with the Apostolic See, shall not be recited during the sacred mysteries. This, my profession, I have subscribed with my own hand, and delivered to you, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable Pope of the City of Rome." (*In Mansi.* Collect. concil., T. viii., pp. 407, 408.)

At this period the rights of the primacy were recognized by imperial constitutions, as in the instances of Valentinian and Justinian. "According to ancient custom," says the law of Valentinian, "neither the Bishops of Gaul nor those of any other provinces, may undertake any thing (that is, of importance *causa major*) without the authority of the venerable Pope of the Eternal City. Whatever, therefore, has been or may be approved by the authority of the Apostolic See, let it be a law for all. "The Emperor Justinian calls the Bishops of Rome *caput omnium Dei sacerdotum, omnium ecclesiârum;* and the Church of Rome *Apex Pontificatus*, by whose judgment heretics were at all times overthrown (Cod. Justin. de summa Trinib., T. i., Ex. 7 and 8, novel 9; at the beginning). When King Theodoric summoned a Synod "to meet at Rome, A. D. 503, for the purpose of passing judgment upon Pope Symmachus, who had been accused of various misdemeanors, the assembled Bishops cried out that the idea of '*subjecting the Head of the Church to the judgment of his inferiors was entirely unheard of.*' The reply of the Eastern Bishops was of a similar character." (Cf. Socrat h. e. ii. 8, cited by Alzog, p. 673.)

"Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo," said the Fathers at Chalcedon in 451, when the letter of S. Leo was read to them. Fourteen centuries later the assembled Bishops at Rome on S. Peter's Day cried, "Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pius."

In the Council assembled at Florence in 1439, a decree condemning the opinions professed at Constance to the detriment of the Papal supremacy ran thus: "Moreover, we find that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff possess the primacy over the whole world, and the Roman Pontiff himself is the successor of S. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and that he is the true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and the Father and

Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, S. Peter, was delivered by Jesus Christ our Lord the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the Universal Church: as also is contained in the acts of Œcumenical Councils and in the Sacred Canons." Need Mr. Gladstone be reminded that it was Innocent the Tenth, in 1653, that condemned the propositions of Jansenius; that it was Innocent the Eleventh who, in 1682, raised his voice in condemnation of the Gallican opinions, which were published for the first time since the Councils of Constance and Basle. Space would fail us to note the unceasing exercise of supremacy by the Apostolic See in matters of doctrine, of morals, and of discipline. The previous cases are sufficient for our purpose, and we would refer our readers for further instances to "Kenrick on the Primacy of the See of S. Peter," or to the invaluable little work of Father Knox, of the Oratory, entitled "When does the Church speak Infallibly?" from whose pages we have freely cited. We think that our readers will candidly avow that, notwithstanding the assertions of Mr. Gladstone, the power and pretentions of the Papacy have been always the same.

But the right honorable gentleman feels much concern lest this power of the Pope should trespass on the civil domain. We need only remind him that after the decision of 1870, the field over which infallibility extends was neither increased nor diminished; since, as before, the Church has held that "politics, or the science which treats of the State, must necessarily, from its ethical character present many points of contact with revealed truth. The principles on which it is based flow from the natural law. They can never, therefore, be in real contradiction with the precepts of the Divine and positive law. Hence the State, if it only remain true to its fundamental principles, must ever be in the completest harmony with the Church and Revelation.

Now, so long as this harmony continues, the Church has neither call nor right to interfere with the State, for earthly politics do not fall within her direct jurisdiction. The moment, however, the State becomes unfaithful to its principles, and contravenes the Divine and positive law, that moment it is the Church's right and duty, as guardian of revealed truth, to interfere, and proclaim to the State the truths which it has ignored, and to condemn the erroneous maxims which it has adopted. Unhappily the State has too often given the Church occasion for interference, and false doctrines in politics have always found adherents, because they pandered to the greed of power and money, as well as to the abhorrence of control, which are so deeply rooted in our fallen nature. In former days, when civil society was leavened with the principles of the Faith, the Church, by entering into direct communication with the rulers of different States, could often quietly impede the spread of error, and allay, by personal influence, the evil consequences arising from false principles of government. But what was possible then is not possible now, when society is unchristianising itself more and more every day, and kings and statesmen habitually assume a position of open hostility or haughty distrust toward the Church. Therefore of late

years she has been forced to lift up her voice, and from the Chair of Peter to cry aloud to the faithful throughout the world, in accents of solemn warning, against the pernicious errors with which the political atmosphere is every-where loaded."—Knox on "The Infallibility," p. 70. His mind may be quieted by reading the following letter, addressed by Pope Gelasius, at the close of the fifth century, to the Emperor Anastasius:—

"God forbid that a Roman Prince should feel offended at the declaration of the truth! There are two things, august emperor, whereby this world is governed, namely, the sacred authority of Pontiffs and the royal power, wherein the weight of priestly authority is so much the greater, as in the Divine judgment Priests must render to the Lord an account of themselves. For you know, most clement son, that although you preside over men, you devoutly bend the neck to the dispensers of the Divine Mysteries, and ask from them the means of salvation: and in the reception and proper administration of the heavenly Sacraments, you know that you should be subject to them according to the religious rule, rather than preside over them. You are aware, then, that as to these things you depend on their judgment, and that they are not to be forced to compliance with your will. For if, as regards public order, the prelates of the Church, knowing that the empire has been confided to you by Divine Providence, obey our laws, lest they should appear to oppose your will in things of this world, with what affection should you obey them who are appointed to dispense the awful mysteries! Wherefore, as the Pontiffs incur a serious responsibility if they suppress what they should declare for the honor of the Deity, so the danger is great of others who insolently refuse obedience. And if the hearts of the faithful should be submissive to all priests in general who treat Divine things properly, how much more should assent be yielded to the Prelate of this See, whom the Supreme Lord ordained to preside over all priests, and whom the piety of the universal Church has always honored! You clearly understand that no one can, by any human device, oppose the prerogative of confession of him whom the voice of Christ preferred to all others, whom the Holy Church has always acknowledged, and whom she now devoutly regards as her Primate."

"This," says Dr. Kenrick, from whom we cite, "has been deservedly regarded as an admirable exposition of the relation of Catholic princes to the prelacy. The power of the prince is supreme in the civil order; the power of the Pontiff is supreme in things spiritual. The civil and the ecclesiastical powers are from God: the former by his implied sanction of the means of maintaining social order; the latter by the direct institution of Christ. In both the sovereignty of God must be honored. The civil power extends to all things necessary for the maintenance and welfare of society but it can not command any thing opposed to the Divine law. The ecclesiastical authority is engaged in the promulgation of truth and the maintenance of discipline, with a due respect for public order as regulated by the civil power."

. . . . . .

"The Pope, as head on earth of the Church, exercises, by Divine right, authority over Catholic princes in the things that are of salvation. When by flagrant crimes they cause the name of God to be blasphemed, he may admonish and reprove them, as Nathan reproved David by the Divine command; and, in case of contumacy, he may inflict on them ecclesiastical censures. The exercise of this power peculiarly suits the Chief Bishop, since local prelates could scarcely venture to say to their prince—'Thou art the man.' The majesty of the Sovereign is guarded by reserving cases in which he is concerned to the mature and unbiased judgment of the Pontiff."—(Primacy of the Apostolic See, p. 326.)

These extracts, so clearly stating the relations of the primacy to the civil power, will doubtless establish, to the satisfaction of many, that, instead of seeking the destruction of the State, the Church has always been her co-operator, and that in condemning, as she has in her Syllabus, a *libertas* which is synonymous with license, and in maintaining the supremacy of Divine authority in declaring the sacredness of marriage, and asserting the necessity of religion in the instruction of youth (see the 18th proposition, cited on page 16 of the pamphlet), she is but throwing a safeguard around society, and upholding the absolute sovereignty of God over man.

We should have expected that a High Churchman like Mr. Gladstone, and a statesman of such great experience, who, doubtless, recognizes the necessity for enactments such as Lord Campbell's Act, would, instead of questioning these truths, be the first to give them his cordial assent. He must not blame us if, instead of accepting his views on these points, we prefer to be guided by the unerring instinct of the Church of God.

REPLY OF LORD ACTON.

To the Editor of the Times:

SIR,—May I ask you to publish the inclosed preliminary reply to Mr. Gladstone's public Expostulation?

Your obedient servant,

ACTON.

ATHENÆUM, *November* 8.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I will not anticipate by a single word the course which those who are immediately concerned may adopt in answer to your challenge. But there are points which I think you have overlooked, and which may be raised most fitly by those who are least responsible. The question of policy and opportuneness I leave for others to discuss with you. Speaking in the open daylight, from my own point of view, as a Roman Catholic born in the nineteenth century, I can not object that facts which are of a nature to influence the belief of men should be brought completely to their knowledge. Concealment is unworthy of those things which are Divine and holy in religion, and in those things which are human and profane publicity has value as a check.

I understand your argument to be substantially as follows: The Catholics obtained Emancipation by declaring that they were in every sense of the term loyal and faithful subjects of the realm, and that Papal Infallibility was not a dogma of their Church. Later events have falsified one declaration, have disturbed the stability of the other; and the problem, therefore, arises, whether the authority which has annulled the profession of faith made by the Catholics would not be competent to change their conceptions of political duty.

This is a question that may be fairly asked, and it was long since made familiar to the Catholics by the language of their own Bishops. One of them has put it in the following terms: "How shall we persuade the Protestants that we are not acting in defiance of honor and good faith, if, having declared that Infallibility was not an article of our faith while we were contending for our rights, we should, now that we have got what we wanted, withdraw from our public declaration and affirm the contrary?" The case is, *primâ facie*, a strong one, and it would be still more serious if the whole structure of our liberties and our toleration

was founded on the declarations given by the English and Irish Bishops some years before the Relief Act. Those documents, interesting and significant as they are, are unknown to the Constitution. What is known, and what was for a generation part of the law of the country, is something more solemn and substantial than a series of unproved assertions—namely, the oath in which the political essence of those declarations was concentrated. That was the security which Parliament required; that was the pledge by which we were bound; and it binds us no more. The Legislature, judging that what was sufficient for Republicans, was sufficient for Catholics, abolished the oath, for the best reasons, some time before the disestablishment of the Irish Church. If there is no longer a special bond for the loyalty of Catholics, the fact is due to the deliberate judgment of the House of Commons. After having surrendered the only real constitutional security, there seems scarcely reason to lament the depreciation of a less substantial guarantee, which was very indirectly connected with the action of Parliament, and was virtually superseded by the oath.

The doctrines against which you are contending did not begin with the Vatican Council. At the time when the Catholic oath was repealed the Pope had the same right and power to excommunicate those who denied his authority to depose princes that he possesses now. The writers most esteemed at Rome held that doctrine as an article of faith; a modern Pontiff had affirmed that it can not be abandoned without taint of heresy, and that those who questioned and restricted his authority in temporal matters were worse than those who rejected it in spirituals; and accordingly men suffered death for this cause as others did for blasphemy and Atheism. The recent decrees have neither increased the penalty nor made it more easy to inflict.

That is the true answer to your appeal. Your indictment would be more just if it was more complete. If you pursue the inquiry further, you will find graver matter than all you have enumerated, established by higher and more ancient authority than a meeting of Bishops half-a-century ago. And then I think you will admit that your Catholic countrymen can not fairly be called on to account for every particle of a system which has never come before them in its integrity, or for opinions whose existence among divines they would be exceedingly reluctant to believe.

I will explain my meaning by an example: A Pope who lived in Catholic times, and who is famous in history as the author of the first Crusade, decided that it is no murder to kill excommunicated persons. This rule was incorporated in the Canon Law. In the revision of the Code, which took place in the 16th century, and produced a whole volume of corrections, the passage was allowed to stand. It appears in every reprint of the "Corpus Juris." It has been for 700 years, and continues to be, part of the ecclesiastical law. Far from having been a dead letter, it obtained new application in the days of the Inquisition; and one of the later Popes has declared that the murder of a Protestant

is so good a deed that it atones, and more than atones, for the murder of a Catholic. Again, the greatest legislator of the Mediæval Church laid down this proposition, that allegiance must not be kept with heretical Princes—*cum ei qui Deo fidem non servat fides servanda non sit.* This principle was adopted by a celebrated Council, and is confirmed by St. Thomas Aquinas, the oracle of the schools. The Syllabus which you cite has assuredly not acquired greater authority in the Church than the Canon Law and the Lateran Decrees, than Innocent the Third and St. Thomas. Yet these things were as well known when the oath was repealed as they are now. But it was felt that, whatever might be the letter of Canons and the spirit of the Ecclesiastical Laws, the Catholic people of this country might be honorably trusted.

But I will pass from the letter to the spirit which is moving men at the present day. It belongs peculiarly to the character of a genuine Ultramontane not only to guide his life by the example of canonized Saints, but to receive with reverence and submission the words of Popes. Now, Pius V., the only Pope who has been proclaimed a Saint for many centuries, having deprived Elizabeth, commissioned an assassin to take her life; and his next successor, on learning that the Protestants were being massacred in France, pronounced the action glorious and holy, but comparatively barren of results; and implored the King during two months, by his Nuncio and his Legate, to carry the work on to the bitter end until every Huguenot had recanted or perished. It is hard to believe that these things can excite in the bosom of the most fervent Ultramontane that sort of admiration or assent that displays itself in action. If they do not, then it can not be truly said that Catholics forfeit their moral freedom, or place their duty at the mercy of another.

There is waste of power by friction even in well-constructed machines, and no machinery can enforce that degree of unity and harmony which you apprehend. Little fellowship or confidence is possible between a man who recognizes the common principles of morality as we find them in the overwhelming mass of the writers of our Church and one who, on learning that the murder of a Protestant Sovereign has been inculcated by a saint, or the slaughter of Protestant subjects approved by a Pope, sets himself to find a new interpretation for the Decalogue. There is little to apprehend from combinations between men divided by such a gulf as this, or from the unity of a body composed of such antagonistic materials. But where there is not union of an active or aggressive kind, there may be unity in defense; and it is possible, in making provision against the one, to promote and to conform the other.

There has been, and I believe there is still, some exaggeration in the idea men form of the agreement in thought and deed which authority can accomplish. As far as decrees, censures, and persecution could commit the Court of Rome, it was committed to the denial of the Copernican system. Nevertheless, the history of astronomy shows a whole catena of distinguished Jesuits; and, a century ago, a Spaniard, who thought himself bound to

adopt the Ptolemaic theory, was laughed at by the Roman divines. The submission of Fénelon, which Protestants and Catholics have so often celebrated, is another instance to my point. When his book was condemned, Fénelon publicly accepted the judgment as the voice of God. He declared that he adhered to the decree absolutely and without a shadow of reserve, and there were no bounds to his submission. In private he wrote that his opinions were perfectly orthodox and remained unchanged, that his opponents were in the wrong, and that Rome was getting religion into pearl.

It is not the unpropitious times only, but the very nature of things, that protect Catholicism from the consequences of some theories that have grown up within it. The Irish did not shrink from resisting the arms of Henry II., though two Popes had given him dominion over them. They fought against William III., although the Pope had given him efficient support in his expedition. Even James II., when he could not get a mitre for Petre, reminded Innocent that people could be very good Catholics and yet do without Rome. Philip II. was excommunicated and deprived, but he dispatched his army against Rome with the full concurrence of the Spanish divines.

That opinions likely to injure our position as loyal subjects of a Protestant sovereign, as citizens of a free State, as members of a community divided in religion, have flourished at various times, and in various degrees, that they can claim high sanction, that they are often uttered in the exasperation of controversy, and are most strongly urged at a time when there is no possibility of putting them into practice—this all men must concede. But I affirm that, in the fiercest conflict of the Reformation, when the rulers of the Church had almost lost heart in the struggle for existence, and exhausted every resource of their authority, both political and spiritual, the bulk of the English Catholics retained the spirit of a better time. You do not, I am glad to say, deny that this continues to be true. But you think that we ought to be compelled to demonstrate one of two things—that the Pope can not, by virtue of powers asserted by the late Council, make a claim which he was perfectly able to make by virtue of powers asserted for him before; or, that he would be resisted if he did. The first is superfluous. The second is not capable of receiving a written demonstration. Therefore, neither of the alternatives you propose to the Catholics of this country opens to us a way of escaping from the reproach we have incurred. Whether there is more truth in your misgivings or in my confidence the event will show, I hope, at not distant time.

I remain sincerely yours,

ACTON.

VATICANISM.

MR. GLADSTONE'S REPLY TO HIS CRITICS—HIS VIEWS OF THE BEARING OF THE VATICAN DECREES ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE RE-ASSERTED IN A SECOND PAMPHLET—THE OBJECTIONS OF DR. NEWMAN AND ARCHBISHOP MANNING ANALYZED—PAPAL INFALLIBILITY, REASON AND CONSCIENCE.

IN his tract on the Vatican Decrees, Mr. Gladstone dwelt principally on two main propositions: 1. That Rome had reproduced for active service those doctrines of former times termed by him "rusty tools," which she was fondly thought to have disused. 2. That the Pope now claims, with plenary authority, from every member of his Church, that he shall place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another; that other being himself. The truth of these assertions was immediately and vigorously denied by some of the ablest men of the Catholic Church, notably by Dr. Newman and Archbishop Manning; and to these able antagonists Mr. Gladstone's answer is principally addressed. His object is twofold: first, to state in what degree he conceived the immediate purpose of his Expostulation to have been served; secondly, to examine whether the allegations of antagonists have dislodged his arguments from their main positions, or, on the contrary, have confirmed them, and to restate those positions accordingly.

After a splendid outline of eulogy of the character and ability of his principal antagonists, Dr. Newman and Archbishop Manning, Mr. Gladstone proceeds to discuss the "rusty tools." He has been charged with misrepresenting the language of the Syllabus, and he defends, at the outset, his good faith and care in his summary of that important document.—*Cin. Com'l.*

THE PAMPHLET.

The first charge of unjust representation is this: I have stated that the Pope condemns liberty of the press and liberty of speech. By reference to the original, it is shown that the right of printing and speaking is not in terms condemned universally; but only the right of each man to print or speak all his thoughts (*suos conceptus quoscunque*), whatever they may be. Hereupon it is justly observed that in all countries there are laws against blas-

phemy, or obscenity, or sedition, or all three. It is argued, then, that men are not allowed the right to speak or print all their thoughts, and that such an extreme right only is what the Pope has condemned.

It appears to me that this is, to use a mild phrase, mere trifling with the subject. We are asked to believe that what the Pope intended to condemn was a state of things which never has existed in any country of the world. Now he says he is condemning one of the commonly prevailing errors of the time, familiarly known to the Bishops whom he addresses. What Bishop knows of a State which by law allows a perfectly free course of blasphemy, filthiness and sedition? The world knows quite well what is meant by free speech and a free press. It does mean, generally, perhaps it may be said universally, the right of declaring all opinions whatsoever. The limit of freedom is not the justness of the opinion, but it is this, that it shall be opinion in good faith, and not mere grossness, passion, or appeal to violence. The law of England at this moment, allowing all opinions whatever, provided they are treated by way of rational discourse, most closely corresponds to what the Pope has condemned. His condemnation is illustrated by his own practice of Governor in the Roman States, where no opinions could be spoken or printed, but such as he approved. Once, indeed, he permitted a free discussion on St. Peter's presence and prelacy in the city; but he repented quickly, and forbade the repetition of it. We might even cite his practice as Pope in 1870, where every thing was done to keep the proceedings of the Council secret from the Church which it professed to represent, and even practically secret from its members, except those who were of the governing cabal. But there can be no better mode of exhibiting his real meaning than by referring to his account of the Austrian law. *Hac lege omnis omnium opinionum et librariæ artis libertas, omnis tum fidei, tum conscientiæ ac doctrinæ, libertas statuitur.* [From the Pope's Allocution of June 22, 1868: "By this law is established universal liberty of all opinions and of the press, and, as of belief, so of conscience and of teaching."] To the kind of condemnation given I shall again refer; but the matter of it is nothing abstract or imaginary—it is actual freedom of thinking, speaking and printing, as it is practiced in a great civilized and Christian empire. I repel, then, the charge against me as no better than a verbal subterfuge; and I again affirm that in his Syllabus, as in his acts, the Pope has condemned liberty of speech and liberty of the press.

The Marriage Question.

A grave charge is made against me respecting the matrimonial propositions, because I have cited the Pope as condemning those who affirm that the matrimonial contract is binding whether there is or is not (according to the Roman doctrine) a sacrament, and have not at the same time stated that English marriages are held by Rome to be sacramental, and therefore valid.

No charge, serious or slight, could be more entirely futile. But it is serious, and not slight, and those who prompt the examination must abide the recoil. I begin thus:

1. I am censured for not having given distinctions between one country and another, which the Pope himself has not given.

2. And which are also thought unnecessary by authorized expounders of the Syllabus for the faithful. I have before me the Exposition, with the text of the Encyclica and Syllabus, published at Cologne in 1874, with the approval of authority (*mit oberkirchlicher Approbation*). In page 45 it is distinctly taught that with marriage the State has nothing to do; that it may safely rely upon the Church; that civil marriage, in the eyes of the Church, is only concubinage; and that the State, by the use of worldly compulsion, prevent the two concubinary parties from repenting and abandoning their guilty relation to one another. Exactly the same is the doctrine of the Pope himself, in his speeches published at Rome, where civil marriage is declared to be, for Christians, nothing more than a mere concubinage, and a filthy concubinage (*sozzo concubinato*). These extraordinary declarations are not due to the fondness of the Pontiff for speaking *impromptu*. In his letter of September 18, 1852, to King Victor Emmanuel, he declares that matrimony carrying the Sacrament is alone lawful for Christians, and that a law of civil marriage, which goes to divide them, for practical purposes, constitutes a concubinage in the guise of legitimate marriage. So that, in truth, in all countries within the scope of these denunciations, the parties to a civil marriage are declared to be living in an illicit connection, which they are called upon to renounce. This call is addressed to them separately, as well as jointly, the wife being summoned to leave her husband, and the husband to abandon his wife; and after this pretended repentance from a state of sin, unless the law of the land and fear of consequences prevail, a new connection, under the name of a marriage, may be formed with the sanction of the Church of Rome. I know not by what infatuation it is that adversaries have compelled me thus to develop a state of facts created by the highest authorities of the Roman Church, which I shall now not shrink from calling horrible and revolting in itself, dangerous to the morals of society, the structure of the family and the peace of life

The Infallibility of the Pope.

After citing various authorities to sustain his views of the dogmatic force of the Syllabus, denied by Dr. Newman, Mr. Gladstone proceeds to consider the "Vatican Council and the Infallibility of the Pope."

Like the chieftains of the heroic time, Archbishop Manning takes his place with promptitude, and operates in front of the force he leads.

Upon the first appearance of my tract he instantly gave utterance to the following propositions; nor has he since receded from them.

First—That the Infallibility of the Pope was a doctrine of Divine Faith before the Council of the Vatican was held.

Second—That the Vatican Decrees have in no jot or tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of civil allegiance.

Third—That the civil allegiance of Roman Catholics is as undivided as that of other Christians, and neither more nor less limited.

Fourth—That the claim of the Roman Church against obedience to the civil power in certain cases is the same as that made by other religious communions in England.

These four propositions may be treated as two. The first is so allied with the second, and the third with the fourth, that the two members of each pair respectively must stand or fall together. I can make no objection to the manner in which they raise the question. I shall leave it to others, whom it may more concern, to treat that portion of his work in which passing by matters that more nearly touch his argument, he has entered at large on the controversy between Rome and the German Empire; nor shall I now discuss his compendium of Italian history, which in no manner touches the question whether the dominion of the Pope ought again to be imposed by foreign arms upon a portion of the Italian people. But of the four propositions I will say that I accept them all, subject to the very simple condition that the word "not" be inserted in the three which are affirmative, and its equivalent struck out from the one which is negative.

Or, to state the case in my own words:

My task will be to make good the two following assertions, which were the principal subjects of my former argument:

1. That upon the authority, for many generations, of those who preceded Archbishop Manning and his coadjutors in their present official position, as well as upon other authority, Papal Infallibility was not "a doctrine of Divine Faith before the Council of the Vatican was held."

And that, therefore, the Vatican Decrees have changed the obligations and condition of civil allegiance.

2. That the claim of the Papal Church against obedience to the civil power in certain cases not only goes beyond, but is essentially different from that made by other religious communions or by their members in England.

And that, therefore, the civil allegiance of those who admit the claim, and carry it to its logical consequences, is not for the purposes of the State the same with that of other Christians, but is differently limited.

In his able and lengthened work, Archbishop Manning has found space for a dissertation on the great German quarrel, but has not included, in his proof of the belief in Papal Infallibility before 1870, any reference to the history of the Church over which he presides, or the sister Church in Ireland. This very grave deficiency I shall endeavor to make good, by enlarging and completing the statement briefly given in my tract. That statement was that the English and Irish penal laws against Roman

Catholics were repealed on the faith of assurances which have not been fulfilled.

Had all antagonists been content to reply with the simple ingenuousness of Dr. Newman, it might have been unnecessary to resume this portion of the subject. I make no complaint of the Archbishop, for such a reply would have destroyed his case. Dr. Newman, struggling hard with the difficulties of the task, finds that the statement of Dr. Doyle requires "some pious interpretation;" that in 1826 the clergy both of England and Ireland were trained in Gallican opinions, and had modes of thinking "foreign altogether to the minds of the *entourage* of the Holy See;" that the British Ministers ought to have applied to Rome to learn the civil duties of British subjects, and that "no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party."

This declaration involves all, and more than all, that I had ventured reluctantly to impute. Statesmen of the future, recollect the words, and recollect from whom they came—from the man who, by his genius, piety, and learning, towers above all the eminences of the Anglo-Papal communion; who, so declares a Romish organ, "has been the mind and tongue to shape and express the English Catholic position in the many controversies which have arisen" since 1845, and who has been roused from his repose on this occasion only by the most fervid appeals to him as the man that could best teach his co-religionists how and what to think. The lesson received is this: Although pledges were given, although their validity was firmly and even passionately asserted, although the subject-matter was one of civil allegiance, "no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party."

In all seriousness I ask whether there is not involved in these words of Dr. Newman an ominous approximation to my allegation that the seceder to the Roman Church "places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another?"

But as Archbishop Manning has asserted that the decrees of the Vatican have "in no jot or tittle" altered civil allegiance, and that "before the Council was held the Infallibility of the Pope was a doctrine of Divine Faith, and as he is the official head of the Anglo-Roman body, I must test his assertions by one of those appeals to history which he has sometimes said are treason to the Church, as indeed they are in his sense of the Church, and in his sense of treason. It is only justice to the Archbishop to add that he does not stand alone. Bishop Ullathorne says "the Pope always wielded this infallibility, and all men knew this to be the fact." We shall presently find some men, whose history the Bishop should have been familiar with, who did not know this to be the fact, but very solemnly assured us they knew the exact contrary.

This is not an affair, as Dr. Newman seems to think, of a particular generation of clergy who had been educated in Gallican opinions. In all times, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Victoria, the lay Roman Catholics of England, as a body, have been eminently and unreservedly loyal. But they have been as

eminently noted for their thorough estrangement from Ultramontane opinions; and their clergy, down to the period of the Emancipation act, felt with them; though a school addicted to curialism and Jesuitism, thrust among them by the Popes at the commencement of the period, first brought upon them grievous sufferings, then succeeded in attaching a stigma to their name, and now threatens gradually to accomplish a transformation of their opinions, with an eventual change in their spirit, of which it is difficult to foresee the bounds. Not that the men who hold the ancestral view will, as a rule, exchange it for the view of the Vatican; but that, as in the course of nature they depart, Vaticanists will grow up and take their places.

The first official head of the Anglo-Roman body in England was the wise and loyal Archpriest Blackwell. He was deposed by the Pope in 1608, "chiefly, it is supposed, for his advocacy of the Oath of Allegiance," which had been devised by King James, in order that he might confer peace and security upon loyal Roman Catholics. Bellarmine denounced as heretical its denial of the power of the Pope to depose the King and release his subjects from their allegiance. Pope Paul V. condemned the brief in October, 1606. The unfortunate members of his communion could not believe this brief to be authentic. So a second brief was sent in September, 1607, to confirm and enforce the first. Blackwell gallantly advised his flock to take the oath in defiance of the brief. Priests confined in Newgate petitioned the Pope to have compassion on them. Forty-eight doctors of the Sorbonne against six declared that it might be taken with good conscience. And taken it was by many, but taken in spite of the tyrannical injunctions of Paul V., unhappily confirmed by Urban VIII. and by Innocent X.

When it was proposed in 1648 to banish Roman Catholics on account of the deposing power, their divines met and renounced the doctrine. This renunciation was condemned at Rome as heretical; but the attitude of France on these questions at the time prevented the publication of the decree.

When the loyal remonstrance of 1661 had been signed by certain Bishops and others of Ireland, it was condemned at Rome in July, 1662, by the Congregation *de Propaganda*, and in the same month the Papal Nuncio at Brussels, who superintended the concerns of Irish Roman Catholics at the time, denounced it as already condemned by the constitutions of Paul V. and Innocent X., and specially censured the ecclesiastics who, by signing it, had misled the laity.

Well may Butler say: "The claim of the Popes to temporal power by Divine right has been one of the most calamitous events in the history of the Church. Its effects since the Reformation on the English and Irish Catholics have been dreadful." And again: "How often did our ancestors experience that ultra-Catholicism is one of the worst enemies of Catholicity!" . . .

I now pass to the period which followed the Revolution of 1688, especially with reference to the bold assertion that before 1870 the Pope's infallibility was a doctrine of divine faith.

The Revolution brought about by invasions of the law and Constitution, with which the Church of Rome was disastrously associated, necessarily partook of a somewhat vindictive character as toward the Anglo-Roman body. Our penal provisions were a mitigated, but also a debased copy of the Papal enactments against heresy. It was not until 1757, on the appointment of the Duke of Bedford to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, that the first sign of life was given. Indeed, it was only in 1756 that a new penal law had been proposed in Ireland. But in the next year the Irish Roman Catholic Committee published a declaration which disavowed the deposing and absolving power, with other odious opinions. Here it was averred that the Pope had "no temporal or civil jurisdiction," "directly or indirectly, within this realm." And it was also averred that it "is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby obliged to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible;" in diametrical contradiction to the declaration of Archbishop Manning that persons of his religion were bound to this belief before the Council of 1870.

If any thing had been wanting in this Declaration, it would have been abundantly supplied by the Protestation of the Roman Catholics of England in 1788–89. In this very important document, which brought about the passage of the great English Relief Act of 1791, besides a repetition of the assurances generally which had been theretofore conveyed, there are contained statements of the greatest significance.

1. That the subscribers to it "acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope."

2. That their Church has no power that can directly or indirectly injure Protestants, as all she can do is to refuse them her sacraments, which they do not want.

3. That no ecclesiastical power whatever can "directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government" of the realm.

This protestation was, in the strictest sense, a representative and binding document. It was signed by 241 priests, including all the Vicars Apostolic; by all the clergy and laity of England of any note; and in 1789, at a general meeting of the English Catholics in London, it was subscribed by every person present.

The act of 1791 for England was followed by that of 1793 for Ireland. The oath inserted in this act is founded on the declaration of 1757, and embodies a large portion of it, including the words:

"It is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible."

I refer to this oath, not because I attach an especial value to that class of security, but because we now come to a synodical declaration of the Irish Bishops which constitutes, perhaps, the most salient point of the whole of this singular history.

On the 26th of February, 1810, those Bishops declared as follows:—

"That the said oath, and promises, declarations and abjurations, and protestations therein contained, are, notoriously, to the

Roman Catholic Church at large, become a part of the Roman Catholic religion as taught by us, the Bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland; and as such are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches."

OBEDIENCE TO THE POPE.

Archbishop Manning has boldly grappled with my proposition that the Third Chapter of the Vatican Decrees had forged new chains for the Christian people, in regard to obedience, by giving its authority to what was previously a claim of the Popes only, and so making it a claim of the Church. He is astonished at the statement, and he offers what he thinks a sufficient confutation of it in six citations.

The four last of these begin with Innocent III. and end with the Council of Trent. Innocent III. and Sextus IV. simply claim the *regimen* or government of the Church, which no one denies them. The Council of Florence speaks of *plena potestas*, and the Council of Trent of *suprema potestas*, as belonging to the Pope. Neither of these assertions touch the point. Full power in the government of a body may still be limited by law. No other power can be above them. But it does not follow that they can command from all persons an unconditional obedience, unless themselves empowered by law so to do. We are familiar under the British monarchy, both with the term supreme and with its limitations.

The Archbishop, however, quotes a canon or chapter of a Roman Council in 863, which anathematizes all who despise the Pope's orders with much breadth and amplitude of phrase. If taken without the context, it fully covers the ground taken by the Vatican Council. It anathematizes all who contemn the decrees of the Roman See in faith, discipline, or correction of manners, or for the remedy or prevention of mischief. Considering that the four previous canons of this Council, and the whole proceedings, relate entirely to the case of the divorce of Lothair, it might perhaps be argued that the whole constitute only a privilegium or law for the individual case, and that the anathema of the fifth canon must be limited to those who set at naught the Pope's proceedings in that case. But the point is of small consequence to my argument.

But then the Roman Council is local, and adds no very potent reinforcement to the sole authority of the Pope. The question then remains how to secure for this local and Papal injunction the sanction of the Universal Church, in the Roman sense of the word. Archbishop Manning, perfectly sensible of what is required of him, writes that "this canon was recognized in the Eighth General Council, held at Constantinople in 869." He is then more than contented with his array of proofs, and confining himself, as I am bound to say he does in all personal matters throughout this work, to the mildest language consistent with

the full expression of his ideas, he observes that I am manifestly out of my depth.

I know not the exact theological value of the term "recognized;" but I conceive it to mean virtual adoption. Such an adoption of such a claim by a General Council appeared to me a fact of the utmost significance. I referred to many historians of the Church; but I found no notice of it in those whom I consulted, including Baronius. From these unproductive references I went onward to the original documents.

The Eighth General Council, so called, comprised only those Bishops of the East who adhere to, and were supported by, the See of Rome and the Patriarch Ignatius in the great conflict of the ninth century. It would not, therefore, have been surprising if its canons had given some at least equivocal sanction to the high Papal claims. But, on the contrary, they may be read with the greatest interest as showing, at the time immediately bordering on the publication of the false Decretals, how little way those claims had made in the general body of the Church. The system which they describe is the Patriarchal, not the Papal, system; the fivefold distribution of the Christian Church under the five great Sees of the Elder and New Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Of these the Pope of Rome is the first, but as *primus inter pares* (Canons XVII., XXI., Lat.). The causes of clergy on appeal are to be finally decided by the Patriarch in each Patriarchate (Canon XXVI., Lat.), and it is declared that any General Council has authority to deal, but should deal respectfully, with controversies of or touching the Roman Church itself (Canon XXI. Lat., XIII. Gr.). This is one of the Councils which solemnly anathematizes Pope Honorius as a heretic.

The reference made by Archbishop Manning is, as he has had the goodness to inform me, to the Second Canon. The material words are these:

"Regarding the most blessed Pope Nicholas as an organ of the Holy Spirit, and likewise his most holy successor Adrian, we accordingly define and enact that all which they have set out or promulgated synodically from time to time, as well for the defense and well-being of the Church of Constantinople, and of its Chief Priest and Most holy Patriarch Ignatius, as likewise for the expulsion and condemnation of Photius, neophite and intruder, he always observed and kept alike, entire and untouched, under (or according to) the heads set forth (*cum expositus capitulis*)."

There is not in the canon any thing relating to the Popes generally, but only to two particular Popes; nor any reference to what they did personally, but only to what they did synodically; nor to what they did synodically in all matters, but only in the controversy with Photius and the Eastern Bishops adhering to him. There is not one word relating to the Canon of 863, or to the Council which passed it; which was a Council having nothing to do with the Photian controversy, but called for the purpose of supporting Pope Nicholas I. in what is commonly deemed his righteous policy with respect to the important case of the divorce of Lothair.

So that the demonstration of the Archbishop falls wholly to the ground; and down to this time my statement remains entire and unhurt. The matter contained in it will remain very important until the Council or the Pope shall amend its decree so as to bring it into conformity with the views of Dr. Newman, and provide a relief to the private conscience by opening in the great gate of obedience a little wicket-door of exceptions for those who are minded to disobey.

Had the Decrees of 1870 been in force in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Roman Catholic peers could not have done what, until the reign of Charles II., they did; could not have made their way to the House of Lords by taking the oath of allegiance, despite the Pope's command. But that is not all. The Pope *ex cathedra* had bidden the Roman Catholics of England in the eighteenth century, and in the sixteenth, and from the fourteenth, to believe in the deposing power as an article of faith. But they rejected it; and the highest law of their Church left them free to reject it. Has it not bound them now? The Pope in the sixteenth century bade the Roman Catholics of England assist the invasion of the Spanish Armada. They disobeyed him. The highest law of their Church left them free to disobey. Are they free now? That they will assert this freedom for themselves I do not question—nay, I entirely believe. From every standing-point, except that of Vaticanism, their title to it is perfect. With Vaticanism to supply their premise, how are they to conclude? Dr. Newman says there are exceptions to this precept of obedience. But this is just what the Council has not said. The Church by the Council imposes yea. The private conscience reserves to itself the title to say no. I must confess that in this apology there is to me a strong, undeniable smack of Protestantism. To reconcile Dr. Newman's conclusion with the premises of the Vatican will surely require all, if not more than all, "the vigilance, acuteness, and subtlety of the *Schola Theologorum*."

The days of such proceedings, it is stated, are gone by, and I believe that, in regard to our country, they have passed away beyond recall. But that is not the present question. The present question is whether the right to perform such acts has been effectually disavowed.

THE DEPOSING POWER OF THE POPE.

It will perhaps have been observed by others, as it has been by me, that from the charges against my account of the Syllabus are notably absent two of the most important and instructive heads. I accuse the Syllabus of teaching the rights of the Church to use force, and of maintaining the deposing power.

When my tract was published, I had little idea of the extent to which, and (as to some of them) the hardihood to which those who should have confuted my charges would themselves supply evidence to sustain them.

Bishop Clifford, indeed, sustains the deposing power on the

ground that it was accorded to the Pope by the Nations. It was simply a case like that of the Geneva Arbitrators. Dr. Newman defends it, but only upon conditions. The circumstances must be rare and critical. The proceeding must be judicial. It must appeal to the moral law. Lastly, there must be a united consent of various Nations. In fine, Dr. Newman accepts the deposing power only under the conditions which, as he thinks, the Pope himself lays down.

These allegations quiet my fears, but they strain my faith, and, purporting to be historical, they shock my judgment. For they are, to speak plainly, without foundation. The arbitration at Geneva, settled a dispute, which they recited in formal terms, that the two parties to it had empowered and invited them to settle. The point of consent is the only weighty one among the four conditions of Dr. Newman and is the sole point raised by Bishop Clifford. Did, then, Paul III., as arbitrator in the case of Henry VIII., pursue a like procedure? The first words of his bull are: "The condemnation and excommunication of Henry VIII., King of England"—not an auspicious beginning. There is nothing at all about arbitration or consent of any body, but a solemn and fierce recital of power received from God, not from the nations or from one nation, or from any fraction of a nation; power "over the nations and over the kingdoms to pluck up and destroy, to build up and to plant as chief over all kings of the whole earth and all peoples possessing rule." Exactly similar is the "arbitration" of Pius V. between himself and Elizabeth, to the "arbitration" of Paul III. between himself and Henry VIII.

Archbishop Manning, indeed, has thrown in a statement, the utility of which it is hard to understand, that Queen Elizabeth "was baptized a Catholic." She was baptized after Appeals to Rome had been abolished, and two years after the clergy had owned in the King that title of headship which Mary abolished, and which never has been revived. But Archbishop Manning knows quite well that the Papal claims of right extend to all baptized persons whatever, and Queen Victoria could have no exemption unless it could be shown that she was unbaptized.

The doctrine of the consent of Nations is a pure imagination. The general truth of the matter is that the Popes of the Middle Ages, like some other persons and professions, throve upon the discords of their neighbors. Other powers were only somewhere; the Pope, in the West, was everywhere. Of the two parties to a quarrel, it was worth the while of each to bid for the assistance of the Pope against his enemy; and he that bid the highest, not merely in dry acknowledgment of the Papal prerogatives, but also commonly in the solid tribute of Peter's pence or patronage, or other tangible advantages, most commonly got the support of the Pope. This is a brief and rude outline; but it is history, and the other is fiction.

But does Dr. Newman stand better at this point? He only grants the deposing power in the shape in which the Pope asks it; and he says the Pope only asks it on the conditions of which one is "a united consent of various nations." In the speech of

the Pope, however, which he cites, there is nothing corresponding to this account. The Pope says distinctly, "of this right the *Fountain* is (not the Infallibility, but) the Pontifical authority." The people of the Middle Ages, what did they do?—made him an arbitrator or judge? No; but recognized in him that which—what? he was? no; but—"he is, the Supreme Judge of Christendom." The right was not created, but "assisted as was due to it, by the public law and common consent of the nations." If this is not enough, I will complete the demonstration. An early report of the speech from the Roman newspapers winds up the statement by describing the deposing power as—

"A right which the Popes, invited by the call of the nations, had to exercise when the general good demanded it.

But in the authorized and final report given in the "Collection of the Speeches of Pius IX" this passage is corrected and runs thus:

"A right which the Popes exercised in virtue of their authority when the general good demanded it."

Thus Bishop Clifford and Dr. Newman are entirely at issue with the Pope respecting the deposing power. Will they not have to reconsider what they are to say and what they are to believe? That power, it must be borne in mind, appears to have one of the firmest possible Pontifical foundations in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, which is admitted on all hands to be a declaration *ex cathedra*.

But it is not to the more moderate views of the Bishop and Dr. Newman that we are to resort for information on the ruling fashions of Roman doctrine. Among the really orthodox defenders of Vaticanism, who have supplied the large majority of Reproofs and Replies, I do not recollect to have found one single disavowal of the deposing power. Perhaps the nearest approach to it from any writer of this school is supplied by Monsignor Capel, who remarks that the Pope's office of arbiter is at an end, or "at least in abeyance." There are, indeed, enough of disavowals wholly valueless. For example, disavowals of the universal monarchy; by which it appears to be meant that the Popes never claimed, in temporals, such a monarchical power as is now acceded to them in spirituals, namely, a power absorbing and comprehending every other power whatever. Or, again, disavowals of the *directa potestas*. For one, I attach not a feather's weight to the distinction between the direct power and the indirect. Speaking in his own person, Archbishop Manning eschews the gross assertion to which, in another work, he has lent a sanction, and seems to think he has mended the position when he tells us that the Church—that is to say, the Pope—"has a supreme judicial office, in respect to the moral law, over all Nations, and over all persons, both governors and governed." As long as they do right it is directive and preceptive; when they do wrong, the black cap of the Judge is put on, *ratione peccati*, "by reason of sin." That is to say, in plain words, the right and the wrong in the conduct of States and of individuals is now, as it always has been, a matter for the judi-

cial cognizance of the Church; and the entire judicial power of the Church is summed up in the Pope:

"If Christian Princes and their laws deviate from the law of God, the Church has authority from God to judge of that deviation, and by all its powers to enforce the correction of that departure from justice."

I must accord to the Archbishop the praise of manliness. If we are henceforward in any doubt as to his opinions, it is by our own fault. I sorrowfully believe, moreover, that he does no more than express the general opinion of the teachers who form the ruling body in his Church at large, and of the present Anglo-Romish clergy almost without exception. In the episcopal manifesto of Bishop Ullathorne I see nothing to qualify the doctrine. In the Pastoral Letter of Bishop Vaughan the comfort we obtain is this: "It will never, as we believe, be exercised again;" and "it is a question purely speculative. It is no matter of Catholic faith, and is properly relegated to the schools." Bishop Vaughan does not appear to bear in mind that this is exactly what we were told, not by his predecessors of 1789, who denied Infallibility outright; not by the Synod of 1810, who affirmed it to be impossible that Infallibility ever could become an article of faith; but even in the "bated breath" of later times with respect to Infallibility itself, which, a little while after, was called back from the schools and the speculative region, and uplifted into the list of the Christian *credenda;* and of which we are now told that it has been believed always and by all, only its boundaries have been a little better marked.

In the train of the Bishops (I except Bishop Clifford) come priests, monks, nay, laymen; Vaticanism in all its ranks and orders. And among these champions not one adopts the language even of Bishop Doyle, much less of 1810, much less of 1789. The "Monk of St. Augustine's" is not ashamed to say that Bishop Doyle, who was put forward in his day as the champion and representative man of the body, "held opinions openly at variance with those of the great mass."

Nature and Condition of Papal Infallibility.

We are told it would be an entire mistake to confound this Infallibility of the Pope, in the province assigned to it, with absolutism.

"The Pope is bound by the moral and divine law, by the commandments of God, by the rules of the Gospel, and by every definition in faith and morals that the Church has ever made. No man is more bound by law than the Pope; a fact plainly known to himself and to every bishop and priest in Christendom."—(Bishop Vaughan, Pastoral Letter.)

Every definition in faith and morals! These are written definitions. What are they but another Scripture? What right of interpreting this other scripture is granted to the Church at large more than of the real and greater Scripture? Here is surely in

its perfection the petition for bread answered by the gift of a stone.

Bishop Vaughan does not venture to assert that the Pope is bound by the canon law—the written law of the Church of Rome. The abolition of the French Sees under the Concordat with Napoleon, and the deposition of the legitimate Bishops even if it were the only instance, has settled that question forever. Over the written law of his Church the pleasure of the Pope is supreme. And this justifies, for every practical purpose, the assertion that law no longer exists in that Church, in the same very real sense as we should say there was no law in England, in the reign of James the Second, while it was subject to a dispensing power. There exists no law wherever a living ruler, an executive head, claims and exercises, and is allowed to possess a power annulling or a power of dispensing with the law. If Bishop Vaughan does not know this, I am sorry to say that he does not know the first lesson that every English citizen should learn; he has yet to pass through the lispings of civil childhood. This exemption of the individual, be he who he may, from the restraints of the law is the very thing that in England we term absolutism. By absolutism we mean the superiority of a personal will to law, for the purpose of putting aside or changing law. Now, that power is precisely what the Pope possesses. First, because he is infallible in faith and morals when he speaks *ex cathedra*, and he himself is the final judge which of his utterances shall be utterances *ex cathedra*. He has only to use the words, "I, *ex cathedra*, declare;" or the words, "I, in the discharge of the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of my supreme Apostolic authority, define as a doctrine regarding faith or morals, to be held by the Universal Church," and all words that may follow, be they what they may, must now and hereafter be as absolutely accepted by every Roman Catholic who takes the Vatican for his teacher, with what in their theological language they call a divine faith, as must any article of the Apostles' Creed. And what words they are to be that may follow, the Pope by his own will and motion is the sole judge.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[FROM THE CHRISTIAN STANDARD.]

LORD CAMOYS' LETTER.

As our readers will be anxious to know of every new development in the Gladstone-Manning controversy, we copy the following telegram:

"LONDON, *Nov.* 30, 5.30 A. M.—A circular letter from Archbishop Manning was read in all the Catholic Churches of this diocese yesterday, declaring that all persons who do not accept the dogma of Papal Infallibility cease to be Catholics."

This, in view of what Gladstone has proved to be involved in the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, and what has been frankly admitted by eminent Roman Catholics to be true, must be regarded as almost a defiance on the part of Archbishop Manning. It is, at least, evidence that the Roman Catholic Church means to draw the lines sharply and make a square issue. It is a bold measure, especially in view of the known sentiments of leading Roman Catholics in England. We published last week the frank admission of Lord Acton in his letter to Gladstone. We give now another expression of English Roman Catholic sentiment, from Lord Camoys—a nobleman who stands high in his church, and is popular with all classes in England:

[FROM THE LONDON TIMES, NOV. 14.]

We have been requested by Lord Camoys to publish the following letter:

"HENLEY-ON-THAMES, *Nov.* 13, 1874.

"DEAR MR. GLADSTONE: In your 'Expostulation' you have appealed to those English Roman Catholics who concur in the views you have therein expressed. As I am one of those who so concur, I am bound to say so. No one is more entitled than yourself to an expression of confidence from those who have been benefited by the great principles of civil and religous liberty by which you have been invariably guided. I concur in the proposition you have stated, though I regret in reference to the reign of Queen Mary, you should have considered it necessary to use the term 'bloody.' It is unnecessary to argue upon the accuracy of the expression. That word has always been and is offensive to the Roman Catholics, and was not needed to support your asser-

tion. I believe it to be perfectly true, since that reign it was not possible for the party to whom you allude,—I presume the Ritualists—and, you might have added, for the Roman Catholics, and I add for both combined, though they might tend to overthrow the Established Church, yet could never make this a Roman Catholic country. Lord Acton and yourself have drawn attention, and quite appropriately, to the language held by the Roman Catholic clergy and laity previous to emancipation, when the distinction between the civil and spiritual duties of Catholics was clearly defined, and Infallibility emphatically denied. Had any Catholic of importance then said, 'I am a Catholic first and an Englishman after,' and that without the slightest reservation, and, had that expression been defended by a Catholic Archbishop of that day as it has been defended by the Archbishop of Westminster, I very much doubt if Catholic emancipation would have been granted. In noticing your 'Expostulation,' the Archbishop of Westminster, in his published letter, said that there is no change in the obligations of the Roman Catholics to the civil power in consequence of the publication of the Vatican Decrees. Now is this so? It is not likely the present Pope will adopt against Queen Victoria, the course pursued by the then Pope against Queen Elizabeth, but there is no telling what edict might be issued by the author of the Syllabus. Assuming an edict were now issued, tending to weaken or destroy allegiance, what a different position a Roman Catholic would be in now from what he would have been in then. Infallibility was not then a matter of compulsory belief, and he would have been at liberty to refuse compliance with such an edict; but what would be the effect of his belief in the personal infallibility? He must either withhold his allegiance on the one hand, or risk his salvation on the other; and is not this a new obligation? To be compelled to believe under severe penalties now, what we were at liberty to disbelieve then with impunity, is surely a new obligation. As an independent English Roman Catholic, I consider it my duty to make this response to your appeal. Much may be said of the serious difficulties that many members of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world will be placed in, by being compelled to believe in the Vatican Decrees. For myself, I will say that history, common sense, and my early instruction, forbid me to accept the astounding and novel (novel at least, in its present promulgation) doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Pope, though limited, as asserted, to the large domain of faith and morals. I remain yours, faithfully,

"CAMOYS."

All such men are given to understand that they must eat their words and belie their convictions, or cease to be regarded as Catholics. This is frank, definite, unmistakable—indicating a settled purpose on the part of the Church to stand or fall with the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, accepting all its logical and theological consequences.

Those English Catholics whom we mention elsewhere as having gone or about to go to Rome, to persuade the Pope not to insist

on applying the doctrine of Infallibility in such a way as to interfere with their political relations in England, will find cold comfort, according to the following statement:

"This morning the Pope, who has recovered from his indisposition, after receiving the Bishop of Bucharest, admitted several English Catholics to an audience. In addressing them, he said:

"A former Minister of your country, whom I had believed rather moderate, and who, to say the truth, had never while in office manifested arrogance or violence toward the Catholic Church, intoxicated by the proceedings of another Minister in another State, has suddenly come forward, like a viper, assailing this bark of St. Peter. I have not read the book, and I have no great desire to read blasphemies, but from what I understand, the Minister whom they call Liberal, flatters the Catholics of that nation, and leads them to believe that I wish them to become disloyal to their sovereign and the laws of their country. Puzzled at beholding the vast progress made by that great nation in the path of the true faith, the fallen Minister hoped to arrest the luminous triumph of the Church by interpreting after his own fashion, the will of this poor Vicar of Christ. A great King (Charlemagne) said that even should the Church impose heavy burdens on the conscience of the population, the Catholics should bear them from their interest in the communion of the Church; but our dogmas, far from being burdens, are light. Those who will walk astray are not Catholics; they are worse than infidels and Protestants, because, calling themselves Catholics, they daily rebel against God and the laws of the Church."

This fierce denunciation of Gladstone without one word of denial of the truth of Gladstone's charges, or the slightest attempt to soften the doctrine of papal supremacy and Infallibility, is significant as an illustration of the spirit that reigns at the Vatican, and the policy of the Pope to push his claims to the utmost.

That Gladstone is not a victim of idle fears in asserting that even England, in spite of all previous asseverations of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, is placed in a new and somewhat dangerous position, by the latest phases of Romanism, he has abundantly demonstrated; and, as we have seen, eminent Catholic noblemen admit the truth and force of his statements and reasonings. In this country, while we may flatter ourselves that we have no concern with this strife between Church and State, it is well to watch all the bearings of this controversy—since it may prove that even here, a strife may yet be provoked of exceeding bitterness. The open and fierce assaults on our public school system, the unscrupulous efforts to secure State patronage for ecclesiastical institutions, and the bold avowal of the most offensive teachings of the famous and infamous Syllabus, all show the anti-republican nature of a power which is growing into immense proportions in our land.

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Purcell, John Baptist
AUTHOR

Campbell, Alexander
TITLE

The Battle of the Giants.

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